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Orient. & Semit. Philol.
A

JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

CHARLES C. TORREY, AND HANNS OERTEL
Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Professor in Yale University. New Haven, Conn.

THIRTY-SECOND VOLUME

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THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.
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I

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT ITS

MEETING IN NEW YORK, N. Y.

1912

The annual meeting of the Society, being the one hundred twenty-fourth occasion of its assembling, was held in New York, N. Y., at Columbia University, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter week, April 9th, 10th, and 11th, 1912.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Abbott	Edgerton	Jenkins, Miss	Price
Abbott, Mrs.	Fagnani	Kent, R. G.	Prince
Appleton	Frame	Kohn, Miss	Quackenbos
Arnold	Friedlaender	Lanman	Rudolph, Miss
Asakawa	Gelbach, Miss	Madsen	Scott, C. P. G.
Barret	Gellot	Margolis, E.	Sherman
Barton	Gottheil	Margolis, M. L.	Smith, H. P.
Bender	Grant	Montgomery	Steele
Black	Gray	Moore, G. F.	Torrey
Bloomfield	Gray, Mrs.	Moore, Mrs.	Ussher
Bolling	Grieve, Miss	Müller	Vanderburgh
Briggs	Haas	Nies, J. B.	Ward, Miss
Brown, F.	Haessler, Miss	Oertel	Ward, W. H.
Brünnow	Harper, R. F.	Ogden, C. J.	Williams, F. W.
Burlingame	Hirth	Ogden, Miss	Williams, T.
Campbell	Hurwitz	Oliphant	Worrell
Carus	Hussey, Miss	Perry	Yohannan
Cunningham	Jackson	Peters	
Du Bose	Jackson, Mrs.	Poebel	TOTAL: 74.

The first session was held in Philosophy Hall on Tuesday afternoon, beginning at 3:10 p. m., the President, Professor George F. Moore, being in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the meeting in Cambridge, April 19th and 20th, 1911, was dispensed with, because they had already been printed in the Journal (vol. 31, part 4, p. i-ix).

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, through Professor Gottheil, in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Wednesday morning at half past nine, Wednesday afternoon at half past two, and Thursday morning at half past nine. It was announced that there would be an informal meeting of the members at the Hotel Marseilles on Tuesday evening, that a luncheon would be given to the Society by the local members at the University Commons on Wednesday at 1:15 p. m., and that arrangements had been made for a subscription dinner at the Hotel Marseilles on Wednesday evening at half past seven.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, presented the following report:

The Corresponding Secretary has the honor to report at the outset that he has received from President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University a message of hearty greeting to the members assembled at this meeting. President Butler expresses his regret that his duties as presiding officer at a political convention held at Rochester, N. Y., deprive him of the pleasure of attending some of the sessions.

The regular correspondence of the Secretary during the past year has involved the writing of a large number of letters, to members and others, in regard to matters directly connected with the Society's work. The obligation has, however, been a pleasant one, for it has led to a number of interesting communications with fellow-workers, not only in America and Europe, but also in the East, including a remote corner of Kurdistan.

The formal invitation to participate in the International Congress of Orientalists at Athens was supplemented, during this last year, by further communications and bulletins, and it may be mentioned here that the President, Professor Moore, appointed Professors Hopkins, Jastrow, and Haupt to represent the Society at the Congress. Professor Hopkins, in a letter written in Athens on the eve of the Congress and received here yesterday, sends his cordial greetings to the members of the Society and his good wishes for the present meeting.

As instructed by the Directors, the Secretary attended the annual meeting of the American Year Book Corporation as the Society's representative. He welcomes the opportunity of mentioning the desire of all econcerned in this enterprise to give appropriate space to Oriental matters and especially to Oriental scholarship in America.

It is a sad duty to record the loss of four members by death in the past twelve months.

Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who had been a member of the Society since 1869, died on May 19, 1911, at the ripe age of eighty-seven years. His activities as a historian and essayist, as well as his achievements as a soldier, are too well known to need record here. Col. Higginson was a regular attendant at the Cambridge sessions and occasionally at meetings elsewhere. At the last meeting, being unable to be present, he sent a message of greeting, whereupon the Society directed Professor Lanman to express its appreciation and good wishes.

Lady Caroline De Filippi, née Fitzgerald, who died in Rome, Italy, on Christmas Day, 1911, joined the Society in 1886 and became one of its life-members. Her interest in the Orient, first aroused by Professor Whitney, continued throughout her life, and she traveled extensively in the East, particularly in Central Asia, Ladakh, and India.

Mr. Charles J. Morse, of Evanston, Ill., whose death occurred on December 6, 1911, had become a member in 1909. Mr. Morse, who was an engineer by profession, spent some time in Japan and became interested in the art of the Far East. He gathered a rich collection of Chinese and Japanese paintings, porcelain, and other works of art, together with a library of works relating to the subject. This collection is preserved in a fireproof room in the residence of his widow at Evanston.

Dr. John Orne, Curator of Arabic manuscripts in the Semitic Museum at Cambridge, has also been removed from our list by death. He had been for twenty-one years a corporate member of the Society and had regularly attended the meetings held at Cambridge.

In concluding this report the Secretary desires to express once again his appreciation of the willing co-operation of all who are associated with him in the work of the Society, and to renew a hearty wish for its continued welfare.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, presented his annual report, as follows:

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1911.

Receipts.

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1910		$ 860.94
Annual dues	$ 1216.23	
Sales of the Journal	303.55	
State National Bank dividends	127.93	
Contribution for the Library	100.00	1747.71
		$ 2608.65

Expenditures.

Printing of the Journal, Volume 31	$ 1096.80	
Sundry printing and addressing	53.12	
Editor's honorarium	100.00	
Balance to new account	1358.73	$ 2608.65

STATEMENT.

	1910	1911
Bradley Type Fund	$ 2,914.35	$ 3,052.29
Cotheal Fund	1,000.00	1,000.00
State National Bank Shares	1,950.00	1,950.00
Connecticut Savings Bank	6.90	
National Savings Bank	13.07	20.76
Interest, Cotheal Fund	284.71	330.05
	$ 6,169.03	$ 6,353.10

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The report of the Auditing Committee, Professors Torrey and Oertel, was presented by the Recording Secretary, as follows:

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Treasurer of this Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass books and have found all correct.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., April 8, 1912. CHARLES C. TORREY, HANNS OERTEL } *Auditors.*

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The report of the Librarian, Professor Albert T. Clay, was presented by Dr. Haas, as follows:

During the past year the books and pamphlets which have been received have been acknowledged and taken care of as previously. Aside from the cataloguing of serial publications no attempt has been made to classify the accessions.

I need not repeat what has previously been stated concerning the condition of disorder which exists in the Library, making it an almost impossible task to locate works, other than serial publications, desired by members. As the Society is aware, the serial publications have been catalogued by Miss Whitney and her associates under the direction of the former Librarian, Professor Oertel.

During the winter I began to solicit subscriptions from members of the Society to put the Library into shape. In answer to eight letters I received only two replies that seemed favorable, one of them being an inquiry; whereupon I concluded that if the money was to be raised, some other method would have to be adopted. I have brought this matter to the attention of the Directors, asking whether the funds of the Society will not permit appropriating a certain amount for the maintenance of the Library.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

The report of the Editors of the Journal, Professors Oertel and Jewett, was presented by Professor Oertel, as follows:

The date of publication of the four quarterly instalments has been changed from December, March, June, and September to January, April, July, and October, to make the publication of each volume fall within a single calendar year. The Editors respectfully request members of the Society to notify Professor J. C. Schwab, Librarian of Yale University, at once of any change in their mailing address. Failure to receive the current numbers of the Journal is in most cases due to neglect in keeping the mailing-list up-to-date. The Editors also request that all manuscript copy for the next volume of the Journal be handed to them immediately after the meeting. They further call the attention of contributors to the following rule adopted by the Directors: That each contributor to the Journal shall be allowed 10% of the cost of composition for author's alterations in proof, and that all cost of such alterations in excess of this allowance shall be charged against the author.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society (for convenience the names of those elected at a subsequent session are included in this list):

Corporate Members.

Mrs. Justin E. Abbott
Prof. Felix Adler
Mr. Ronald C. Allen
Rev. Dr. Floyd Appleton
Mrs. Daniel Bates
Mr. Granville Burrus
Rev. Mr. Wm. H. Du Bose
Mr. William T. Ellis
Dr. Henry C. Finkel
Prof. Alexander R. Gordon
Mrs. Ida M. Hanchett
Mr. Newton H. Harding
Dr. Archer M. Huntington
Mr. S. T. Hurwitz
Mrs. A. V. Williams Jackson
Dr. Hester D. Jenkins
Dr. Otto Lichti
Mr. H. Linfield
Dr. Daniel D. Luckenbill
Mr. C. V. McLean
Rev. Mr. Elias Margolis
Prof. Samuel A. B. Mercer
Mrs. Charles J. Morse
Prof. George A. Peckham
Dr. Arno Poebel
Dr. Caroline L. Ransom
Mr. G. A. Reichling
Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff
Mr. Martin Sprengling
Mr. Emanuel Sternheim
Mr. David E. Thomas
Rev. Mr. LeRoy Waterman
Mr. Arthur J. Westermayr
Mr. John G. White

ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1912-1913.

The committee appointed at Cambridge to nominate officers for the year 1912—1913, consisting of Professors Lanman and Lyon and Dr. Charles J. Ogden, reported through the chairman, Professor Lanman, and made the following nominations:

President—Professor George F. Moore, of Cambridge.

Vice-Presidents—Professor Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; Professor Robert F. Harper, of Chicago; Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor A. V. W. Jackson, of New York.
Recording Secretary—Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.
Treasurer—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.
Librarian—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.
Directors—The officers above named, and Professors Richard Gottheil, of New York; Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge; E. Washburn Hopkins and Hanns Oertel, of New Haven; Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore; George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr; Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York.

After presenting this report, Professor Lanman, speaking for himself, made the following comment:

For the first 64 years of our Society's history, it was the actual practise of the Society (except for some special reason) to re-elect a President at the expiration of his term. During these 64 years the office was held by as few as 9 men: Pickering, Edward Robinson, Salisbury, Woolsey, Hadley, S. Wells Williams, Whitney, Ward, and Gilman. Pickering presided from the founding until his death in 1846; Robinson, for 17 years, from Pickering's death until his own, in 1863. The brief incumbencies of Hadley and Williams were terminated by death; that of Whitney, by illness; and Gilman's incumbency of 13 annual terms, from 1893 to 1906, by advancing years. Mr. Salisbury held the office from 1863 to 1866, and again from 1873 to 1881, and his retirement was in both cases due, as I believe, to his natural disposition to shrink from publicity. As to the character of these admirable men, the discriminating remarks of Dr. Ward in our Journal (vol. 16, p. lix) may be consulted.

At the Springfield meeting of 1905 the nominating committee named Mr. Gilman for the office of President and recommended (JAOS. 26. 425) 'that in the future the President be requested to prepare an address on some phase of the progress or significance of Oriental studies, to be read at the annual meeting.' This recommendation was adopted. In the report of the nominating committee at the New Haven meeting of 1906 (JAOS. 27. 470) we read as follows:

> This Society has been peculiarly fortunate in its Presidents, and it has been accustomed to re-elect them from year to year so long as they were willing to serve it. In most of the other American learned societies the presidency is an honor which is annually conferred upon some distinguished scholar, and it was plainly in the mind of the Society in the plan which it adopted at Springfield that it should in future be so among us also. It is not proposed that any new rule be made, but merely that the usage hitherto prevailing shall not be regarded as having the force of prescription.

Professor Toy was elected President at that meeting. He was followed by Lanman in 1907, Hopkins in 1908, Ward in 1909, Bloomfield in 1910, and George F. Moore in 1911. It would manifestly have been most improper for me to say anything about this innovation at the time of my nomination or during my own incumbency; but now that I am not a candidate for re-election, I deem it to be for the interest of the Society that I should express my strong conviction about the matter.

The ability of the Society to command the unpaid services of a distinguished scholar who is at once an efficient chief executive and also a good

presiding officer is one of its most valuable resources. By handing around that office from one to another of all the more prominent members this valuable resource is, to my thinking, thrown away. Indeed, there is involved in this procedure a double loss: not only is the honor cheapened and lessened, but also the opportunity of the President to serve the Society effectively is reduced to the lowest limit.

The chief executive office, rightly administered, requires preparation and knowledge of the early history and precedents of the Society, such as it is by no means likely that a man chosen for one year will take the pains to acquire. He will think of the office simply as an honor, and of the service which it involves as confined to the sometimes exceedingly ill-performed duty of presiding for a dozen hours or so at our annual sessions. In fact, the President should be a watchful and active worker for the benefit of the Society throughout his whole term of office.

In a word, then, our recent innovation subordinates the best interests of the Society from the larger point of view, to considerations which must inevitably be primarily more or less personal and selfish.

To refer to the matter of the Vice-Presidency: it should be distinctly understood that the Constitution of the Society does not recognize any such thing as a First or Second or Third Vice-President and gives no countenance to the theory of promotion from the office of Vice-President to that of President, such as would seem to have been assumed in our most recent practise. On the other hand, the gift of the Vice-Presidency is indeed a recognition, on the part of the Society, of distinguished service to the cause of Oriental studies, such as it is altogether proper from time to time for us to bestow, and it is one which we can bestow without the serious disadvantage of the loss of continuity in the chief executive office.

It should also be added that other nominations than those presented may be made by any member; that the fullest weight has been given to the views of every member of the committee; and, in particular, that Professor Moore has been neither consulted nor informed concerning the intention of the committee to nominate him for another term.

At this point the President, Professor Moore, asked the Corresponding Secretary to take the chair and withdrew from the hall, in order that the Society might discuss the nominations without his being present. After discussion (remarks being made by Professors Bloomfield, Lanman, and H. P. Smith) the officers nominated were unanimously elected.

Professor Moore was then called in and again took the chair. Professor Lanman moved that it be recorded as the sense of the Society that the President should *not* be re-elected at the expiration of his term. [Note that the motion was made in a form adverse to his own recommendations.] Remarks on this motion were made by Professors Lanman, Barton, H. P. Smith, Bloomfield, Dr. Ogden, and Dr. Ward. It was decided to take a rising vote, the aye-and-no vote suggested by Professor Lanman being deemed needless. It appeared that 27 members were in favor of the resolution and 14 against it.

After a recess of ten minutes for tea, the President delivered the annual address, on 'The Mediterranean Civilization,' Vice-President Harper being in the chair. On the conclusion of the address, it was voted that the thanks of the Society be extended to Professor Moore for his interesting presentation of the subject.

The President again took the chair, and the Society proceeded to the hearing of the following communication:

Professor J. D. Prince, of Columbia University: A political hymn to Shamash.

The Society thereupon adjourned for the day.

SECOND SESSION.

The members re-assembled on Wednesday morning at 9:45 a. m. for the second session. The President, Professor Moore, was in the chair. The following papers were presented:

Rev. Dr. J. E. Abbott: The Marathi poet Tukaram. — Remarks by Professor Lanman.

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College: An archaic tablet in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. F. A. Cunningham, of Merchantville, N. J.: Studies in the chronology of ancient history. — Remarks by Professor Moore.

Dr. F. Edgerton, of Johns Hopkins University: Versions of the Vikramacarita. — Remarks by Professor Bloomfield.

Professor I. Friedlaender, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: Alexander the Great in the imagination of the East. — Remarks by Dr. Scott.

Professor M. L. Margolis, of Dropsie College: The mode of expressing the Hebrew *'ā'id* in the Greek Hexateuch. — Remarks by Professor Moore.

Mr. E. A. Gellot, of Ozone Park, N. Y.: Remarks on a few Hebrew words. — Remarks by Professor Barton.

Professor M. Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University: On the supposed 'Streitgedicht,' RV. 4. 42. — Remarks by Professor Lanman.

Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia University: Some Syro-Hittite figurines. — Remarks by Professor Max Müller and by Dr. Ward.

Professor C. R. Lanman, of Harvard University: Buddhaghosa's treatise on Buddhism entitled 'The Way of Salvation' — report of progress.

On suggestion of the Corresponding Secretary it was voted to send a greeting by cablegram to the International Congress of Orientalists, then assembled at Athens, and also to send the good wishes of the Society to a number of the oldest members: Professors Gildersleeve, Toy, and Goodwin, Mr. Van Name, and the Rev. Mr. Dodge.

At one o'clock the Society took a recess until half past two o'clock.

THIRD SESSION.

The Society met for the third session at 2:45 p. m. in the large lecture-room in Schermerhorn Hall, President Moore presiding. The following papers were presented:

Professor A. V. W. Jackson, of Columbia University: Notes on Baluchistan and its folk-poetry. (Illustrated with lantern photographs.)

Professor R. G. Kent, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Vedic 'path of the gods' and the Roman Pontifex.

Rev Dr. J. P. Peters, of New York: The cock in Oriental literature.

At four o'clock the Society adjourned to the room in Philosophy Hall in which the previous sessions had been held. The reading of communications was then resumed, as follows:

Dr. G. F. Black, of the New York Public Library: The present state of the Gipsy question. (Read by Professor Gottheil.)

Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University: A remarkable series of word-plays in the Second Isaiah.

Professor J. A. Montgomery, of the P. E. Divinity School, Germantown, Pa: A magical text and the original script of Mani.

Professor W. Max Müller, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Kunjāra language of Dār Fūr.

Rev. Mr. J. B. Nies, of Brooklyn: The sign *Gešpu (ru)*. — Remarks by Professor Max Müller.

At 5:50 p. m. the Society adjourned for the day.

FOURTH SESSION.

The fourth session was opened at 9 : 45 a. m. on Thursday morning, in Philosophy Hall, with the President in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary reported for the Directors that the next annual meeting would be held at Philadelphia, Pa., on March 25, 26, and 27, 1913. He reported further that the Directors had appointed Professors Oertel and Torrey as Editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The President then announced the following appointments:

Committee of Arrangements for 1913: Professors Jastrow and R. G. Kent, and the Corresponding Secretary.

Committee on Nominations: Professors Montgomery, Gottheil, and Barret.

Auditors: Professors Oertel and Torrey.

Committee to prepare a resolution of thanks: Dr. Peters and Dr. Scott.

The Society then proceeded to the hearing of the following communications:

Dr. C. J. Ogden, of Columbia University: The story of Udayana as used in the dramas of Harsha.

Miss E. S. Ogden, of Albany: Notes on the so-called Hieroglyphic Tablet in *TSBA.*, vol. 6, p. 454.

Professor S. G. Oliphant, of Grove City College, Grove City, Pa.: Sanskrit *dhenā* = Avestan *daēnā* = Lithuanian *dainà*.

Rev. Dr. A. Yohannan, of Columbia University, and Professor Jackson: On four rare manuscripts of the Persian romantic poet Nizami.

At eleven o'clock the Society took a recess of five minutes, to permit the Directors to assemble for a brief meeting.

After the recess the Corresponding Secretary announced that the Directors recommended four additional persons for election to corporate membership, and these were unanimously elected. (Their names have been included in the list on p. v, above.)

The reading of papers was then resumed, in the following order:

Rev. Dr. F. A. Vanderburgh, of Columbia University: Four Babylonian tablets from the Prince Collection of Columbia University.

Dr. A. Poebel, of Johns Hopkins University: The Sumerian incantation *CT.* 16. 7. 260—277.

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College: Recent researches into the Sumerian calendar. — Remarks by Dr. Poebel.

Professor I. Friedlaender, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: Modern Hebrew literature.

Dr. F. Edgerton, of Johns Hopkins University: Vedic *sabhā*. — Remarks by Dr. Abbott.

Professor J. A. Montgomery, of the P. E. Divinity School, Germantown, Pa.: Some emendations to Sachau's Ahikar Papyri.

Through its chairman, Dr. Peters, the committee appointed to prepare an expression of the thanks of the Society presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

That the thanks of the American Oriental Society be extended to the President and Trustees of Columbia University for the hospitality of lodgment, to the Women's Graduate Club for its generous surrender of its spacious room for the sessions and for its kind ministrations, and to the Committee of Arrangements and the local members for the thoughtful provision they have made for the entertainment of the members.

The Society adjourned at 12:40 p. m., to meet in Philadelphia on March 25, 1913.

The following communications were presented by title:

Dr. F. R. Blake, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Hebrew Chatephs; (b) Reduplication in Tagalog.

Professor M. Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) On the 'superfluous' *r* of Sanskrit *chardis*; (b) On the theory of haplology as an aid to text-criticism.

Dr. E. W. Burlingame, of the University of Pennsylvania: (a) *Dukkhaṃ ariyasaccaṃ* quoted in Bidpai's fables; (b) Buddhaghosa's Dhammapada Commentary.

Professor C. E. Conant, of Indiana University: Final diphthongs in Indonesian languages.

Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia University: An amulet from Irbid with a Babylonian and a Phoenician inscription.

Dr. Lucia Grieve, of New York: The Hindu goddess Devī.

Dr. Mary I. Hussey, of Cambridge, Mass.: Tablets from Dréhem in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio.

Professor S. A. B. Mercer, of Western Theological Seminary: The oath in Sumerian inscriptions.

Professor I. M. Price, of the University of Chicago: The published texts from Dréhem.

Mr. G. P. Quackenbos, of Columbia University: The legend of the demon Mahiṣa in Sanskrit literature.

Rev. Dr. W. Rosenau, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The argument *a fortiori* in Biblical and post-Biblical literature; (b) Old Testament sources of parts of the apocryphal Esther.

Mr. E. B. Soane, of Southern Kurdistan: Some investigations on the Iranian languages of Kurdistan.

Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University: The original language of the Odes of Solomon.

List of Members.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

M. Auguste Barth, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.

Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, C. I. E., Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.

James Burgess, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.

Prof. Charles Clermont-Ganneau, 1 Avenue de l'Alma, Paris. 1909.

Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, Harboro' Grange, Ashton-on-Mersey, England. 1907.

Prof. Berthold Delbrück, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.

Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.

Canon Samuel R. Driver, Oxford, England. 1909.

Prof. Adolph Erman, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr. 72. 1903.

Prof. Richard Garbe, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.

Prof. Karl F. Geldner, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.

Prof. Ignaz Goldziher, vii Holló-Utcza 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.

George A. Grierson, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.

Prof. Ignazio Guidi, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.

Prof. Hermann Jacobi, University of Bonn, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany. 1909.

Prof. Hendrik Kern, 45 Willem Barentz-Straat, Utrecht, Netherlands. 1893.

Prof. Gaston Maspero, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.

Prof. Eduard Meyer, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mommsenstr. 7) 1908.

Prof. Theodor Nöldeke, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbsgasse 16.) 1878.

Prof. Hermann Oldenberg, University of Göttingen, Germany. 1910. (27/29 Nikolausberger Weg.)

Prof. Eduard Sachau, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.

Emile Senart, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François Ier, Paris, France. 1908.
Prof. Archibald H. Sayce, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
Prof. Julius Wellhausen, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weberstr. 18 a.) 1902.
Prof. Ernst Windisch, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitätsstr. 15.) 1890. [Total: 26]

II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with * are those of life members.

Rev. Dr. Justin Edwards Abbott, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.
Mrs. Justin E. Abbott, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.
Dr. Cyrus Adler, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
Prof. Felix Adler, 33 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1912.
William E. M. Aitken, Courtright, Ontario, Canada. 1910.
Ronald C. Allen, 148 South Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
F. Sturges Allen, 246 Central St., Springfield, Mass. 1904.
Miss May Alice Allen, Northampton, Mass. 1906.
Rev. Dr. Floyd Appleton, 230 New Jersey Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
Prof. William R. Arnold, (Harvard Univ.), 25 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Prof. Kanichi Asakawa (Yale Univ.), 228 Park St., New Haven, Conn. 1904.
Rev. Edward E. Atkinson, 94 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. Leroy Carr Barret, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
Mrs. Daniel Bates, 35 Brewster Street, Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
Prof. L. W. Batten, 418 W. 20th St., New York. 1894.
Prof. Harlan P. Beach (Yale Univ.), Grove St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D.D., Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. 1900.
Dr. Harold H. Bender, Princeton University, Princeton New Jersey. 1906.
Rev. Joseph F. Berg, Port Richmond, S. I., N. Y. 1893.
Prof. George R. Berry, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. Julius A. Bewer (Union Theological Seminary), Broadway and 120 th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. John Binney, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown. Conn. 1887.
Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Bishop, 500 West 122 d St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
Dr. George F. Black, N. Y. Public Library, Fifth Ave. and 42 d St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
Dr. Frank Ringgold Blake, Windsor Hills, Baltimore, Md.
Rev. Philip Blanc, St. Johns Seminary, Brighton, Md. 1907.
Rev. Dr. David Blaustein, The New York School of Philanthropy, 105 East 22 d St., New York, N. Y. 1891.
Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1898.
Francis B. Blodgett, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1906.

Prof. Carl August Blomgren, Augustana College and Theol. Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. 1900.

Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.

Dr. Alfred Boissier, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.

Dr. George M. Bolling (Catholic Univ. of America), 1784 Corcoran St., Washington, D. C. 1896.

Prof. Cornelius B. Bradley, 106 Prospect Ave., Madison, Wis. 1910.

Rev. Dr. Dan Freeman Bradley, 2905 West 14 th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1911.

Prof. Renward Brandstetter, Reckenbühl 18, Villa Johannes, Lucerne, Switzerland. 1908.

Prof. James Henry Breasted, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.

Prof. Chas. A. Briggs (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120 th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.

Prof. C. A. Brodie Brockwell, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. 1906.

Pres. Francis Brown (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120 th St., New York, N. Y. 1881.

Rev. George William Brown, Jubbulpore, C. P., India. 1909.

Prof. Rudolph E. Brünnow (Princeton Univ.) 49 Library Place, Princeton, N. J. 1911.

Prof. Carl Darling Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.

Hammond H. Buck, Division Sup't. of Schools, Alfonso, Cavite Provinces, Philippine Islands. 1908.

Alexander H. Bullock, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.

Dr. Eugene Watson Burlingame, 20 Graduate House, West Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.

Charles Dana Burrage, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.

Granville Burrus, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.

Prof. Howard Crosby Butler, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.

Rev. John Campbell, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.

Pres. Franklin Carter, LL.D., Williamstown, Mass.

Dr. Paul Carus, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.

Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.

Rev. John L. Chandler, Madura, Southern India. 1899.

Miss Eva Channing, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.

Dr. F. D. Chester, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.

Walter E. Clark, 37 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.

Prof. Albert T. Clay (Yale Univ.) New Haven, Conn. 1907.

*Alexander Smith Cochran, Yonkers, N. Y. 1908.

*George Wetmore Colles, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.

Prof. Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.

Prof. C. Everett Conant, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. 1905.

Rev. William Merriam Crane, Richmond, Mass. 1902.

Francis A. Cunningham, 508 W. Maple St., Merchantville, N. J. 1912.

Rev. Charles W. Currier, 913 Sixth St., Washington, D. C. 1904.

Dr. Harold S. Davidson, 1700 North Payson St., Baltimore, Md. 1908.

Prof. John D. Davis, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.

Prof. Alfred L. P. Dennis, Madison, Wis. 1900.

James T. Dennis, University Club, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
Mrs. Francis W. Dickins, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
Rev. D. Stuart Dodge, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
Rev. Wm. Haskell Du Bose, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.
Dr. Harry Westbrook Dunning, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.
Dr. Franklin Edgerton, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1910.
Prof. Frederick G. C. Eiselen, Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill. 1901.
Mrs. William M. Ellicott, 106 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park, Md. 1897.
William T. Ellis, Swarthmore, Pa. 1912.
Prof. Levi H. Elwell, (Amherst College), 5 Lincoln Ave., Amherst, Mass. 1883.
Dr. Aaron Ember, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1902.
Rev. Prof. C. P. Fagnani, 606 W. 122d, St., New York, N. Y. 1901.
Prof. Edwin Whitfield Fay (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.
Prof. Henry Ferguson, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1876.
Dr. John C. Ferguson, Peking, China. 1900.
Dr. Henry C. Finkel, District National Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1912.
Rev. Wallace B. Fleming, Maplewood, N. J. 1906.
Rev. Theodore C. Foote, Rowland Park, Maryland. 1900.
Prof. Hughell E. W. Fosbroke, 9 Acacia St., Cambridge, Mass. 1907.
Dr. Leo J. Frachtenberg, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. Jas. Everett Frame (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
Dr. Carl Frank, 23 Montague St., London, W. C., England. 1909.
Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, 356, 2nd Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909.
Prof. Israel Friedlaender (Jewish Theological Sem.), 61 Hamilton Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.
Robert Garrett, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
Miss Marie Gelbach, Prospect Terrace, Park Hill, Yonkers, N. Y. 1909.
Eugene A. Gellot, 290 Broadway, N. Y., 1911.
Prof. Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1858.
Geo. Wm. Gilmore, 11 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y. 1909.
†Prof. William Watson Goodwin (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge. Mass. 1857.
Prof. Alexander R. Gordon, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada. 1912.
Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
Prof. Elihu Grant (Smith College), Northampton, Mass. 1907.
Mrs. Ethel Watts Mumford Grant, 31 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
Dr. Louis H. Gray, 291 Woodside Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.
Mrs. Louis H. Gray, 291 Woodside Ave., Newark, N. J. 1907.
Miss Lucia C. Graeme Grieve, Martindale Depot, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. Louis Grossmann (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.
Rev. Dr. W. M. Groton, Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, 5000 Woodlawn Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.

*Dr. George C. O. Haas, 254 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
Miss Luise Haessler, 1230 Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909
Mrs. Ida M. Hanchett, care of Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Nebraska. 1912.
Dr. Carl C. Hansen, Si Phya Road, Bangkok, Siam. 1902.
Newton H. Harding, 110 N. Pine Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
Paul V. Harper, 59th St. and Lexington Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1906.
Prof. Robert Francis Harper, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
Prof. Samuel Hart, D. D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1879.
Prof. Paul Haupt (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.
Prof. Hermann V. Hilprecht, Upland, Delaware Co., Pa. 1887.
Rev. Dr. William J. Hinke, 28 Court St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. Friedrich Hirth (Columbia Univ.), 401 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
Prof. Charles T. Hock (Theological Sem.), 220 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1903.
*Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
Rev. Dr. Hugo W. Hoffmann, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
*Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
Wilson S. Howell, 416 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1911.
Henry R. Howland, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
Miss Sarah Fenton Hoyt, 17 East 95th St., New York, N. Y. 1910.
Dr. Edward H. Hume, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.
Miss Annie K. Humpherey, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.
Dr. Archer M. Huntington, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
S. T. Hurwitz, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
Miss Mary Inda Hussey, 4 Bryant St., Cambridge, Mass. 1901.
*James Hazen Hyde, 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.
Prof. Henry Hyvernat (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
Mrs. A. V. Williams Jackson, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
Prof. Morris Jastrow (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St. Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
Dr. Hester D. Jenkins, 122 Pierrepont St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
Rev. Henry F. Jenks, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.
Prof. James Richard Jewett, (Harvard Univ.) Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
Charles Johnston, 387 Ocean Ave., Flatbush, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
Prof. Christopher Johnston (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 21 West 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
Arthur Berriedale Keith, Colonial Office, London, S. W., England. 1908.
Prof. Maximilian L. Kellner, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
Miss Eliza H. Kendrick, 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.

Prof. Charles Foster Kent (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.

Prof. Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.

Prof. George L. Kittredge (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.

Miss Lucile Kohn, 1138 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1907.

Richard Lee Kortkamp, Hillsboro, Ill. 1911.

Rev. Dr. M. G. Kyle, 1132 Arrow St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.

Prof. George T. Ladd (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

M. A. Lane, 451 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1907.

*Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanman (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.

Dr. Berthold Laufer, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.

Levon J. K. Levonian, Syrian Protest. College, Beirut, Syria. 1909.

Dr. Otto Lichti, 146 Tremont St., Ansonia, Conn. 1912.

H. Linfield, 52 Middle Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.

Prof. Charles E. Little (Vanderbilt Univ.), 19 Lindsley Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.

Prof. Enno Littmann, Schweighäuser Str. 24, II, Strassburg i. Els. 1912.

Percival Lowell, 53 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.

Dr. Daniel D. Luckenbill, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.

Dr. Albert Howe Lybyer, 153 South Cedar Ave., Oberlin, Ohio. 1909.

*Benjamin Smith Lyman, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.

Prof. David Gordon Lyon, Harvard Univ. Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.

Albert Morton Lythgoe, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.

Prof. Duncan B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.

William E. W. Mackinlay, 1st Lieut. 11th U. S. Cavalry, Fort Ethan Allen, Vt. 1904.

C. V. McLean, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York. 1912.

Rev. Dr. Albert A. Madsen, 22 Courtney Ave., Newburgh, N. Y. 1906.

Prof. Herbert W. Magoun, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.

Prof. Max L. Margolis, 1519 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.

Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.

Prof. Winfred Robert Martin, Hispanic Society of America, West 156th St., New York, N. Y. 1889.

Isaac G. Matthews (McMaster Univ.), 509 Brunswick Ave., Toronto, Canada. 1906.

C. O. Sylvester Mawson, Box 886, Springfield, Mass. 1910.

Prof. Samuel A. B. Mercer (Western Theol. Sem.), 2735 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.

J. Renwick Metheny, "Druid Hill," Beaver Falls, Pa. 1907.

Martin A. Meyer, 2109 Baker St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.

Dr. Truman Michelson, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.

Mrs. Helen Lovell Million, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
Prof. Lawrence H. Mills (Oxford Univ.), 218 Iffley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
Prof. J. A. Montgomery (P. E. Divinity School), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.
Prof. George F. Moore (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
Dr. Justin Hartley Moore, 549 Springdale Ave, East Orange, N. J. 1904.
*Mrs. Mary H. Moore, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
Prof. Edward S. Morse, Salem, Mass. 1894.
Mrs. Charles J. Morse, 1825 Asbury Ave., Evanston, Ill. 1912.
Rev. Hans K. Moussa, 316 Third St., Watertown, Wis. 1906.
Prof. W. Max Müller, 4308 Market St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.
Mrs. Albert H. Munsell, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
Dr. William Muss-Arnolt, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.
Rev. Jas. B. Nies, Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
Rev. William E. Nies, Port Washington, Long Island, N. Y. 1908.
Rt. Rev. Mgr. Dennis J. O'Connell, 800 Cathedral Place, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
Prof. Hanns Oertel (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
Dr. Charles J. Ogden, 250 West 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
Miss Ellen S. Ogden, St. Agnes School, Albany, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. Samuel G. Oliphant, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.
Prof. Albert TenEyck Olmstead, 911 Lowry St., Columbia, Mo. 1909.
Prof. Paul Oltramare (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.
*Robert M. Olyphant, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
Rev. Dr. Charles Ray Palmer, 562 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
Prof. Walter M. Patton, Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada. 1903.
Dr. Charles Peabody, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Prof. George A. Peckham, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.
Prof. Ismar J. Peritz, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. Edward Delavan Perry (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
Walter Petersen, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas. 1909.
Prof. David Philipson (Hebrew Union College), 3947 Beechwood Ave., Rose Hill, Cincinnati, O. 1889.
Dr. Arno Poebel, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.
Dr. William Popper, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
Prof. Ira M. Price, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
Prof. John Dyneley Prince (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
George Payn Quackenbos, 331 West 28th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
Dr. Caroline L. Ransom, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1912.

G. A. Reichling, 466 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.

Prof. George Andrew Reisner, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1891.

Bernard Revel, 2113 North Camac St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.

Prof. Philip M. Rhinelander (Episcopal Theological Sem.), 26 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1908.

Ernest C. Richardson, Library of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1900.

Edward Robinson, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1894.

Rev. Dr. George Livingston Robinson (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 4 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.

Hon. William Woodville Rockhill, American Embassy, Constantinople, Turkey. 1880.

Prof. James Hardy Ropes (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.

Dr. William Rosenau, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.

Rev. Dr. Edmund S. Rousmaniere, 56 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1911.

Robert Hamilton Rucker, 27 Pine Street, New York, N. Y. 1911.

Miss Adelaide Rudolph, 2024 East 115th St., Cleveland, O. 1894.

Mrs. Janet E. Ruutz-Rees, Rosemary Cottage, Greenwich, Conn. 1897.

Mrs. Edw. E. Salisbury, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.

Pres. Frank K. Sanders, Washburn College, Topeka, Kans. 1897.

Johann F. Scheltema, care of Messrs. Kerkhoven & Co., 115 Heerengracht, Amsterdam, Holland. 1906.

George V. Schick, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1909.

Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.

Wilfred H. Schoff, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.

Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., Peking, China. 1899.

Dr. Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.

Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, 1 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1895.

*Mrs. Samuel Bryan Scott (*née* Morris), 124 Highland Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.

Rev. John L. Scully, Church of the Holy Trinity, 312-332 East 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1908.

Rev. Dr. William G. Seiple, 217 Turner St., Allentown, Pa. 1902.

Prof. Charles N. Shepard (General Theological Sem.), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.

Charles C. Sherman, 614 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1904.

*John R. Slattery, 14 bis rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903

Major C. C. Smith, P. S., Manila, Philippine Islands. 1907.

Prof. Henry Preserved Smith, Theological School, Meadville, Pa. 1877.

Prof. John M. P. Smith, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.

Ely Bannister Soane, care of Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, SW., England. 1911.

Prof. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.

Martin Sprengling, care of Prof. R F. Harper, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.

Rev. Dr. James D. Steele, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.

Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Mayer Sulzberger, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
Prof. George Sverdrup, Jr., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
David E. Thomas, 6407 Ingleside Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
Eben Francis Thompson, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
Prof. Henry A. Todd (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
Olaf A. Toffteen, 2726 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
*Prof. Charles C. Torrey, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
Prof. Crawford H. Toy (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
Rev. Sydney N. Ussher, St. Bartholomew's Church, 44th St. & Madison Ave., N. Y. 1909.
Rev. Hervey Boardman Vanderbogart, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1911.
Rev. Dr. Frederick Augustus Vanderburgh, 53 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y. 1908.
Addison Van Name (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
Miss Susan Hayes Ward, The Stone House, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.
Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.
Miss Cornelia Warren, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
Prof. William F. Warren (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
Rev. Le Roy Waterman, 5815 Drexal Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
Prof. J. E. Werren, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Jens Iverson Westengard (Harvard Univ.), Asst. Gen. Adviser to H.S.M. Govt., Bangkok, Siam. 1903.
Arthur J. Westermayr, 100 Lenox Road, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
Pres. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
Prof. John Williams White (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge Mass. 1877.
John G. White, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
*Miss Margaret Dwight Whitney, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
Hon. E. T. Williams, U. S. Legation, Peking, China. 1901.
Prof. Frederick Wells Williams (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
Dr. Talcott Williams, Columbia Univ., New York, N. Y. 1884.
Rev. Dr. William Copley Winslow, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. John E. Wishart, So. Pasadena, California. 1911.
Henry B. Witton, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
Dr. Louis B. Wolfenson, 1620 Madison St., Madison, Wis. 1904.
Prof. Irving F. Wood, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.
William W. Wood, Shirley Lane, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
Prof. James H. Woods (Harvard Univ.), 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.
Dr. William H. Worrell, 53 Tremont Street, Hartford, Conn. 1910.
Rev. Dr. Abraham Yohannan, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
Rev. Robert Zimmermann, S. J., Niederwallstrasse 8—9, Berlin, SW. 19, Germany. 1911. (Total: 296.)

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WASHINGTON, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution.
Bureau of American Ethnology.
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K. u. K. Kaiserliche Direction der K. u. K. Hofbibliothek. (Josephsplatz 1.)
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PRAGUE: Königlich Böhmische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
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Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)
Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)
GERMANY, BERLIN: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Bibliothek.
Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen. (Am Zeughause 1.)
DARMSTADT: Grossherzogliche Hofbibliothek.
GÖTTINGEN: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
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Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.
TÜBINGEN: Library of the University.
GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. (22 Albemarle St., W.)
Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, S.W.)
Society of Biblical Archaeology. (37 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)
Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.)
ITALY, BOLOGNA: Reale Accademia delle Scienze dell' Istituto di Bologna.
FLORENCE: Società Asiatica Italiana.
ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.

Some Difficult Passages in the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge.—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

I. — One of the most difficult passages in the cuneiform account of the Deluge is the beginning of the story of the Babylonian Noah, contained in lines 11—15 of my edition.[1] This section begins: *Âl Sûrîpak, âlu ša tîdûšu atta, ina kišâdi nâr Purâti šaknu,* which is generally translated: The city of Suripak, the city which thou knowest, is situated on the bank of the Euphrates; see *e. g.* Geo. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, edited by A. H. Sayce (London, 1880) p. 279. Similarly Jules Oppert, *Le poème chaldéen du déluge* (Paris, 1885) p. 7 rendered: *Il est une ville de Surippak, que tu connais; elle est située sur les bords de l'Euphrate.* François Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire* (Paris, 1880) p. 601 has: *La ville de Schourippak ville que tu la connais sur l'Euphrate existe.*

The site of the ancient city of Surippak, the most primitive Sumerian settlement known to us, was discovered, eight years ago, in the ruins of *Fâra*, N of *Warka* = Erech, SE of *Nuffar* = Nippur.[2] At the time of the Flood, Suripak was situated on the Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf extended as far north as Suripak. Just as the Crododile Lake and the Bitter Lakes in Egypt formed the northern end of the Red Sea at the time of the Exodus,[3] so Lake *Nájaf*, which is now practically dry,[4] was the northern end of the Persian Gulf at the time of the Flood, or at the time when the story of the Flood originated in the third prechristian millennium (*cf.* UG 191). Ea bade Hasîs-atra float his ship near the sea,[5] *i. e.* at the former northern end of the Persian Gulf, W of Suripak. The Euphrates emptied at that time into Lake *Nájaf.* Abulfedâ[6] states that according to the ancients the Persian Gulf formerly stretched up to *Ḥîrah* on Lake Najaf, *i. e.* about 30 miles S

of Babylon.[7] Ḥîrah (*cf.* BL 118, n.*) was situated at 32° N, 44° 20′ E, about 4 miles SE of the modern town *Nájaf.*

Jensen, in his *Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890) p. 369 translated: *Surippak, eine Stadt, die du kennst — am Ufer des Euphrat ist sie gelegen.* But this would be in Assyrian: *ina kišâdi* (or *axi*) *Purâti šakin,* not *šaknu.* The final *u* in *šaknu* shows that this is a relative clause (BA **1**, 10). We have here two coördinated relative clauses: *âlu ša tîdûšu atta,* the city which thou knowest, and *ša ina kišâdi nâr Purâti šaknu,* which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates river; but the relative pronoun is not repeated before the second clause. Similarly we have in the last paragraph but one of the Code of Hammurapi:[8] *çimma^m^ marça^m^ ša lâ ipášaxu, âsû qiribšu lâ ilâmadu, ina çimdi lâ inâxušu, kîma nišik mûti^m^ lâ innasaxu,* a malignant sore[9] which does not heal, whose nature a physician cannot learn, which he cannot soothe with a bandage, which like a deadly bite cannot be extirpated.[10] *Tîdûšu atta* cannot be regarded as a parenthesis;[11] in that case we should expect *tîdîšu atta,* not *tîdûšu.* The rendering *The city which, as thou knowest, lies on the Euphrates* (RBA 495; *cf.* JAOS **25**, 79) is therefore inaccurate.

II. — The following two lines, *âlu šû lâbîr-ma ilâni qirbúšu ana šakân abûbi ûbla libbašunu ilâni rabûti,* are generally translated: That city was old, and the gods therein—their heart induced the great gods to make a deluge, or cyclone;[12] but *ilâni rabûti,* at the end, must be regarded as accusative depending on *ûbla.* The two lines are equivalent to *libbu ša ilâni qirib âl Šûrîpak ûbla ilâni rabûti ana šakân abûbi,* the heart of the gods in Suripak induced the great gods to make a cyclone. The *greads gods* are here distinguished from the local *gods of Suripak.*[13] *Ilâni* before *qirbúšu* is a *casus pendens*;[14] the suffix of *libbašunu* refers to *ilâni qirbúšu.*[15] *Ilâni rabûti,* however, does not stand in apposition to *ilâni qirbúšu,* but is an accusative depending on *ûbla.* The queens induced the great kings to make a fight would be in Assyrian: *šarrâti ana epêš tuqunti*[16] *ûbla libbušin šarrâni rabûti*; and The queen induced the great king to make a fight would be: *šarratu ana epêš tuqunti ûbla libbuša šarra rabâ.*

The accusative *ilâni rabûti* is on a par with the suffix *-ni* in *minâ libbaša ûblânî,* What does she want me to do? in the

Descent of Istar (obv. l. 31).[17] Jensen (KB 6, 83) translates: *Was hat ihr "Inneres (hervor)gebracht," was hat [ihren] Bau[ch bewegt]?* and in the commentary (KB 6, 395): *Was hat ihr Inneres mir hervorgebracht = Was hat sie gegen mich ersonnen?* Ungnad (TB 65) disregards the suffix *-nî*, translating: *Wozu hat ihr Herz sie veranlaßt, wozu hat ihr Sinn sie getrieben!* Delitzsch (HW 231[a]) renders: *Womit hat sich ihr Herz gegen mich getragen? d. h. Was will sie von mir? Ûblánî* cannot mean *carried against me*, but only *carried me.*[18] Similarly Nebuchadnezzar (iii, 19) says: *ana ebêšu Esagila našânî libbi*, my heart induced me to build Esagil.[19] Delitzsch (HW 484[b]; *cf.* 231[a]. 317[a]) has called attention to the fact that this phrase corresponds to the Biblical *nĕsa'ô libbô*, his heart stirred him up (GB 518[a], i).[20] In *uštâbil karassu* (or *çurrušu*) we have according to Delitzsch (HW 7[a]) not the stem *u̯abâlu*, to bring, but the stem *abâlu* (AJSL **26**, 235) to be full; see, however, KB **6**, 320; SFG 66, 3. These phrases were discussed by Guyard in §§ 88 and 96 of his *Notes de lexicographie assyrienne* (Paris, 1883). *Abâlu* and *našû* in this connection correspond to the Arabic *ḥámala* (*ḥámalahu 'álâ 'l-'amri = 'aḡrâhu*).

Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch* (Leipzig, 1903) p. 84 renders: *Surippak, die Stadt, welche du kennst, [welche am Ufer] des Euphrat gelegen ist, jene Stadt besteht seit alters, die Götter in ihr. Einen Flutsturm zu machen trieb ihr Herz an die großen Götter*; but *ilâni qirbúšu* must be combined with the following line. Jensen (KB **6**, 231) gives the meaningless translation: *die Götter in ihr die Sturmflut zu machen "brachte hervor" ihr Herz, die großen Götter.* The verb *abâlu* does not mean *to produce*, but *to induce.* According to Jensen (KB **6**, 320, below; *cf.* p. 316) *libbu* in this connection does not mean *heart*, but *abdominal cavity* (cf. JBL **19**, 76, n. 99). I have discussed some of Jensen's peculiar renderings in JAOS **22**, 19 (*cf.* also **16**, cxi; AJSL **19**, 199;[21] **26**, 15. 24; ZDMG **63**, 517).[22]

Ungnad's *die Götter standen ihr nahe* (TB 50; UG 53) is very improbable. *Qarâbu* means in Assyrian *to attack* (cf. Syr. *ittaqraḇ*, to be attacked; contrast AJSL **23**, 243) and *karâbu* (= *barâku*) means *to be propitious, to bless* (GB 358[b]). Nor does Zimmern's former reading *lâ bîr*, corrupt, lit. *impure*,[23] instead of *lâbîr*, old, commend itself (*cf.* KB **6**, 482, l. 1). I pointed out

in BA **1**, 325 that *lâbîru*, old, was probably a compound with prefixed *lâ*, not; cf. *barâru*, to be bright (HW 187[b]) and Heb. *bar*, pure. I mentioned Zimmern's conjecture in my (unpublished) translation (printed in 1895) of the cuneiform account of the Deluge, which I had prepared for the third edition of Schrader's KAT, and Jastrow adopted it in RBA 495 (*cf.* JAOS **25**, 70; ZDMG **64**, 711, l. 18).

If my translation of ll. 13. 14 of the Flood Tablet is correct, the great gods were induced by the local gods of Suripak[13] to send a cyclone. Just as we have here the gods of Suripak, so we find the gods of Erech in the fragment K 3200 (NE 51, 11) which I translated in JAOS **22**, 8 (*cf.* ZDMG **64**, 712, l. 8).[24]

III. — A desperate passage is the beginning of l. 15. This is preserved exclusively in the Babylonian fragment S. P. II, 960 (NE 121, 15) which I published thirty years ago, from a copy made by Pinches, in my inaugural lecture *Der keilinschriftliche Sintflutbericht* (Leipzig, 1881). I read there *mâla bašû*, as many as there were; but *bašû* would be written *ba-šu-u*, and if *ilâni rabûti* and *mâla bašû* belonged together, *ilâni rabûti* would not stand at the end of the preceding line.

In his *Kosmologie* (1890) Jensen read *ibášû*, there were their father Anu, &c; and Zimmern made the same mistake in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) p. 423. Even Ungnad (TB 50) rendered: *und zwar waren es.*[25] Also R. W. Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1908) has: *There were their father Anu*, while he translates the preceding lines: *Shuripak, a city which thou knowest, which lies on the bank of the Euphrates. That city was very old, and the heart of the gods within it drove them to send a flood, the great gods.* But *ibášû* would mean *they will be*, not *they were.* The passage NE 67, 68,[26] to which Jensen referred in his commentary, is quite different: there *ibášî* means *there will be.* Similarly *kîma ili tabášî* (NE 3, 7; 12, 34) means *thou wilt be like a god*, not *thou art like a god*, as Jensen (KB **6**, 127, 34) and Ungnad (UG 12, 184) translate.[27] I added the translation *du wirst sein wie Gott* (NE 12, below) in 1883, in order to call attention to the similarity with *Eritis sicut Deus* in Gen. **3**, 5.[28] Jastrow has since shown that the story of Eabani (or *Engidu*; cf. ZDMG **64**, 712, n. 2)

and the Woman is the prototype of the Biblical legend of the Fall of Man,[29] which symbolizes the first connubial intercourse.[30]

Nor can we read, with KB **6**, 230, *qir-ba-šu* at the beginning of l. 15. In the first place, we should expect *qirbúšu*, as in l. 13, and then, the characters *ba-šu* are extremely doubtful. According to iv R[2] the two signs are *is* (*giš*) and *mal* (*kit, bit*). A. Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 33 supplied at the beginning of l. 15: *es hielten Rat*, they held a council, took counsel together, Heb. *ṯaṯ-ṯiṯṯa'ăçû* (2 Chr. **30**, 23). This would be in Assyrian: *imdálkû* for *imtáliku*.[31] Ungnad (UG 53, below) is inclined to supply *es treten zusammen*, they assemble. But the traces preserved do not lend themselves either to *imdálkû*, *imtálikû*, they took counsel, or to *paxrû*, *iptáxrû*, they assembled (NE 49, 197; 141, 162).

I am inclined to read *u-ka-pid*; the traces before *mal* = *bit*, *pit* may be the remnant of the Babylonian character for *ka*. Professor R. F. Harper, who is working in the British Museum at present, has been kind enough to re-examine this tablet, and he informed me (on April 4, 1911) that the reading [*u-k*]*a-pid* was at least as good as any other. Winckler *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch* (1903) p. 84 read *bît abišunu*, their family, which is impossible. *Ukâpid*, for *ukappid*, would mean *he planned*; so the meaning would be: It was planned by their father Anu (lit. *es plante es ihr Vater Anu*). I have shown in JAOS **25**, 73 (1904) that we must read in l. 5 of the Flood Tablet: *gummur ka*[*pâd*] *libbi ana epêš tuqunti*,[16] Whole is the striving of the heart to make war, or *eager is the desire of thy heart to do battle.*

Assyr. *kapâdu* means especially *to plot*, to conspire, to bring on some disaster. In Syriac this stem appears, with partial assimilation of the *d* to the *p*, as *kappiṯ*, to knot, to tie in a knot. The Qal is used of plants forming knots; *cf.* German *Fruchtknoten* and Goethe's translation of Cant. **2**, 13: *der Feigenbaum knotet* (BL 105) for Heb. *hat-têناh ḥanĕṯâh paggêhâ*. German *Knoten* is connected with *Knospe*, *Knopf*, *Knorren*, *Knödel*, *Knute*. Luther has Ex. **9**, 31: *der Flachs* (*hatte*) *Knoten gewonnen* for Heb. *hap-pištâh giḇ'ól*; AV, the flax was bolled; the noun *boll*, which is merely an earlier spelling of *bowl*, denotes a rounded pod or capsule. For the semasiological development *cf.* Heb. *qašár*, to tie, to conspire. In post-

Biblical Hebrew this verb means also *to resolve.* For the post-Biblical noun *qäšr*, knot, *cf.* Assyr. *qiçru*, knot, Ethiop. *queçr.* In Arabic we find *kábada*, to plan (syn. *qáçada*) which may stand for *kápada* with partial assimilation of the *p* to the *d*;[32] it can hardly be a denominative verb derived from *kábid*, liver. The original form of *kabid*, liver, was *kabit*, just as Heb. *abâd*, to perish, was originally *abat* (BA 1, 2).

IV. — In ll. 19—22 of the account of the Deluge we read that Ea, the Lord of Unfathomable Wisdom, sat (in counsel)[33] with the gods and revealed their plan to the reed-huts,[34] saying: Reed-hut, reed-hut! brick-house, brick-house! Reed-hut, hear! brick-house, pay attention! This has been correctly explained in HW 327[b]. The reed-hut denotes the hovels of the lower classes, and the brick-house represents the dwellings of the upper classes;[35] so Ea announced the plan of the great gods to rich and poor alike, but only to Hasîs-atra he gave in a dream special indications showing him how he might save himself. All people could see that a seismic catastrophe was imminent,[36] but Hasîs-atra was the only one who took the necessary precautions.

Assyr. *qiqqišu* is a synonym of *xuççu* = Arab. *xuçç*, cottage, cabin, booth (ZK 1, 347) and Assyr. *igaru*, brick-wall, stands for *ḥigaru* (cf. Arab. *ḥijr*, wall, and *ḥájar*, stone). Also Assyr. *agurru*, or *agûru*, burnt brick, which has passed into Arabic as *ajûr* (or *i̯âjûr*) stands for *ḥagûru*.[37] Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter* (Leyden, 1886) p. 5 pointed out that in the *Kitâb al-Aǧânî* (xvi, 43, 3; *cf.* Divan Huḏeil. 66, 10; Nâbiǧa 7, 16) a hut of reeds (*xuçç*) is contrasted with a house of brick (*ajûr*) and plaster, just as *qiqqišu* = *xuççu* is contrasted with *igaru* (for *ḥigaru*) brick-wall, brick-house, in the present passage of the Flood Tablet. Assyr. *qiqqišu* (for *qišqišu*) is connected with Heb. *qaš*, straw, stubble, Aram. *qaššâ*, which has passed into Arabic as *qašš*; cf. the post-Biblical *qašqaššîm*, stubble, litter, shake-down, and *qiššóšṯ* (or *qîšôšëṯ*) stalk of grain, straw.

CT 14, 48 (No. 36, 331) gives several Sumerian equivalents of *qiqqišu*.[38] The first (Sum. *gi-ru-a*) means a structure (Assyr. *tabannû*) of reeds. The second (Sum. *gi-dim*) has the same meaning (= Assyr. *riksat qanî*). The third (Sum. *gi-sik*)[39] designates the reed-hut as a slight, frail (Assyr. *enšu*) struc-

ture of reeds.[40] Assyr. *enšu* is used especially of tumble-down (*qa'âpu*)[41] buildings; so Sum. *gi-sig* is a *mean habitation*, a humble cottage, a poorly constructed cabin, a frail thatched structure. Sum. *sik* means also *small*, Assyr. *çixru* (= Heb. *ça'îr*) and *qatnu* (= Heb. *qaṭán*).

W. Andrae[42] says that the walls of the "houses" of the laborers at *Kalah Shergât* (Aššur) consist of very light mats of rushes; *cf.* Meissner's remarks[43] on the modern Babylonian *çarîfah*, i. e. an arched structure of reeds and reed-mats, fenced in with reeds, whereas the *maftûl*, a round tower where the people seek refuge in times of danger, is built of bricks. The reed-huts were especially endangered by a cyclone; the *qiqqišû* are therefore mentioned first in l. 20 of the Flood Tablet; but the tidal wave threatened also the brick houses.

The translation of this difficult passage, which I gaye, 23 years ago, in BA 1, 123. 320, and which Jensen (KB 6, 483) calls *sonderbar*, is still nearer the truth than the latest efforts of Jensen, Ungnad, &c. Jensen's idea[44] that Ea spoke to the wall of a reed-house, and that the wall communicated this message in a dream to Hasîs-atra, who slept behind the wall, is untenable. Ea did not communicate in a dream the decision of the gods to send a cyclone; this was made known to all the people, both rich and poor; but the instructions showing Hasîs-atra how he might save himself were communicated to him by Ea in a dream. The story of Midas' barber (who dug a hole in the ground, whispering into it: King Midas has ass's ears) affords no parallel.

The repetition of the words *qiqqiš qiqqiš igar igar* is equivalent to *every reed-hut and every brick-house* (GK, § 123, c). The "construct" in distributive repetitions corresponds to the "absolute" state in Syriac[45] and to the forms without nûnation in Arabic phrases like *baiṯa baiṯa*, *iauma iauma*.[46] I have pointed out the connection between the "construct" in Assyrian and the "absolute state" in Syriac on p. 113, below, of the Crit. Notes on Isaiah (SBOT).[47]

V. — In my paper on the beginning of NE[48] I stated that *parîsu* in l. 65 of the account of the Deluge meant *mast*, more accurately *pole-mast*, not *setting pole*.[49] This interpretation is not at variance with the tenth tablet of NE where we read that Nimrod and the ferryman of Hasîs-atra used 120 *parîse*,

each 60 cubits (about 100 feet) long, to get across the Waters of Death. Gressmann's idea (UG 138) that Nimrod built a hanging bridge of the 120 pole-masts is grotesque. How could Nimrod build a hanging bridge across the Waters of Death without fastening the end on the other side? A rope bridge of rushes would have been more natural than a hanging bridge of 120 enormous pole-masts. According to Gressmann this hanging bridge served as a passageway between the boat and the shore of the Island of the Blessed; but this gangway would have been more than two miles long (*cf.* JAOS **22**, 10, n. 6).

Nimrod did not construct a hanging bridge out of the 120 long pole-masts, but he used them as setting poles to push the boat through the Waters of Death (cf. *ratem conto subigit*, Virg. Æn. 6, 302). Setting poles are still employed in Babylonia. Meissner[50] states that he was transported to Nippur in a boat by two boys who used bamboo stems, with an asphalt ball at one end, as setting poles. Bamboo stems may be over 100 feet long, and nearly 3/4 ft. thick. They are often used as masts. Nimrod, it may be supposed, could not sail across the Waters of Death because there was a dead calm. The water was nearly 100 feet deep, and whenever Nimrod touched the boggy bottom with one of his poles, he could not lift it up again, so that he was compelled to take a fresh pole. They stuck in the quagmire at the bottom of the Waters of Death;[51] *cf.* Virgil's lines, Æn. 6, 295—297:

Hinc via, Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.
Turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges
aestuat, atque omnem Cocyto eructat arenam;

and 415. 416:

Tandem trans fluvium incolumis vatemque virumque
informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva.

Finally, when the 120 poles were gone, Nimrod unstepped the mast of his boat and used it as a setting pole. This enabled him to land at the Island of the Blessed.

The Ferryman was wont to take along a chest full of stones. In *šud*[53] *abne* the first word is connected with the Talmudic *šiddâh*, chest, box. The stones in this chest were εὐναί which served as anchors. The most ancient anchors consisted of large stones. Ordinary stones, however, could not be used for this purpose; they had to be provided with holes to attach hawsers to them. He would attach a hawser to one of them

and throw it into the bog as far away as possible from the bow of the boat; then he hauled the boat up to it. In this way he was able to warp the boat across the Waters of Death. Warping anchors (German *Warpanker*) are known as *kedges*, and the hawsers attached to them are called *kedge-ropes*. In the case of a large vessel the kedge is carried out in a boat, and then dropped overboard, and the vessel hauled up to it; but the Ferryman had only a small boat; so he was compelled to throw the kedges as far away from the boat as possible.

After Nimrod had smashed the stones in the Ferryman's chest, it was difficult to obtain new large stones provided with holes. Therefore the Ferryman told Nimrod to cut 120 pole-masts. These were, of course, not carried in the boat, but towed through the water by means of a rope attached to the stern of the boat. They probably used the kedging-rope for this purpose. This, I think, is the solution of the mystery of the stones and the pole-masts.

VI. — I have explained some difficult passages of the Flood Tablet in my lecture on *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 3, ll. 18—20; p. 30, nn. 32—36;[54] also in AJSL **24**, 128, n. †; 143, *ad* v. 3;[55] **26**, 15. 16. 24. 25, nn. 60—67; ZDMG **61**, 276, ll. 20. 43;[56] **63**, 516, l. 42—517, l. 32;[56] **64**, 711, ll. 15—30;[57] *cf.* 714, ll. 3. 8. 15. The first seven lines of the Flood Tablet were explained in JAOS **25**, 68—75. For the phrase *siriâm nadâta elî çîrika*, armor thou hast placed upon thy body, lit. *upon thy back*, we must remember that we use *back* in the same way. Shakespeare says: *I bought you a dozen of shirts to your back*; cf. our vulgar phrase *to keep a person back and belly*, i. e. to keep him in clothes and food. *To back* was formerly used in the sense of *to clothe*. Ungnad's renderings *Gänzlich ist dein Wesen dazu angetan zu streiten, und dennoch pflegst du, auf deinem Rücken liegend, der Ruhe!* (TB 50) or *Gänzlich ist mein Wesen dazu geschaffen, Kampf zu führen; du aber bist müßig, auf deinem Rücken liegend* (UG 53) are impossible.

Ungnad also adheres to the untenable rendering *measures*, although I showed 24 years ago that *mînâti* in the third line of the Flood Tablet means *looks, appearance*.[58] This rendering has been adopted also by Jastrow (RBA) and Rogers.[59] Lines 28. 29 should be rendered: *The ship which thou art to build, let her lines be long, and let her width equal her depth*[60]

—*mindudâ* = *middudâ*, *mitdudâ*, the reflexive stem of *madâdu*, corresponding to Arab. *imtádda*, to be extended, to be long. *Madâdu*, to measure, is a denominative verb which means originally *to ascertain the extent of a thing.* According to ll. 58. 59 both width and height of the Babylonian Ark were 120 cubits or about 200 feet, and the length was considerably more. *Cf.* my paper on the dimensions of the Babylonian Ark, AJP **9**, 422.[12]

Notes.

(1) See Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrodepos* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 134. For the name *Nimrod* see my article on Adar and Elul in ZDMG **64**, p. 712, n. 2. The abbreviations used in the present article are explained in vol. xxviii of this JOURNAL, p. 101, n. 6; p. 112, n. 1; *cf.* ZDMG **64**, 703, n. 1. Note especially GE = P. Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur* (Straßburg, 1906).— TB = Hugo Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder* (Tübingen, 1909). — UG = A. Ungnad und H. Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911). — RBA = M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898).

(2) See MDOG, No. 16, p. 14, n. *; UG 79. 191.

(3) See OLZ **12**, 245. 249. 251; ZDMG **63**, 529, ll. 6. 29.

(4) See B. Meißner, *Von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Ḥîra und Ḫuarnaq* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 12, l. 4; p. 18, l. 10; p. 20, l. 1. *Cf.* OLZ **12**, 68, n. 6.

(5) Despite the statement in l. 9 of the so-called Nippur fragment of the Babylonian Deluge story, *çulûla danna çullil*, Roof with a strong roof (JAOS **31**, 31; UG 73. 212) we must translate l. 31 of the Flood tablet, [*e*]*ma apsî šâši çullilši* (NE 135, 31): Float her near the (fresh-water) sea, *i. e.* Lake *Nájaf*. Assyr. *çalâlu* is a synonym of *utûlu* (= *nutâ'ulu* = *nutahhulu*). *Cf.* NE 50, 208: *utûlû-ma edlê ina ma'âl mûši çallû*, The men lay down and rested on the night couches. For *utûlu* and *ma'âlu* see my paper on the Heb. stem *nahál*, to rest, AJSL **22**, 195. 199. For *çalâlu* cf. my remarks on Heb. *çalălû* (Ex. **15**, 10) in AJSL **20**, 162. Contrast KAT², 69, l. 5; UG 53, l. 31. *Ema* (HW 79ᵃ) = Heb. *'im*, Arab. *ma'a* (e. g. *ma'a 'l-ḥâ'iṭi*, along the wall).

(6) See Guyard, *Géographie d'Aboulféda,* vol. ii, part 2 (Paris, 1883) p. 73. The Arabic text (p. 299, below, of the

Paris edition) reads as follows: البحيرة على موضع يقال له النجف زعم الاوائل ان بحر فارس كان يتّصل به وبينهما اليوم مسافة بعيدة. *Nájaf* means *dam, dike.* Cf. OLZ **12**, 251; ZDMG **63**, 521, n. 42.

(7) *Cf.* A. Sprenger, *Babylonien* (Heidelberg, 1886) pp. 33. 45. 73. See also Haupt, *Über die Ansiedlung der russischen Juden im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiete* (Baltimore, 1892) p. 16. Contrast H. Wagner, *Die Überschätzung der Anbaufläche Babyloniens*, pp. 289—296 (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Göttingen, 1902, part 2).

(8) See R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi* (Chicago, 1904) p. 108; H. Winckler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis* (Leipzig, 1904) p. 83, ll. 57—63.

(9) Assyr. *çimmu marçu* = Heb. *makkâh naḥlâh* (Nah. **3**, 19). *Çimmu* may be connected with Arab. *çámma,* to strike (cf. *çámmama 's-saifu*). It could stand also for *çîmu* = Arab. *ḍaim*, hurt, injury, oppression; but this is less probable. Nor can it be combined with Arab. زحمة, *záḥmah, zuḥmah*, trouble, disease.

(10) For the omission of the relative pronoun *cf.* GK, § 116, x; Duval, *Grammaire syriaque* (Paris, 1881) § 401.

(11) Nor is *tâmur âtámar* (KB **6**, 265) in the last column of the twelfth tablet a parenthesis; see BA **1**, 69, n. **; GE 53, n. 6; TB 61; UG 68.

(12) *Cf.* HW 4ª; UG 53. 57. 59; E. Suess, *Die Sintflut* (Prag, 1883) pp. 21. 24. 44—49. 54. 68; also the remarks at the end of my paper *The Dimensions of the Babylonian Ark* in AJP **9**, 424. Praetorius' combination of *abûbu* with Arab. *habûb* (KAT², 66, 19) may be correct (*cf.* Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 389). The catastrophe was caused chiefly by Enlil, and he was the god of storms; Ea, the god of the sea, saved Hasîsatra, but he could not prevent the cyclone. *Enlil* = *bêl šâri*, lord of the wind; it does not mean *lord of the plain*; contrast PSBA **33**, 78; *cf. ibid.* p. 80, and below, end of n. 20.

(13) The chief deity of Suripak seems to have been *Sukurru*; cf. MDOG, No. 16, p. 14, n. *; Thureau-Dangin, *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad* (Paris, 1905) p. 215, No. III; German edition (Leipzig, 1907) p. 151, below. This deity may have been the consort of Enlil; *cf.* BA **5**, 537, l. 18, and p. 554, below; UG 79, below; RBA, German edition, p. 55. It is possible that Enlil was induced by his consort

to send the cyclone (*cf.* ll. 120—122 of the Flood tablet, UG 56) just as Anu was instigated by Istar to send the celestial bull (UG 33, l. 94). It is noteworthy that we find in ll. 118. 163 *dingir max* (not *maǧ*! cf. below, n. 39) the mighty deity = *bêlit ilâni,* the lady of the gods. The name *Ištar* (JAOS **28**, 116) in l. 117 is a later adaptation. *Cf.* RBA, German edition, p. 82.

(14) See GK, § 143, b; WdG **2**, 256; Driver, *Heb. Tenses* (1892) § 197.

(15) *Qirbúšu* is accusative, and *libbašunu* is nominative; cf. *iplax libbašunu,* their heart feared; *ikpud libbašunu,* their heart planned; *kabittaki lipšax,* may thy mind be appeased; see HW 526ᵃ. 346ᵃ. 317ᵃ; AG², pp. 188. 227.

(16) *Tuquntu* = *tuqumtu;* cf. Heb. *mit̲qômém.* For secondary stems with prefixed *t* see ZDMG **63**, 518, l. 37; *cf.* below, n. 33.

(17) The second hemistich was, it may be supposed, *minâ kabtassa iššî'ánî.*

(18) In the phrase *Marduk ušadkâ-nî libba,* Marduk stirred up my heart (HW 216ᵇ) the suffix *-nî* is dative (German, *Marduk regte mir an das Herz*). *Cf.* GK, § 117, x; WdG **2**, 192, A. Gunkel, *Genesis* (1910) reads *u̯ai̯-i̯ád̲eq* instead of *u̯ai̯-i̯áreq* in Gen. **14**, 14, and combines this with the Assyr. *deqû* (cf. GB 746ᵃ). But Winckler's reading *deqû* (with *q*) is as unwarranted as his reading *nišiq*, bite, instead of *nišik* (see his edition of the Code of Hammurapi cited above, n. 8). If the Assyrian stem had a *q* instead of *k*, it might be identical with Arab. *dá'â, i̯ad'û;* cf. *árqâ* (Jer. **10**, 11) for *ár'â,* earth; Assyr. *raggu*, evil = Heb. *ra';* see WZKM **23**, 361, n. 4. The synonym of *raggu*, evil, *çenu* means originally *foolish;* cf. Heb. *nĕb̲alâh,* folly, depravity, and *çenu*, sheep = Heb. *çôn* (ZDMG **65**, 107, l. 9). For Arab. *dá'u̯aⁿ* claim, lawsuit, *cf.* Assyr. *rugummû* (HW 612; AJSL **26**, 7).

(19) *Cf.* MDOG, No. 7, p. 2 and p. 3 of Meissner's paper cited above, n. 4.

(20) *Cf.* Ex. **25**, 2; **35**, 21. 26. 29; **36**, 2. In 2 K **14** ,11, on the other hand, we must read *u̯ĕ-hiššî'ăk̲a libbĕk̲a* (cf. Ob. 3). Stade was inclined to read *u̯ĕ-issâ'ak̲a.* This *hiššî*, to lead astray, must be derived from the stem of *šau̯*, vanity, falsehood (*tertiæ Aleph*). To the same stem belong Heb. *šâ'ôn* (cf. JBL **26**, 19. 44) and the Assyr. synonym of *mexû*, gale: *šû* (NE 140,

n. 11; BA **1**, 134). *Ittarik šû* means: the storm abated (*abate* means originally *to beat down*). Another word for *·gale* is *kûku* (in ll. 46. 88) = Syr. *kauḵîṯa*, whirlwind, tempest. Jensen (KB **6**, 233. 235. 485) and Ungnad (UG 55) adhere to the translation *darkness*, which I suggested more than 22 years ago, but which I declared to be extremely doubtful (JHUC, No. 69, p. 18). I showed BA **1**, 130 (printed in 1888) that we should restore at the beginning of l. 46: *ša âdânu Šamaš išûkanu-ma*, when the sun (not the Sun-god!) indicates the appointed time. The Sun-god did not reveal anything to Hasîs-atra; contrast Zimmern, *Beiträge zur babyl Religion* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 88, n. 2; UG 195, n. 6, also pp. 200. 209. 213. *Mu'îr kûki ina lîlâti ušaznankunuši šamûtu kîbâti* means: The Ruler of the Whirlwind will cause to rain upon you in the evening a downpour of destruction. *Kîbâti* is the plural of *kîbtu*, a fem. of *kêbu*, *kîbu* = Syr. *kêḇâ*, pain, grief; *cf.* Heb. *hiḵ'îḇ* in 2 K **3**, 19. If *kibtu* were a derivative of the stem *kabâtu*, to be heavy (HW 317[a]) the fem. plural would be *kibtâti*, not *kibâti*. Jensen translates: *Schmutz-Regen*; Ungnad: *furchtbarer* (?) *Regen*. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, in thesis ix of his inaugural dissertation, derived *kîbâti* from *qâpu*, to fall into decay, go to ruin (HW 583[a]). For *mu'îr* = *mumâ'ir* see JBL **19**, 58. The *mu'îr kûki* is Enlil; *cf.* above, n. 12. For the correct translation of ll. 43—45, which Jensen (KB **6**, 233) and Ungnad (UG 54) have misunderstood, see Haupt, *Die akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1883) p. xli; JHUC, No. 69, p. 18. These lines do not contain an *infamous lie*, as Jensen (*Kosmol.* 405) says. At the beginning of l. 33 we may read *ezêb âli*. For *izîrânî* in l. 39 Jensen may compare GK, § 106, g.

(21) If Ungnad and Gressmann had considered this passage, they would not have rendered (UG 27. 109): *Schön ist ihr Schatten, ist voller Jubel.* I referred for *malî rîšâti* to Lat. *lucus laetissimus umbrae* &c. Nor does Ungnad (UG 8) seem to know my explanation of NE 8, 36. 37, given in BA **5**, 471 (Friedrich's remarks in BA **5**, 468—477 should have been cited in UG 1) and the interpretation of the description of the garden of the gods (UG 43, 164—167; *cf.* p. 163) which I gave in *Proverbs* 60, 30—40. For Gressmann's *Brunnenschwengel* (UG 103) see AJSL **23**, 234.

(22) UG 60, 224—229; 62, 262 (*cf.* p. 141) practically repeats Jensen's meaningless translations.

(23) Cf. *lâ banîtu,* impurity (HW 180[a]) or *lâ ullâti* (Zimmern, *Šurpu,* p. 53, below) and Heb. *lô-ḵén* &c.

(24) Gressmann's idea (UG 123, n. 5) that this text belongs to the myth of Irra and Išum (TB 71) is at variance with the line (NE 51, 17) *Ištar ana nakrišu ul išâkan qaqqadsa,* Istar cannot resist its (the city's) enemy. Istar did not send an enemy against the city of Erech, but Erech was besieged by enemies for three years, and Istar could not make head (Heb. *naṯán rôš;* cf. GB 524[a], l) against them.

(25) The same reading was adopted by A. Jeremias in *Das AT im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 228.

(26) *Cf.* KB **6**, 216, 28; UG 46, 78. The end of this line may be read *iqâtap ligna,* he plucks a thistly plant; *cf.* JAOS **22**, 11, l. 4; KB **6**, 250, l. 284; UG 62, 284. In Syriac, *lâǧnâ* denotes an artichoke. Pliny (**19**, 152; **20**, 262) calls the artichoke *carduus* (Greek σκόλυμος). *Carduus benedictus,* the blessed thistle, was held in high esteem as a remedy for all manner of diseases. In Arabic, *lajîn* denotes leaves (of thorny gum-acacias, Arab. *ṭalḥ*) used as food for camels; see G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben* (Berlin, 1897) pp. 13. 240. For the Assyrian stem *lagânu* see HW 373[a]; also Zimmern's *Beitr. zur bab. Rel.* 176, 18. In S[c] 2 (AL[3], 77) *ligittu* (for *ligintu*) appears as a synonym of *nîbittu* (cf. NE 147, 295). *Nîbittu* stands for *ma'battu,* and means *interlacement, intertwinement, interwoven foliage;* cf. Heb. *'éç 'aḇôṯ,* leafy tree; Syr. *'âḇê 'abbîṯê,* dense woods.

(27) At the beginning of this line we may read: *Lû damqata,* be good; *cf.* NE 42, 7—9 (UG 30). The preceding line (NE 12, 33) shows that there is space enough for *lu-u dam-* before *-qa-ta* in l. 34. The meaning of the line is: *Be good,* love me; then *thou wilt be like a god.*

(28) *Cf.* my remarks in JHUC, No. 163, p. 50, n. 9; JAOS **25**, 71, n. 1; also RBA 476.

(29) See AJSL **15**, 193—214; *cf.* especially p. 202, n. 33, and p. 209, n. 54; also ZAT **23**, 174; Skinner's *Genesis,* p. 91; UG 99. Contrast KAT[3], 528, n. 3; Gunkel's *Genesis* (1910) p. 38. For Eve (Heb. *Ḥaṯṯâh*) = serpent (Aram. *ḥiṯṯâ*) see AJSL **23**, 228; *cf.* ZDMG **42**, 487, cited in EB 61.

(30) See JBL **21**, 66; ZDMG **63**, 519, l. 22. *Cf.* Gunkel, *Genesis* (1910) p. 31, conclusion of *b.*

(31) *Cf.* the first line of the seventh tablet of the Nimrod

epic (NE 50, 212; KB **6**, 179; UG 36) and Syr. *itmallâk* (Heb. *uai-iimmalêk* Neh. **5**, 7).

(32) Assyr. *kapâdu* has no connection with Arab. *qâfada;* contrast Muss-Arnolt's dictionary, p. 421[b]; BA **1**, 167, n. *.

(33) Read *tašib* (not *tame*!) For secondary stems with prefixed *t* cf. above, n. 16.

(34) *Qiqqišu*, at the end of l. 20 is an archaic plural in *-û*; cf. SFG 23, 5; AG[2], p. 192, 5. It could, of course, stand also for the gen. sing. (*cf. e. g.* NE 142, n. 7).

(35) *Cf.* Amos **6**, 11: For lo! JHVH commands, and the great house is dashed to pieces, and the small house to splinters, which is a misplaced gloss to vv. 14. 15:

On the day when I punish her ivory houses go to ruin;
I 'll destroy the winter house along with the summer house.

(36) There may have been minor preliminary seismic floods; see Suess' work (cited above, n. 12) p. 68.

(37) Cf. *Proverbs* (SBOT) 53, 34, and my paper on *immeru*, lamb = *hammar*, *hammal* in ZDMG **65**, 107.

(38) *Cf.* SAI 692 s. v. *kikkišu*.

(39) For the final *k* in *sik* see ZDMG **64**, 705, n. 1; *cf.* above, n. 13.

(40) *Cf.* Is. **1**, 8 and the cut on p. 162 of the translation of *Isaiah* in SBOT.

(41) *Cf.* the conclusion of n. 20 (thesis ix of Lehmann).

(42) See MDOG, No. 22, p. 70; *cf.* also No. 25, p. 74; contrast No. 31, pp. 8. 39. 44; No. 32, pp. 23. 25; No. 43, p. 19.

(43) On p. 8 of the paper cited above, n. 4; *cf. ibid.* p. 12, l. 12.

(44) See KB **6**, 483; *cf.* UG 192.

(45) See Duval (*cf.* above, n. 10) § 356, c; § 368, a; Nöldeke's Syr. grammar, § 202, C.

(46) See H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (Leyden, 1898) p. 444.

(47) See also *Kings* 262, n. **.

(48) JAOS **22**, 10, n. 6; *cf.* ZDMG **63**, 516, l. 42.

(49) Contrast UG 194, l. 7.

(50) See p. 9 of the paper cited above, n. 4.

(51) Contrast Schneider's explanation cited in UG 138, n. 3. As to the force necessary to pull out poles 120 feet long, after they have been imbedded in quagmire, I was informed by an engineer, who has had much experience in driving and subsequently pulling piles used for piers and wharves,

that a wooden pole, 120 feet long, having a diameter at the butt of 25 inches and at the point of 4 inches, would weigh, approximately, 5400 pounds. While such a pole can be readily driven, it requires a force equal to 25 horse-power to withdraw it when it is imbedded in mud and clay to a depth of 50 feet. Using a 25 horse-power engine to pull these poles, it is necessary to employ what is known as a triple rig or pulley. Of course, if such a rig were not used, the direct force necessary to pull the piles in question would be much greater, probably about 50 horse-power. I am indebted for information to Professor Gellert Alleman, of Swarthmore College.—The ancient cuneiform poet believed, of course, that paddles and oars were unknown in the times of Nimrod. *Cf.* EB 4478, l. 20.

(53) Not *šût*! Contrast UG 137, n. 2; *cf.* also pp. 184. 207.

(54) UG 195 still thinks that Hasîs-atra gave the people of Suripak daily banquets while he was building his ship!

(55) Contrast UG 55, below.

(56) *Cf.* above, note 22.

(57) According to Jensen (KB **6**, 488, below) these plugs were intended for holes in the bottom through which the ship was supplied with water! A. Jeremias, following Winckler, gives the meaningless translation: I poured water over the *šikkat* in its interior. *Cf.* above, n. 25.

(58) *Cf.* JAOS; **13**, ccxliii, n. 14; **25**, 71; **31**, 37; BA **1**, 124.

(59) *Op. cit.* *Cf.* above, p. 4.

(60) Literally *height.* It cannot be *length.*

The five Assyrian stems la'u.—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

I.—In my paper on Leah and Rachel (ZAT **29**, 281)[1] I showed that Leah meant *cow*, Assyr. *lêtu*, feminine of *lû*, bull. *Lû* is a contraction of *lê'u*, and corresponds to the Arabic *lá'a*^{n} (for *lá'aiu*^{n}) wild bull. *Lê'u* (for *lêiu*, *la'iu*, *lá'iiu*) means originally, like Heb. *abbîr*, strong (*cf.* OLZ **12**, 214, n. 18; UG 130). Arab. *la'a*^{n} means also *misfortune*, lit. *strength*, *hardship* (cf. Arab. *šiddatu*^{n}). This explains the meaning of Assyr. *lâ'u* (for *lâiu*, *lá'aiu*) wretched (not *lâ'û*, HW 366^{b}) which means originally *hard up*. There is no connection between *lâ'u*, wretched, and the negative *lâ*, not (contrast AJSL **22**, 261, n. 17). In Hebrew, we have the stem *la'âh*, to trouble oneself, lit. *to try hard*. Assyr. *lû*, bull (Arab. *lá'a*^{n}) appears in the story of Hagar (Gen. **16**, 14) as *rôi* (for *lôi*, *lâi*, *la'i*, *lá'ii*). See my explanation of this passage in ZAT **29**, 284; contrast Gunkel's *Genesis* (1910) p. 189; and Skinner's commentary (1910) p. 288.

The name *Bĕnê Le'âh* meant originally *cowboys*, and *Bĕnê Raḥêl* denoted the southern *sheepmen*. Westerners say, cattle and sheep do not mix.[2] There has always been more or less trouble between cowboys and sheepmen. Their interests can never be mutual, since cattle and sheep cannot thrive on the same range. The sheep absolutely spoil the pasturage for the cattle by cropping the grass so close that no sustenance is left to the bigger animal, and, besides that, they are supposed to leave a taint that is highly offensive to the bovines. The close nibbling of the herbage is not the only damage done by the sheep. They travel in dense formation, and their sharp hoofs cut the sod and pack it down so hard that it takes the range a long time to recuperate.

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[1] For the abbreviations see above, p. 10, n. 1.

[2] Quoted from an article in the Baltimore *American*, Nov. 15, 1909.

The Assyrian stem *lâ'u*, to be strong, means also *to have power, to be able* (HW 365[b]). *Ilê'î*, he can, stands for *ilâ'aḫ*.

II.—On the other hand, *ilê'î*, he likes (HW 364[b], below) stands for *iláhaḫ*, and must be connected with Arab. *láhiḫa*, *ḫálhâ*, to like (syn. *aḥâbba*). Ethiopic *alháḫa*, to cheer up, to comfort (Arab. *álhâ* or *láhhâ*) means originally *to make pleased, satisfied, reconciled*; cf. Arab. *láhiḫa 'an* (contrast ZAT **29**, 282, l. 10). Delitzsch (HW 365[a]) correctly derives *lê'u*, sensible, intelligent, wise, from this stem, pointing to Assyr. *ṭêmu* (for *ṭa'mu*) which means *will, mind, sense, intellect, intelligence, information, news.*[1] Similarly *milku* (HW 413[b]) means *counsel, decision, deliberation, understanding, insight.* Our *mind*, which corresponds to the Latin *mens*, means not only *intellect*, but also *desire, intent, purpose, will.* To have a *mind* means *to be inclined, to intend, to like.*

Assyr. *ṭêmu*, intelligence, message, appears in Aramaic as *ṭibbâ*. This is often used in the Talmud in the sense of Heb. *mišpáṭ*, the right way of doing a thing, the proper manner, German *Art.* Heb. *mišpáṭ* may mean also *skill, knack*, just as *Art* is identical with our *art* (cf. AJSL **27**, 20, n. 24). German *artig* means *mannerly, well-mannered, well-bred.* In Middle High German, *Art* denoted *family, extraction.* In Wagner's *Lohengrin* Lohengrin says to Elsa: *Nie sollst du mich befragen, noch Wissens Sorge tragen, woher ich kam der Fahrt, noch wie mein Nam' und Art.*

In the Syriac Bible, *mâ ṭibbéḵ(i)* appears in Ruth **3**, 9 as the equivalent of Heb. *mî att*, and in the shorter recension of *Judith*,[2] published by Gaster in PSBA **16**, 162, Seleucus says to Judith: *Mâh ṭîḇéḵ*. Gaster translates: *What is it that thou wishest?* but it means: *How art thou?* Heb. *mî att* in Ruth **3**, 9 has the same meaning; the rendering *Who art thou?* is incorrect (see BA **1**, 17, l. 1; AJSL **24**, 127). The literal meaning of *mâh ṭîḇéḵ* is *What is thy report*, i. e. *the report concerning thee, what is the news of thee?* The suffix must be explained according to GK § 128, h; § 135, m.

The traditional Jewish pronunciation is *ṭîḇâ*, for *ṭêḇâ*, not

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[1] HW 297; cf. *Ezra and Nehemiah* (SBOT) p. 34, l. 49. Syr. *ṭibbâ* (originally *ṭêbâ*) means *message, news, tidings, rumor, fame, report.*

[2] For the Book of Judith, which is a Palestinian Pharisaic Purim legend, see Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 7, ll. 33—39.

ṭibbâ. Also the Aleph in Syriac ܛܝܒܐ (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 35) points to an original pronunciation *ṭêḇâ*. The Aleph in this case must be explained in the same way as in *kĕmênâ*, *nĕfêšâ*, *mĕlê'â*, discussed in BA **1**, 7. 166; BL 123, n. †. The Syriac Pael *ṭabbíḇ* (cf. *ṭĕḇîḇa*, renowned, *ṭĕḇîḇûṯâ*, renown) is denominative, derived from *ṭibbâ* = *ṭîḇâ*, *ṭêḇâ* = Assyr. *ṭêmu* = *ṭá'mu*. For the interchange of *m* and *b* see *Ezra and Nehemiah* (SBOT) 67, 33. There is certainly no connection with Arab. ظاب *zâ'b*, *zâb*, clamor, noise, injustice, violence, although Fleischer raised no objections to this etymology in Levy's Talmudic dictionary (**2**, 153. 210). In his Targumic dictionary (**1**, 292) Levy reads *ṭibbâ*, but in his Talmudic lexicon (**2**, 153) he has *ṭîḇâ*. Dalman's *Wörterbuch* (p. 156) gives Heb. *ṭeḇ* (with suffixes *ṭibbô*, like *libbô*, his heart) and Aram. *ṭibbâ*, Art, Wesen, Ruf; but on p. 159 he gives Heb. *ṭêḇ*, Art und Weise. This would seem to be the original pronunciation. The form *ṭibbâ* instead of *ṭîḇâ* = *ṭêḇâ* = Assyr. *ṭêmu* (for *ṭa'mu*) may be influenced, not only by τύπος (which is used also in the sense of *characteristic assemblage of particulars or qualities*, character, quality) but also by *dibbâh*: in Gen. **37**, 2 some Targumic MSS read *dibbĕhôn* instead of *ṭibbĕhôn*. *Ṭibbâ*, or rather *ṭêḇâ*, is the Assyrian *ṭêmu* (for *ṭa'mu*) which was afterwards pronounced *ṭêṵu*, *ṭîṵu*, and *dibbâh* is connected with Assyr. *dabâbu* which belongs to the same root (AJSL **23**, 252) as Heb. *dibbär*, to speak.[1]

Assyr. *lê'u* (not *le'û*) wise, stands for *lêiu*, *lâiu*, *lahiu*, *láhiiu*.

III.—Assyr. *lî'u* (not *li'û*, HW 366[b]) tablet, stands for *lîḥu*, which corresponds to Heb. *lûḥ*, just as we have in Arabic, *rîḥ*, wind, and *rûḥ*, spirit, whereas in Hebrew, *rûḥ* is used for both *wind* and *spirit*; cf. *Kings* (SBOT) p. 96, l. 25.[2]

IV.—Assyr. *lû'û* (*lu'û*, HW 366[a]) soiled, defiled, disgraced, may stand for *luḫḫuiu*, and may be connected with Arab. *láḥâ*, *iálḥâ*, which means not only *to blame* and *to curse*, but also *to disgrace*, *vilify*, *insult*, (syn. *qâbaḥa*). Assyr. *lû'û* could be connected also with Arab. *láu'atu*[n], which is said to mean

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[1] Both Heb. *doḇ*, bear, and *dĕḇorâh*, bee, mean originally *Brummer* (growler, hummer). *Cf.* Heb. *hamâh* and *haḡâh*, also the remarks in my paper on the trumpets of Jericho, WZKM **23**, 360—362.

[2] The phrase *lĕ-rûḥ haiiôm* (Gen. **3**, 8) means according to Gunkel, *Genesis* (1910) *at daybreak*; see BL 74; contrast AJSL **22**, 203; **24**, 136.

shame, disgrace, or Ethiopic *laṵṵâṵ,* perverse, depraved; but this is less probable.

V.—Assyr. *la'û,* a kind of wine (HW 366[b]) may be compared with Syr. *lâ'*, *nĕlû'*, to lick, to lap. Also the word *lû,* discussed in HW 374[a], iii, may be connected with this stem. This Assyr. *la'û* may mean *to sip, to swallow,* and may stand for *la'âṵu,* just as we have *urû* (cf. Heb. *'ärṵâh,* Arab. *'úriatu*[n]) and *ûru* (Arab. *'áṵratu*[n]) shame; *cf.* ZDMG **65**, 108, l. 14.

VI.—For the etymology of Heb. *leṵî,* Levite, see OLZ **12**, 163; ZDMG **63**, 522, l. 9; ZAT **29**, 286.

Babylonian Legends, BM Tablets 87535, 93828 and 87521, CT XV, Plates 1—6. — By Rev. FREDERICK A. VANDERBURGH, Ph. D., Columbia University, New York City.

Part XV of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* contains twenty-four plates of "Early Sumerian Religious Texts." It also contains, at the beginning, six plates, entitled "Old Babylonian Legends." The religious texts are purely Sumerian, but the so-called legends are Assyrian. There are really three tablets of the legends, which, according to the publication, seem to be considerably broken. Yet cols. i and viii of the first tablet, cols. i and ii of the second tablet and cols. ii and vii of the third tablet furnish six interesting texts which may properly be called poems, a translation of which is given in the following pages.

I take great pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to Professor John Dyneley Prince of Columbia University for much valuable help in the translation of these difficult Old Babylonian unilingual poetic texts.

I.

Plate 1, Tablet 87535, Obverse, Col. i.

This poem relates to the goddess Mama. Its language reminds us of the phrase in Psalm xix, 11: מתוקים מדבש ונפת צופים "sweeter than honey and the honey-comb." The poet dwells on the pleasure of singing the song of the goddess Mama and the character of her maternal relations.

za-ma-ar ^{ilat} *bi-li-it ili a-za-ma-ar*
The song of Belit ili I sing.

ib-ru uṣ-ṣi-ra ḳu-ra-du ši-me-a
O friend regard, O warrior listen!

ilat ma-ma za-ma-ra-ša-ma e-li
The goddess Mama, her song more

di-iš-pi-i-im u ka-ra-nim ṭa-bu
than honey and wine is sweet;

5 *ṭa-bu-u e-li di-iš-pi u ka-ra-ni-i-im*
sweeter than honey and wine;

ṭa-bu-u e-li ḫa-na-na-bi-i-ma ḫa-aš-ḫu-ri-i-im
sweeter than sprouts and herbs;

e-lu-u lu ḫi-me-e-tim za-ku-u-tim
superior indeed to pure cream;

ṭa-a-bu e-lu ḫa-na-na-bi-im-ma ḫa-aš-ḫu-ri-i
sweeter than sprouts and herbs.

ilat ma-ma iš-ti-na-am u-li-id-ma
The goddess Mama, one she hath brought forth,

10 *a-ap-pa-a-am na-ši-u pi-ri šar-ra-am*
who in the vanguard beareth the ivory of the king.

ilat ma-ma ši-e-na u-li-id-ma
The goddess Mama, two she hath brought forth,

ši-e-na-ma ša ili ṣa-ri-bi il êkalli-šu
two by the god Zaribu, the god of that temple.

ilat ma-ma ša-la-ti u-li-id-ma
The goddess Mama, three she hath brought forth.

— — — — — — — — — — — — —

— — — — — — — —

1. *bi-li-it ili* (or *belit ilâni*): NI.NI is a common compound ideogram for *ili* "gods" (Br. 5356), probably derived from reading NI.NI phonetically as *i-li* (Br. 5307 & 5309). That *bi-li-it ili* is an epithet is shown by the fact that several goddesses bear the title. The consort of Ea, Damkina, for example, was called *Belit ilâni: e-a mu-uš-ti-šir naḳ-bi-šu bi-lit ilâni mu-rap-pi-šat-ta lit-ti-šu.* Cylinder of Sargon, line 70.

2. *ib-ri* (חבר): root literally = "surround, protect." *uṣ-ṣi-ra* (prob. עצר), II. 1. 2d. m. s. impv.

3. *ilat ma-ma*, the name of a very ancient divinity, as is evinced by its appearance in personal names of early Babylonian times. It may be found in the name of a man who was an official (*damḳar*) apparently before the days of Uru-

kagina: (^{dingir} *n*) *in-din-dug-ga ur-ma-ma* (*d*)*am-ḳar* (^{ilu} *e*)*n-*(*lil*) (*a-mu-na-šub*). Pl. 43. No. 95. Old Babylonian Inscriptions, Part II. There was also a Patesi, before the days of the dynasty of Ur, bearing this name: *mu ur-ma-ma pa-te-si;* Thureau-Dangin, *Récherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme,* No. 184. In later Babylonian times, beginning even with the period of Hammurabi this goddess seems to appear as Gula, which is evidently a form of Mama (*m* = *g*, &c.). Here her personality has developed into that of the consort of Ninib: *nin-ib šar šamê u irṣitim u gu-la kal-lat ê-šar-ra;* Inscription of Nebuchadezzar I, Col. ii, line 39. In union with Ninib she performs the function of life-giving: nin tin dib-ba (V R. 52. Col. iv. 7). She is called the great physician: ^{ilat} *gu-la-a asîtu gal-la-tu* (III R. 41. c. 11).

6. *ḥa-na-na-bi-i-ma* (really *ḥanabu*) exhibits a curious reduplication of the syllable *na.* It seems proper here to raise the question as to whether wine and herbs had any relation in thought to her art of healing. We know that these products were used to some extent in incantations: *šikari sa-kil-bir u šamni išteniš tuballal šipti* III-*šu tamanni i-na ši-in-ni-šu tašakkan*, "wine of *sa-kil-bir* and oil together thou shalt pour; the incantation thrice thou shalt repeat; on his tooth thou shalt put it" ("Legend of the Worm," lines 25 & 26, see Thompson's Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia). *ar-su-up-pu še-gu-šu in-nin-nu ša i-na ši-ir-'-i-ša ûm-ša kaš-da-at pur-šum-tu ina ḳatâ-ša ellâti li-te-en-ma išteniš bu-lul-ma ina ḳaḳ-ḳa-di-šu šu-kun* "the *ar-su-up-pu, še-gu-šu* and *in-nin-nu* which in its height its day has reached, let an old woman with her clean hands grind it, mix it together, on his head place it" (Headache Series, Tablet IX, lines 125—130; see Thompson). (*diš-pu*) *ḫi-me-tu eli-šu šu-ru-up-ma* "honey and butter upon it burn" (Fever Incantation, Plate 58, line 59; see Thompson).

9. *u-li-id-ma*, I. 1. pret. This act of giving birth attributed to the goddess here may be the second birth over which she presided apparently even in earliest times as this song with this interpretation attests.

12. *ṣa-ri-bi* "fiery one." Nergal the war god sometimes is called *ṣarbu.*

II.

Plate 2, Tablet 87535, Reverse, Col. viii.

This plate being a part of the reverse of the same tablet as plate 1, must naturally present a phase of the same subject as that of the plate just read. While that one gave us a story of coming to life, this, however, contains a story of departing from life. The concrete factor here is that of the land of Sumer which seems to have been devastated by flood. Inhabitants were carried away to the lower world through the machinations of evil spirits. Some people remained in desolation.

— — — — — — — —
— — — *ma i-ri* — — — — — — — — — —

an-nu-um ša-al-la-at šu-mi-ri — — *e-li ša a-a i-li*
On account of sin the booty of Sumer (is carried away);

šu-ba-ru-u-um lu-u ir-ši-id ḳa-ṣa-ṣi-im-ma
Protection, let it be established because of diminution!

5 *ša-at-ti-ša-am-ma šu-mi-ru-um li-iḳ-ta-ṣa-aṣ-ṣi*
Yearly (they say), let Sumer be diminished!

iš-um-ma da-mu-u-šu ^{ilat} *ištar u šu-u*
They seek its blood; Ištar and he

ina pu-ḫu-ur ur-du-ni-i-im
are among the assembly of those who go down (to trial).

^{ilat} *ištar i-ga-tu gi-ni-i-ša*
Ištar, come to an end hath her offering.

u-li i-pa-ša-ḫa-am a-na-a-ma ^{ili} *li-el-li*
"My woes are appeased, I repulse the divine Lellu."

10 *i-ḫu-uz-ma-ḳar-ra-di-i-ša*
He seized her strong ones.

^{nâr} *diklat i-na ḳu-uṭ-la-ti ṣi-pa-ri iz-ḳi-e-ir*
The river Tigris with the slain of Sippar was raised;

i-na ḳu-uṭ-la-ti ṣi-pa-ar-ri
with the slain of Sippar

ši-ga-ri pi-ri-im ^{nâr} *diklat iz-ḳi-ir*
a bar of ivory the Tigris ran high.

i-lu i-zi-bu-ma a-li-šu-nu
The god, he forsook their city,

15 *šu-ub-ti-šu-nu ma-ši-iš uš-bu*
in their dwellings forgotten they sat.

3. *an-nu-um*, apparently accusative. *šu-mi-ri:* perhaps the idea is that the Sumerians are already feeling the overpowering effect of Semitic intrusion in the Euphrates valley. Sumer of course means Babylonia.

4. *šu-ba-ru-u-um*, same root as *ib-ru*, plate 1, line 2. *ir-ši-id.* I. 1. pret. *ḳa*(KA)-*ṣa*(ZA)-*ṣi*(ZI)-*im-ma*, probably pl.

6. *iš-um-ma* = *išeu-ma* from *še'u. da-mu-u-šu:* the first sign seems to be *id* not *da*, no doubt a scribal error. *ilat ištar u šu-u:* reference to Ištar and Tammuz in the lower world.

7. *ur-du-ni-i-im*, I. 1. pret. m. pl. from *arâdu.*

8. *i-ga-tu*, I. l. pres. from *ḳatû. gi-ni-i-ša*, Ištar's offering for Tammuz.

9. *u-li* from *alû* "lament." *i-pa-ša-ḫa-am* seems to be f. pl. *a-na-a-ma* (נ״א), I. 1. pres. 1st per. s.

il li-el-li, no doubt the same as the Sumerian *lil-la* (to which לילית must be related), mentioned in several lists of demons as *lilu*, who are opposed to the gods and to whose devices the ills of human life are attributed; see Incantation K 3586 (IV R. 16. 15—22) where *lilu* is listed with the evil *utukku* and fourteen other demons. In hymns, however, we find *lillu* (rather than *lilu*); see K 4980 (IV R. 27. 57), Hymn to Bêl: *ilu lil-lum* (Sum. *mu-lu lil*), where the phrase *ilu lil-lum* is attributively given to Bêl who was chief demon when the name *en-lil* lord of demons was first applied to him.

10. *i-ḫu-uz-ma*, I. 1. pret. 3d. per. m. s.; the subject is Lellu.

11. *nâr diklat: id* or *i* (A.TUR) = *nâru. idigna* (BAR.TIG. KAR) = *diklat*; the derivation of the Semitic *diklat* from the Sumerian *idigna* is apparent, but some steps of contraction might elude us in tracing the derivation of *idigna* from the signs A.TUR.BAR.TIG.KAR (water-course-cutting-banks-powerfully). *ḳu-uṭ-la-ti*, a rare word but having a meaning similar to *kaṣaṣu. ṣi-pa-ri,* also *ṣi-pa-ar-ri* in the next line: the more common spelling is Sippar, modern Abu Habba, situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates, north of Babylon, seat of the cult of Šamaš. *iz-ḳi-e-ir:* I. 1. is unusual from this root.

15. *uš-bu* (ašâbu), contracted form of I. 1. pret.

III.

Plate 3, Tablet 93828, Obverse, Col. i.

Plate 3 gives us a prayer to a goddess for some king that he may have victory in conquest; the prayer is continued in plate 4, plates 3 and 4 forming successive columns in the obverse of the same tablet. In lines 1 to 7, the petitioner, whoever he may be, extols the virtues of the goddess and states his petition. Perhaps the petitioner is the king himself. Lines 8 to 14 seem to interrupt the prayer by giving us a picture of a council of war among the gods with whom the goddess is in communication, while the battle is already going on.

— — *ši-e-me ik-ri-bi lu na-i-id*
O hear my truly solemn prayer!

al-ti ši-e-me ik-ri-bi lu na-i-id
O my lady, hear my truly solemn prayer!

šar ku-um-mi a-na ^{ili} *ramani*
O king of my habitation, on behalf of the divine Ramanu!

ni-ši im-me-ir ni-ta šu-pi aš-ṭa-at
My prayer is pure; in attack, O my glorious one, thou art supreme.

5 *i-ni-i-ma ma-ta-am la uš-ni-e-eš*
He repulseth the land, it resisteth him not.

ti-bi-e mi-ṣi-i gi-bi-šu-li-iš-me
In attacks and conquests, to his word may he hearken!

a-ma-ta ak-li-ni i-ra-az-zu
The word our mighty ones obey.

^{ilu} *bêl pa-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma i-pu-'-ru*
Bêl opened his mouth and took account;

ka-la i-li iz-za-ag-ga-ar
all the gods he mentions.

10 *iš-ti-a-nim ša-du-u i-li ma-ḫu-ur*
The mountain is sought, the gods are present.

ša-aš-ma-am il-gi-e-ma e su-lum-ma
The battle he begun, no quarter (is allowed).

bi-li-it i-li li-ib-bu-ku-nim
O lady of the gods, let them turn back,

li-ši-ri-bu-ni iš-ši a-na maḫ-ri-ia
let them enter with me in my presence!

bi-li-it i-li ib-bu-ku-ni-ma
For the lady of the gods they turn back

15 *ilu bêl ši-a-ši-im iz-za-ag-ga-ar-ši*
Bêl, unto her he calls.

— — — — — — — — — — — — —

— — — — — — — —

1. *ik-ri-bi*, from *ḳarâbu* with preformative *mi* or *ni* shortened to *i*. *lu* = adv. *na-i-id* = adj. from *na'idu*.

3. *šar*, probably the consort of the goddess. *ku-um-mi* (כום): the construct would be *kum*. *ili ramani*: the aid of the storm-god might be essential, as kings often invoked the wrath of the storm-god on their enemies.

4. *ni-ši*, from *našû* "lift up." *im-me-ir*, from *namâru*, I. 1. pregnant pret. *ni-ta*, f. noun, from same root as *a-na-a-ma*, plate 2, line 9. *aš-ṭa-at*, from *ašṭu* "high," perm. form.

5. *uš-ni-e-eš*, III. 1. with suf.

6. *ti-bi-e*, pl. *mi-ṣi-i*, from *maṣû* "find, take possession of by force."

7. *ak-li-ni* "our mighty," probably from same root as *aklu* "food." *i-ra-az-zu*, from *raṣû*.

8. *i-pu-'-ri* (פאר), word of rare occurrence.

10. *iš-ti-a-nim*, I. 3. *ma-ḫu-ur:* must be perm. for *maḫir*.

11. *il-gi-e-ma*, from *laḳû*, I. 1. pret. *e* = "not," like אַל. *li-ib-bu-ku-nim*, I. 1. pret. 3d per. pl. with prec. *li*.

12. *bi-li-it ili* suggests that the goddess addressed in this tablet is most likely Mama the object of praise in tablet 87535. We can see how Gula, being the lady of the gods and the goddess who giveth life as well as being the consort of Ninib who was considered a god of battle, could be properly invoked by a king for military achievement.

IV.

Plate 4, Tablet 93828, Obverse, Col. ii.

Continuing the prayer of the preceding plate, in lines 1 to 6 of this plate, the petitioner appeals for divine aid on behalf

of the stricken in battle. Lines 7 to 13 touch upon the enhancement of the honor of divinity. Lines 14 to 19 renew the direct petition for the king's victory.

im-ḫu-ur-šu-ma a-bu i-li — — — — —
He received him — — — —

zi-ik-ri ta-ni-it-tim iz-za-ga-ar-šu
My name of majesty he names to him.

ašarid-a iḫ-ḫi-i-ka šu-ur-ša ma-a-i
O my leader! Turn thee to the woe-stricken ones, O my mighty one!

ša na-ap-ša-at ka-la ni-ši iš-ti-i-ka
Thou from whom cometh the life of all people!

5 *im-ma-ti-ia ša-ḫu-ur-ra ta-am-ta at-bu-uk*
My petition in the enclosure of the sea I pour out.

ku-ul-la-at ta-at-mi ga-ab-la-ka im-ru-ur-ma
All that thou sayest is bitter in the midst of thee.

uš-ta-at-li-im ku-um bi-li pa-ra-ak-ki
It hath been given in the room of the lord of the shrine.

e-bi-a-tim a-na bi-ti-i-ka eš-ṣi-id
Adornments for thy house are gathered.

im-ma-ti-ia li-ku-un šu-pa-at-ka
It is my petition, may thy dwelling endure!

10 *ki u-mi ta-la-ka-am im mu-ut-ti*
When thou goest to the front,

pa-aš-šu-ru lu-u li-ri-iš u-um-šu
the festal table, may it be spread on that day!

šar-ru um-šu ud-ab-bi-i-šu li-ib-la-'-ka
The king on that day will beautify it, may he honor thee!

at-ta ši-me-e mi ik-ri-bi-i-šu
Do thou hearken to his prayer!

kan-kal-la-a-am šu-uz-ni-na-am ma-ti-šu
With long life do thou adorn his land!

15 *ša-at-ti-i-ša-am-ma ši-im-ta-šu wa-tu-ur*
Annually do thou increase his fortune!

ma-ta-tim šu-uk-ni-ša-am ši e-pi-iš-šu
The lands do thou subjugate! it is his work,

i-nu-ša ina ni-iš i-ṣi-ab-ba-šam-ma
when in prayer he desireth it!

iš-ti-i-šu a-li-ik tu-pu-un ma-ḫi-ir-šu
From him do thou go, conquer his opponent!

ši e-pu-uš-šu šu-uk-ni-ša-am ma-ta-am
That is his work; do thou subjugate the land!

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — —

2. *ta-ni-it-tim*, same root as *na-i-id*, plate 3, line 1.

3. *iḫ-ḫi-i-ka* (אחה), I. 1. impv. with suf. *-ka*. *ma-a-i*, adj. from *ma'u*.

5. *im-ma-ti-ia*, same as *amâtu*, with suf. *ia*.

6. *ta-at-mi*, I. 1. pret. from *tamû*. *im-ru-ur-ma*, also pret. of I. 1.

8. *e-bi-a-tim* (והב), "produce, gifts." *eš-ṣi-id*, probably for *e-ṣi-id*.

9. *ki u-mi* = "according to the day, when." *mu-ut-ti* "front;" probably *im-mu-ut-ti*.

11. *li-ri-iš*, from root represented by ערש.

16. *ši*, personal pronoun.

17. *i-nu-ša*, noun with suf. *ša*.

V.

Plate 5, Tablet 87521, Obverse, Col. ii.

This plate seems obscure except in the light of plate 6 which gives the sequel. In plate 5, Bêl is incensed at a goddess; that goddess is evidently Ištar who seems to be guilty of an offense which cannot be condoned in the family of the gods. According to plate 6, Ištar becomes of child by her brother Šamaš. The family relationships are as follows. Sin is the offspring of Bêl; Ningal is the consort of Sin; Ištar is the offspring of Sin; Šamaš is the offspring of Sin.

Lines 1 to 3, the anger of Bêl. Lines 4 to 8, the exalted position of Sin. Lines 9 to 11, interview of Sin with Ningal.

i-na e-ir-ši id-di i-ni-lu
On the couch he threw it, it lay.

ilu bêl i-zi-ib ri-ḫi-iṣ-ṣu ik-ka-ar-ši
Bêl hath abandoned her; his trust is estranged to her.

iš-bu-ba-am-ma wa-ta-ar-bi šal-ta-am
He has become enflamed; he has begun the battle.

ilu sin i-na bu-ku-ur ilu bêl ša-ni-ni la i-šu
O Sin, as the first born of Bêl, no equal thou hast.

5 *a-wa-u-da-at i-ra-am ilu sin*
Thou hast firmly fixed it; Sin has had compassion;

i-na ma-na ri-ši-ib-šu ki-na-at
by means of tribute thou hast fixed his power.

pa-ši ka-az-zu zi-u-zu la-a i-na mu-ti-iš-šu
My reign his hand apportions; not with his property,

e-li ba-e-ru-ti-im uš-ta-ab-ni-i-ma
among the hunters it is formed.

a-na ilat nin-gal iš-ta-ka-an u-zu-un-šu
Unto the goddess Nergal he (Sin) giveth ear.

10 *ilu sin ik-ru-uš a-na kar-ri-iš ik-ra-ab*
Sin has brought her; at his summons she approacheth.

— — *ši-i-ma u-ul i-ša-al a-ba-ša*
She maketh no petition to her father.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — —

1. *i-ni-lu*, from *na'alu*.

3. *iš-bu-ba-am-ma*, from *šababu*. *wa-ta-ar-bi*, from *erêbu*. *šal-ta-am*, from *šalû* "shoot."

5. *a-wa-u-da-at*, root *emêdu-* *i-ra-am* from *râmu*.

6. *ri-ši-ib-šu* from *rašâbu*.

7. *pa-ši*, root *pâšu*. *ka-az-zu* "his hand" or "thy hand." *zi-u-zu*, root *zâzu*. *mu-ti-iš-šu*, root *išu*.

8. *ba-e-ru-ti-im*, from *bâru*.

9. *ilat nin-gal:* Ningal, "great lady," appears particularly in the time of Rim-Sin. The title "mistress of Ur" may be found several times.

VI.

Plate 6, Tablet 87521, Reverse, Col. vii.

Lines 1 to 6, confession of Ištar. Lines 7 to 12, reprimand of Bêl.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — —
— — *a-at-ma a-ḫa aš-tu na-aṣ* — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

iš-ta-ri-i-tim it-ta-na-al
The goddess Ištar hath gone to rest;

la ag-gi ir-bu-um ê-kur
let not the turbulent enter the temple.

5 *a-na-ku a-ḫi te-ri-a-ku a-ḫi*
I, O my brother, am of child by my brother,

ša a-na a-ḫi-ia wa-al-du
I who to my brother have borne a child.

ilu bêl pa-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
Bêl, his mouth he opened;

iz-za-ag-ga-ar a-na la-pa-tim ilat ištar
He mentions the fall of Ištar.

a-a-ia-am a-ḫa-ki ta-ri-a-at
Woe is me! by thy brother thou art with child,

10 *a-ha-ki ša a-na a-ḫi i-na a-ḫi-i-ki wa-al-du*
by thy brother thou who by thy brother hast borne a child.

ilu i-ša-am ilat nin-lil
O divine Išum! Belit

a-na ilu šamaš u-li-id-ma
unto the god Šamaš hath borne a child.

3. *it-ta-na-al*, see *i-ni-lu*, plate 5, line 1.
4. *ag-gi*, from *agâgu*. *ir-bu-um*, I. 1. impv. *erêbu*.
5. *te-ri-a-ku*, a perm. form from *erû;* in line 9 a noun from the same root.
8. *la-pa-tim*, root *lapâtu*. *ilat ištar*, confirmation that *iš-ta-ri-i-tim* in line 3 is correctly rendered *ištar*.

1. *ilu i-ša-am:* Išum was no doubt a local deity. The word Išum appears in proper names as early as the time of Hammurabi. In some inscriptions he appears as a sun-god brought into subjection to Šamaš. He also appears sometimes as a servant or guardian (*rabiṣu*), a position which he seems to occupy in this tablet.

ilat nin-lil, title applied to Ištar in about the same way that the name Bêl is applied to Marduk.

The Vedic Dual[1]*: Part VI, The Elliptic Dual; Part VII, The Dual Dvandva.*—By Dr. SAMUEL GRANT OLIPHANT, Professor in Grove City College, Grove City, Penna.

THE purpose of this paper is to present various phenomena that are associated with the elliptic dual and the dual dvandva, to present for reference what is believed to be complete lists of these two species of the dual as found in the Rig and Atharva Vedas, and to propose solutions of the mooted problems of their genesis and relationship.

I.

The elliptic dual, or, as I should prefer to call it were not the term so firmly established in its literature, the sylleptic dual, is the dual of one substantive connoting both its own singular and another singular suggested by it. In its obvious kinship with such rhetorical tropes as metonymy, synecdoche, antonomasia, &c., and with such syntactical schemata as zeugma, ellipsis, syllepsis, &c., as well as in its possible relationship to the so-called σχῆμα Ἀλκμανικόν of Greek poetry (*Vid.* Fraser, *Classical Quarterly*, IV, 25 ff.), this dual is essentially artistic and poetic. This appears also from the fact that even the Vedic *pitárā* and *mātárā*, though occurring eighty-five times in the Rig Veda alone, are used figuratively at least seventy-two times. In nine of the remaining instances the words may be duals in comparison with a dual antecedent and not elliptic duals at all and in at least three of these instances this would seem unmistakably the preferable interpretation.

The ratio of one hundred and twenty-nine instances (including the doubtful cases) of this dual in the Rig Veda to only sixteen independent examples in the Atharva Veda, would show that it is also essentially hieratic as well as poetic.

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[1] See this Journal, XXX, 155 ff.

These conclusions find additional corroboration in the infrequency of this dual even in the ancillary Vedic literature, in which except a mere[1] handful of analogical growth, only a[2] few stereotyped forms remain, reminiscential of the older hieratic and more artistic period, and also in its[3] non-occurrence in the later poetic recrudescence.

In their use of the elliptic dual the rishis show in various ways that they are quite conscious of the syllepsis. In ninety-nine of the hundred and forty-five instances in the two Vedas they seem to have taken especial pains that others should not misunderstand them by taking the words too literally. Their methods show considerable variety and artistic skill and seem important enough to warrant a rather full presentation. They may be subsumed under eight classes, described as follows:

I. The dual of the unexpressed member of the syllepsis follows closely in the context the dual of the expressed member.

Thus *mātárā* in[4] III, 7, 1[b], referring to *dyā́vāpṛthivī́* as the parents of Agni is followed in the very next *pāda* by *pitárā* with the same meaning and reference. In this instance there is the additional reinforcement of *pitṛ́bhyām* in 6[a]. Similar are,

III, 5, 7[d], mātárā, and 8[d], pitrór,
I, 140, 3[b], mātárā, and 7[d], pitróḥ,
I, 159, 2[c], pitárā, and 3[c], mātárā,
IX, 75, 2[c], pitróḥ, and 4[b], mātárā.

Thus this phenomenon is associated with eleven of the duals.

II. There is in the neighboring context either specific mention or suggestion, or both, of the unexpressed member of the syllepsis.

(*a*) Mention. In VIII, 27, 2[b]—*uṣā́sā náktam ôṣadhīḥ*, the *náktam* implicit in *uṣā́sā* is expressed immediately after it.

I, 155, 3[b], mātárā = dyā́vāpṛthiví, 3[c] pitúr = dyā́us,
I, 140, 3[b], mātárā, 3[d] pitúḥ,

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[1] The following have been noted in Pāṇiṇi, Hemachandra and the *Amarakoça*: āulūkhalāu, kukkuṭāu, dṛṣadāu, putrāu, brāhmanāu, bhrātarāu and çvaçurāu. There are probably a few others of sporadic occurrence.

[2] See, *e. g.* under adhvaryū, uṣāsā and pitarā in the appended list.

[3] Ahanī alone of the Vedic elliptic duals is cited by PWB. for the *Mahābhārata*.

[4] All references are to the RV. unless the AV. be particularly specified.

I, 140, 7[d], pitrór, 9[a], mātū́,

IV, 5, 10[a], pitrór, 10[c], mātúṣ,

VIII, 25, 2[a], mitrā́ (initial in *pāda*), 2[b] váruṇo (also initial in *pāda*).

(*b*) Suggestion.

I, 31, 2[d], the epithet *dvimátā́* referring to the *aráṇī* as parents of Agni, suggests the member implicit in the *pitrór* of 4[c].

V, 3, 2[a] and X, 68, 2[b],—the mention of *Aryamā* suggests marriage and the unexpressed member of *dámpatī* in 2[d] and 2[c] respectively.

VIII, 52, 1[b],—*kṣoní* is followed in the same *pāda* by *súryam*, suggestive, if not metonymic, of the connoted *dyāús*.

I, 146, 1[b],—*pitrór* finds its connoted feminine amply suggested by *ene* in 2[a] and *dhenū́* in 3[b].

(*c*) Both mention and suggestion.

III, 1, 7[d],—*mātárā* (= *dyā́vāpṛthivī́*) has its connoted masculine mentioned in *pitúç* in 9[a] and 10[a] and suggested by the *diváḥ* of 2[c], 6[b] and 9[c] and both its members are explained by 3[b]—

diváḥ subándhur janúṣī pṛthivyā́ḥ.

In addition to these twelve, three others are listed under class VIII.

III. The unexpressed member is sometimes represented by a heterogeneous adjective as an attributive of the expressed member. So *pūrvajé* with *pitárā* in VII, 53, 2[a] and *pūrvajā́varī*, also with *pitárā*, in X, 65, 8[c]. Conversely we have the masculines *ubhā́, kṛṣṇaprútāu* and *sakṣítāu* with *mātárā* in I, 140, 3[b].

As *dyā́vā* is the masculine element in *dyā́vāpṛthivī́*, so it would seem preferable to take it when it is the elliptic dual as still masculine and explain *mā́hine* in III, 6, 4[b], and *ubhé* in IX, 70, 2[b] as heterogeneous adjectives representing the unexpressed member.

In X, 76, 1[c] *sacābhúvā* and *udbhídā*, heterogeneous attributives to *áhanī*, seem due to the thought of the dual *náktā*. In I, 113, 2[cd], the adjectives *amṛ́te, anūcī́* and *āminā́ne* may be taken as neuters in a *constructio ad sensum* with *dyā́vā* as equivalent to *ahorātré*.

IV. The implied member of the syllepsis is sometimes sug-

gested by a differentiating adjective, sometimes with a distinctly oxymoronic effect.

In I, 123, 7[b] and VI, 58, 1[b], *víṣurūpe* applied to *áhanī* differentiates between day and night. So *vírūpe* as applied to *uṣásā* in III, 4, 6[a] and V, 1, 4[c] distinguishes between the connoting and connoted members. The phrase *várṇam . . . āminānė́*, attribute of *dyā́vā* in I, 113, 2[d], has a similar function.

In the Atharva Veda we find *nā́nārūpe* applied to *áhanī* in XIII, 2, 3[b], *sáṁyatoḥ* to *áhnos* in XVI, 8, 22[c] and *sáṁ caratah* predicated of *uṣásā* in VIII, 9, 12[c], all serving to mark a distinction between the expressed and unexpressed members of the syllepses.

V. The most frequent method is the use of distributive appositives or attributives.

(*a*) Distributive appositives.

I, 160, 3[a], pitróḥ, 2[b], pitā́ mātā́ ca.
X, 32, 3[b], pitrór, 3[c], jāyā́ pátim vahati.
(?) I, 36, 17[c], mitrā́, 17[c], médhyatithim + 17[d] upastutám.
X, 10, 5[a], dámpatī = yamó yamī́ ca.
X, 85, 32[b], dámpatī = sómaḥ sū́ryā ca.
X, 95, 12[c], dámpatī = purūráva urváçī ca.
III, 33, 1[c], mātárā, 1[d], vípāṭ chutudrī́.
III, 33, 3[c], mātárā, 3[a], síndhum mātṛ́tamām + 3[b], vípāçam.
IV, 55, 3[c], áhanī, 3[d], uṣā́sānáktā.
III, 31, 17[a], kṛṣṇé, 16[d], dyúbhir . . . aktúbhir.
I, 142, 7[c], mātárā, 7[b], náktoṣā́sā.
IV, 22, 4[c], mātárā, 3[d], dyā́m . . . . bhū́ma.
4[b], dyāúr . . . . kṣā́ḥ.
V, 5, 6[a], mātárā, 6[c], doṣā́m uṣā́sam.
VII, 2, 5[c], mātárā, 6[b], uṣā́sānáktā.
VII, 7, 3[c], mātárā, 5[c], dyāúç ca yám pṛthivī́.
X, 1, 7[b], mātárā, 7[a], dyā́vāpṛthivī́.
X, 35, 3[b], mātárā, 3[a], dyā́vā no adyá pṛthivī́.
X, 64, 14[a], mātárā, 14[a], dyā́vāpṛthivī́.
I, 31, 9[a], pitrór, 8[d], dyā́vāpṛthivī́.
I, 110, 8[d], pitárā, 6[c], pitúr + 8[c], mātárām.
I, 121, 5[a], pitárāu, 11[a], dyā́vākṣā́mā.
III, 3, 11[c], pitárā, 11[d], dyā́vāpṛthivī́.
X, 65, 8[a], pitárā, 8[c], dyā́vāpṛthivī́.
V, 65, 6[a], mitrā́, 1[c], váruṇo, 1[d], mitró.
4[a], mitró, 4[c], mitrásya.

5[a], mitrásya, 5[d], váruṇa.

The AV. instances belonging here are:

XIV, 2, 9[b], dámpatī, 9[e], vadhvāí.

7[c], vadhú, 7[d], pátye.

1[e], pátibhyo, jā́yām.

2[a], pátnim, 2[c], pátir.

XIV, 2, 64[b], dámpatī, 63[a], nā́rī, 63[c], pátir.

VI, 120, 3[d], pitárāu, 1[b], mātáram pitáram va.

2[a], mātā́, 2[c], pitā́.

XX, 34, 16[a], pitárāu, 14[a], dyā́vā cid asmāi pṛthiví.

(*b*) Distributive attributives.

VI, 58, 1[b], áhanī, 1[a], çukrám ... anyád.

1[a], yajatám ... anyád.

X, 120, 7[c], mātárā (= dyā́vāpṛthiví).

7[a], ávaram, páram.

I, 146, 1[b], pitrór (= dyā́vāpṛthiví).

1[c], cárato (dyāús), dhruvásya (pṛthiví)

(*c*) The distributive appositives are sometimes suggested rather than expressed.

VIII, 7, 22[b], kṣoṇí, equivalent to dyā́vāpṛthiví,

22[b], apáḥ (pṛthiví), sū́ryam (dyāús).

VII, 65, 2[d], dyā́vā, 1[a], sū́ra (dyāús), 2[b], kṣítīḥ (pṛthiví).

VIII, 31, 5[a], dámpatī, 6, 7, 8, 9, *passim*, suggest the married pair.

X, 162, 4[b], dámpatī, all the poem suggests the pair, esp. the wife.

AV. V, 1, 4[c], mātárā, 2[c], dhā́syur yónim.

(*d*) Two of the foregoing may be united.

a + *b*. I, 113, 2[d], dyā́vā = daily and nightly heavens.

2[a], rúçatī çvetyā́, 2[b], kṛṣṇā́.

1[d], rā́trī, 3[d], náktoṣā́sā.

I, 122, 4[d], mātárā = ahorātré.

2[b], uṣā́sānáktā.

2[c], starī́r (barren night).

2[c], sudī́ṣī (fair morn).

a + *c*. X, 37, 2[b], dyā́vā, 2[d], ā́po, sū́ryaḥ.

6[a], dyā́vāpṛthiví.

I, 161, 10[d] and 12[b], pitárā = dyā́vāpṛthiví.

11[a], udvátsv asmā akṛṇotanā tṛ́ṇaṁ.

11[b], nivátsv apáḥ (akṛṇotanā).

11[c], ágohyasya gṛhé, 13[b], ágohya.

12[a], bhúvanā.
14[a], divā́ . . . bhúmyā.
AV. XIV, 2, 37[a], pitárāu, 37[b], mātā́ pitā́ ca.
37[c], márya iva yóṣām.
37[d], prajā́ṁ kṛṇvāthām.

XII, 3, 7[d]
3, 14[d]
3, 27[c]
3, 35[c]
} dámpatī, 1[a], púmāns, 1[b], priyā́, context of hymn *passim.*

VI. The appositive is sometimes a collective dual.
III, 2, 2[b], mātrór, 2[a], ródasī.
III, 26, 9[c], pitrór, 9[c], ródasī.
VII, 6, 6[d], pitrór, 6[c], ródasyor.
IX, 68, 4[a], mātárā, 3[c], mahí apāré rájasī.
IX, 70, 6[a], mātárā, 2[b], ubhé dyā́vā.
5[b], ródasī.
IX, 75, 4[b], mātárā, 4[b], ródasī.
IX, 85, 12[d], mātárā, 12[d], ródasī.
X, 11, 6[a], pitárā, 9[c], ródasī devá putre.
X, 140, 2[c], mātárā, 2[d], ródasī.

VII. The appositive sometimes refers only to the expressed member, by name or suggestion.

(*a*) By name.
I, 28, 8[c], vanaspatī, 6[a], vanaspate.
7[a], āyají vājasā́tamā.
1[c], 2[c], 3[c], 4[c], 5[b], ulū́khala.
X, 79, 4[b], mātárā, 3[a], mātúḥ.
X, 8, 3[a], X, 8, 7[c], } pitrór, 7[b], pitúr párasya.

(*b*) By suggestion.
X, 39, 12[a], áhanī, 12[c], duhítā́ diváḥ (uṣás).
12[d], vivásvataḥ (morning sun).
II, 16, 3[a], kṣoṇíbhyām, 3[b], samudrāiḥ párvatāir.
X, 115, 1[b], mātárāv, 1[c], anūdhā́.
I, 124, 5[d], pitrór, 3[a], divó duhitā́.
X, 31, 10[c], pitrór, 10[d], çamyā́m.

VIII. Two or more of the foregoing may unite into a complex.
I + IIa.
I, 159, 2[c], pitárā = 3[d], mātárā.
2[a], pitúr, 2[b], mātúr.
1[a], dyā́vā yajñāíḥ pṛthivī́.

I + II a + III.

I, 140, 3[b], mātárā = 7[d], pitróḥ.
3[d], pitúḥ, 9[a], mātū́.
{3[a], kṛṣṇaprútāu, sakṣítāu.
{3[b], ubhā́.

I + II b + VI.

IX, 75, 4[b], mātárā = 2[a], pitrór,
2[d], diváḥ.
4[b], ródasī.

II b + IV + VII.

I, 185, 1[d], áhanī, 1[a], pū́rvā, áparā.
4[c], ubháyebhir áhnām.
{5[a], saṁgáchamāne yuvatí.
{5[b], svásārā jāmí, κατὰ σύνεσιν with áhanī as daughters of dyā́vāpṛthiví.

III + IVa + Va + b.

I, 123, 7[b], áhanī, 7[c], anyā́ (attracted by uṣā́ḥ).
7[b], víṣurūpe.
7[a], ápānyád éty abhy ànyád eti.
7[c], támo, 7[d], uṣā́ḥ.

III + Va + c.

VII, 53, 2[a], pítárā, 2[a], pūrvajé.
{1[a], dyā́vā yajñā́iḥ pṛthiví.
{2[c], dyā́vāpṛthiví.
1[d], mahí devá́putre.

IV + Vc + VII.

V, 1, 4[c], uṣásā, 4[c], vírūpe.
2[b], prātár, 2[d], támaso.
4[c] & 5[a], ágre áhnām.
1[b], uṣásam.

Va + VI.

VI, 17, 7[d], mātárā, 7[a], kṣā́m, 7[b], dyā́m.
7[c], ródasī.

III, 6, 4[b], dyā́vā, 2[b], diváç cid agne mahinā́ pṛthivyā́.
2[a], ródasī.

IV, 56, 5[a], dyā́vā, 1[a] and 3[b], dyā́vāpṛthiví.
4[a], ródasī.

I, 185, 2[c], 5[b], pitrór, 2[d]—8[d], dyā́vā rákṣatam pṛthiví.
11[a], dyā́vāpṛthiví.

10[d], pitā́ mātā́ ca rakṣatam.
11[b], pítar mā́tar.
3[a], ródasī.
4[b], ródasī devā́putre.

X, 12, 4[d], pitárā, 4[b], dyā́vābhūmī.
4[b], ródasī.

X, 59, 8[b], mātárā, 7[a], pṛthiví, 7[b], dyāúr.
8[d], dyāúḥ pṛthiví.
8[a], ródasī.

Vc + VI.

IX, 70, 2[b], dyā́vā, 3, double ref. to gods and men.
1[b], purvyé vyòmana.
4[b], madhyamā́su mātṛ́ṣu.
5[b], ródasī.

The AV. has the following:

IV + Va.

XIII, 2, 3[b], áhanī, 3[b], nā́nārūpe.
8[d], cukró, 8[d], támo.
5[d], ahorātré.

XVI, 8, 22[c], áhnos, 22[c], sáṁyatoḥ.
21[c], ahorātráyoḥ.

IV + VII.

VIII, 9, 12[a], uṣásā, sáṁ caratah.
12[c], sū́ryapatnī.

Of the elliptic duals not listed in the foregoing classes, the unexpressed members of thirty in the RV. and of three in the AV. are clearly suggested by the general context, as in those instances in which *mātárā* or *pitárā* is a term for the *aráṇī* as parents of Agni, or for *dyā́vāpṛthivī́* as the parents of the Ribhus, &c. Of the remaining thirteen, ten are used in similes with the Açvinā as the second member and one each in comparisons with *kṣoṇī́*, *ródasī* and *índrāváruṇā*.

The irreversibility of the elliptic dual has been remarked by others. Only one member of each pair can, in general, be used. *Pitárā* and *mātárā* are the striking exception and are used in the RV. in the ratio of forty-nine to thirty-six, in the AV. of three to two. Another exception does not appear to have been noted. The compound is *dyā́vākṣā́mā*, but *kṣā́mā* is an elliptic dual. Here *dyā́vā* would suggest only the far

more frequent *pṛthivī́*. The same is true of *kṣoṇī́*, though the compound is not Vedic.

§ 2.

Elliptic Duals.

The following alphabetic list of these duals is believed to be complete for both the Rig and the Atharva Veda.

RV.

adhvaryū́ (2) = adhvaryú + (pratiprasthātṛ́).
I, 16, 5[c], and to be supplied with *dvā́* in VIII, 72, 7[b].
Cited also for ÇB. 4, 3, 4, 22 and Kātj. ÇS. 5, 5, 24, 26.

áhanī (7) = áhan + (rā́trī).
I, 123, 7[b]; 185, 1[d]; IV, 55, 3[c]; V, 82, 8[a]; VI, 58, 1[b]; X, 39, 12[d]; 76, 1[c].
Cited also for MBh. I, 301.

udumbalāū (1), see under *çabálāu* infra.
X, 14, 12[b].

uṣā́sā (5) = uṣás + (nákta).
I, 188, 6[c]; III, 4, 6[a]; 14, 3[a]; V, 1, 4[c]; VIII, 27, 2[b] (cf. Bergaigne, *Rel. Ved.* 1. 248, n).
Cited also for VS. 21, 50; 29, 6.

kṛṣṇé (2) = kṛṣṇā́ + (çvetá, cf. VII, 90, 3[d]).
III, 31, 17[a], kṛṣṇé vásudhitī = ahorātré (Sāy.).
IV, 48, 3[a], kṛṣṇé vásudhitī = dyā́vāpṛthivī́ (Say.).
(VS. 28, 15, explains *vásudhitī* as *dyā́vāpṛthivī́*. As *kṛṣṇá* is not applicable to *áhar* or *dyāús*, we follow Bergaigne in *Rel. Ved.* 1, 250, in taking it as an elliptic dual,—"la noire et la brillante").

kṣā́mā (2) = (dyāús) + kṣám.
II, 39, 7[b]; X, 106, 10[d].
(Both instances are in Açvin similes. In both the *Padapāṭha* reads *kṣā́ma-iva* and GWB. takes it as the sing. of *kṣāman*. Sāyaṇa writes *kṣāmā* each time, but paraphrases the former by *ródasī*, the latter by *kṣīṇā gāuh*. LRV and GRV interpret the word differently in the two passages. *kṣā́mā* in X, 12, 1[a], is unmistakably a dual from *kṣám*

Dyā́vā ha kṣā́mā prathamé ṛténa.

In a comparison with the Açvinā the law of numerical concord holds with great strictness and almost of itself compels

us to take both instances as duals, elliptic duals equivalent to *ródasī* or *dyā́vāpṛthivī́*. This gives also a much better interpretation in each instance and has the added virtue of consistency. The *sám ajataṁ rájāṅsi* of the former passage and the *ūrjā́ sacethe* of the latter both become especially apposite. The second passage would mean—"As Earth and Heaven ye help strengthen with food from the grassy mead" or perhaps, better, "help with strength the creature that grazes the grassy mead", comparing *sūyavasā́d* in I, 164, 40 and Sāyaṇa's derivation of the word in our passage from the radical **ad.** In either case it becomes another allusion to the Açvinā as the great succorers).

kṣoṇī́ (4) = (dyā́us) + kṣoṇí.
II, 16, 3[a]; VIII, 7, 22[b]; 52, 10[b]; 99, 6[b].
(*kṣoṇa*, "earth", is cited for R. I, 42, 23 and Bh. P. V, 18, 28; VIII, 6, 2. So *kṣoṇi* in Bh. P. IV, 21, 35 and *kṣāuṇi* in Bh. P. III, 14, 3 and 24, 42. These seem to justify the inclusion of this word among the elliptic duals, a view supported by Nāigh, 3, 30. The word presents also the phenomena associated with the elliptic duals).

dámpatī (7) = dámpati + (dámpatnī).
V, 3, 2[d]; VIII, 31, 5[a]; X, 10, 5[a]; 68, 2[c]; 85, 32[b]; 95, 12[c]; 162, 4[b].

dyā́vā (4) = dyā́us + (pṛthiví).
III, 6, 4[b]; VII, 65, 2[d]; IX, 70, 2[b]; X, 37, 2[b].

dyā́vā (1) in sense of náktoṣā́sā, or the sky by day and the sky by night. See pp. 35 and 37.
I, 113, 2[d].

dyā́vī (1) = dyā́us + (pṛthiví).
IV, 56, 5[a].
(Lanman, NI. 433[c] and Grassmann WB. agree that this anomalous ἅπαξ εἰρημένον is a neuter form).

pitárā (49) = pitā́ + (mātā́).
I, 20, 4[a]; 110, 8[d]; 111, 1[c]; 161, 10[d], 12[b]; IV, 33, 2[a], 3[a]; 34, 9[a]; 35, 5[a]; 36, 3[c], (ṛbhūṇā́m).
I, 31, 4[c], 9[a]; 146, 1[b]; III, 3, 11[c]; 5, 8[d]; 18, 1[b]; 26, 9[a];
VI, 7, 5[c]; VII, 6, 6[d]; X, 8, 3[a]; 11, 6[a]; 31, 10[c], (agnés).
I, 121, 5[a], (índrasya); I, 124, 5[d], (uṣā́sas).
I, 160, 3[a], (sū́ryasya); II, 17, 7[a], (apariṇītā́yās).
IX, 75, 2[c], (sómasya); X, 8, 7[c], (tritā́sya).
X, 32, 3[b], (kā́sya cid); X, 61, 1[c], (pakthasya).

I, 140, 7[d]; 159, 2[c], 185, 2[c], 5[b]; III, 7, 1[c], 6[a]; IV, 5, 10[a];
VI, 7, 4[d]; VII, 53, 2[a]; X, 12, 4[d]; 65, 8[a], (= dyā́vāpṛthiví).
IV, 41, 7[d], comparison with mitrā́váruṇā.
III, 54, 16[a]; 58, 2[b]; VII, 67, 1[d]; X, 39, 6[b]; 85, 14[d]; 106, 4[a]; 131, 5[d], comparison with açvínā.
Cited also from VS. 19, 11, and from the Kāṭhaka recension of the YV. 23, 12.

mātárā (36) = mātá + (pitā́).
I, 122, 4[d]; 140, 3[b]; III, 1, 7[d]; 2, 2[b]; 5, 7[d]; V, 11, 3[a]; VII, 3, 9[c]; 7, 3[c]; VIII, 60, 15[a]; X, 1, 7[b]; 79, 4[b]; 115, 1[b]; 140, 2[c], (agnés).
I, 142, 7[c]; V, 5, 6[b]; VI, 17, 7[d]; IX, 102, 7[b]; X, 59, 8[b], (ṛtásya).
IX, 75, 4[b]; 85, 12[d], (sómasya).
I, 155, 3[b]; 159, 3[b]; III, 7, 1[b]; IV, 22, 4[c]; VI, 32, 2[a];
IX, 9, 3[a]; 68, 4[a]; 70, 6[a]; X, 35, 3[b]; 64, 14[a]; 120, 7[c], (= dyā́vāpṛthiví).
IX, 18, 5[b], (= ródasī).
III, 33, 1[c], 3[c], comparison with vípāṭ chutudrí ca.
VII, 2, 5[c], comparison with uṣā́sānáktā.
VIII, 99, 6[b], comparison with kṣoṇí.

mitrā́ (5) = mitrá + (váruṇa).
I, 36, 17[c], so Ludwig, Grassmann and Bergaigne (2, 116) take it, but Sāyaṇa takes it as *mitrāṇi*, plural. It may be taken also as dual, "friends", in apposition to the proper names immediately after it.
I, 14, 3[b], if the *Padapāṭha* is correct in its resolution of *mitrā́gnim* into *mitrā́-ágnim*. The metre does not favor this and the presence of *ágna . . . mitrásya* in 10 below, without any reference to *váruṇa* makes it more doubtful whether we have a dual here at all.
V, 65, 6[a]; VIII, 25, 2[a].
X, 106, 5[b], in comparison with *açvínā*. Sāyaṇa takes it as equivalent to *mitrā́váruṇāu*, but GWB. and LRV. take it as "*freunde*".

vanaspatī (2), metonym = ulū́khala + (músala).
I, 28, 8[a] and to be supplied also in 7[a] with the adjectives *āyajī́* and *vājasā́tamā*.

çabálāu (1) = çabála + (çyāmá).
X, 14, 10[b]; (see Bloomfield: "*Cerberus, The Dog of Hades*", p. 32).
The foregoing equation is based on AV. VIII, 1, 9[a]. The color of these hell hounds is stated in RV. X, 114, 12[b] to

be *udumbulāú*—evidently another elliptic dual. In VII, 55, $2^{a\,b}$, the colors *árjuna* and *piçáṅga* are used in reference to one of them.

Açvínā and *ródasī*; the evidence seems too meagre to warrant the admission of these into the number of elliptic duals.

AV.

aghnyāú (1) = aghnyás + (aghnyā́).

XIV, 2, 16^{d} if a metaphor for the bride and groom; if, as Kāuç. 77, 15 takes it, the two oxen that drew the bridal car, it is not an elliptic dual at all.

áhanī (2) = áhan + (rā́trī).

XIII, 2, 3^{b}; XVI, 8, 22^{c}.

uṣásā (1) = uṣás + (nákta).

VIII, 9, 12^{a}.

dámpatī (7) = dámpati + (dámpatnī).

VI, 122, 3^{d}; XII, 3, 7^{d}, 14^{d}, 27^{c}, 35^{c};
XIV, 2, 9^{b}, 64^{b}.

pitárāu (3) = pitā́ + (mātā́).

VI, 120, 3^{d}; XIV, 2, 37^{a}, literal.
XX, 34, 16^{a}, figurative = dyā́vāpṛthiví (índrasya).

mātárā (1) = mātā́ + (pitā́).

V, 1, 4^{c}, figurative? = dyā́vāpṛthiví? (súryasya)?

sammātárāu (1).

XIII, 2, 13^{b}, if literal, dual is due to comparison with ántāu preceding; if figurative, perhaps alludes to the *aráṇī* as parents of Agni.

The following are common to both Vedas:

dámpatī, RV. X, 85, 32^{b} = AV. XIV, 2, 11^{b}.
RV. X, 10, 5^{a} = AV. XVIII, 1, 5^{a}.

pitárā, RV. X, 11, 6^{a} = AV. XVIII, 1, 23^{a}.
RV. X, 12, 4^{d} = AV. XVIII, 1, 31^{d}.

çabálāu, RV. X, 14, 10^{b} = AV. XVIII, 2, 11^{b}.

II.

The Dual Dvandva.

In our presentation of this dual we shall start with that form which, from one view taken of its historical relationship to other forms, may be called the tmetic dvandva, or, from an-

other view, the inchoative dvandva. In this there is an "alien intrusion" of one or more words between the parts of the compound. We may select as one extreme RV. VI, 42, 5[a]—

ā́ náktā barhíḥ sadatām uṣā́sā

in which the members are, practically, at the opposite ends of a triṣṭubh pāda and separated by the maximum of five full syllables. To illustrate the other extreme we may select RV. V, 45, 4[b]—*índra nv àgní*, in which the intervening monosyllabic word coalesces in pronunciation with the second term and disappears as a separate entity.

The appended list of dual dvandvas shows that the RV. has thirty-five instances of this form, in only two of which five syllables intervene; in eighteen, three syllables; in eight, two syllables; in five, one full syllable and in two a syllable that coalesces with the second term. The AV. has but one example of this class, in which a monosyllable comes between the members of the compound.

That this class is of pro-ethnic origin is shown by the few parallels found in the Avestan and the Old Russian, in both of which languages, however, the degree of possible separation is narrowly restricted. The Avestan *haurvatāsča nō amərətātā*, in Vr. 9, 3 and *pāyūča ϑwōrəštāra*, in Y. 42, 2, show that the limits for that language are one or two monosyllabic enclitics. The three examples given by Zubaty (*Věstnik České Akademie*, X, 520) show that the Old Russian allows only a monosyllabic conjunction to come between the members of the dvandva, *e. g.*

perenesena vysta Borisa i Glěba.

In the second form this foreign matter is extruded and the two duals stand juxtaposed but without any other evidence of incipient coalescence into a compound; *e. g.*, RV. VII, 66, 1[a]—*mitráyor váruṇayoḥ*, and I, 147, 1[c],—*toké tánaye.* The RV. has four examples of this and the unique tmetic "freak", V, 62, 3[b]—*mítrarājānā varuṇā.* The AV. has no example of this type. That it is at least [1]Aryan, however, is shown by the fact that it is the usual and final form of the dual dvandva in Avestan. A rather short search has yielded a full score of examples,

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[1] Since writing this I have somewhere seen a statement that Wackernagel has suggested this as an additional explanation, of the much mooted Homeric Ἀκτορίωνε Μολίονε in Λ, 750. I regret I have no access to Wackernagel's book.

such as *pasu vīra* (nom.), Yt. 13, 12; *pasvā̊ vīrayā̊* (gen.), Yt. 13, 10; *pasubya vīraēibya* (inst.), V, 6, 32; *antarə aēϑrya aēϑrapaiti* (acc.), Yt. 10, 116; *təvēšī utayūitī* (acc.), Y. 45, 10; &c., &c.

In our third type the two members, each preserving its own accent and dual form, coalesce into a compound. This doubly dualized dvandva is the prevailing type in either Veda, occurring 321 times out of a total of 487 in the RV. and 126 times out of a total of 237 in the AV. It is found, however, only in the strong cases, the nom., acc. and voc.; *e. g. índrāvárunā, agnīṣóma, índrābṛ́haspátī*, &c.[1] In the weak cases one of the two concords is lost, either that of number or that of case. The loss of numerical concord occurs four times, only in the RV. *divásprthivyós*; the loss of case concord occurs three times in the RV. and ten times in the AV.; e. g. *dyā́vāprthivī́bhyām, dyā́vāprthivyós*, &c.

In our next type the doubly dualized dvandva appears with only one accent, as that of the prior member is absent. Slight as this change is, it is very significant as it indicates a growing feeling of the compound. The RV. preserves only six examples of this type; the AV., thirteen; *e. g. somāpūṣā́bhyām, sūryāçandramásāu*, &c.

In our final type the two members are fused into a unit by the complete loss of inflection of the prior element; *e. g., indravāyū́, párjanyavātā* (voc.), &c. The RV. has 120 cases of this, or nearly 25%; the AV. has 87 cases, or 33%. This is the regular dual dvandva of the later language. The other types are distinctively poetic and hieratic and hieratic conservatism seems to be shown in the eighteen instances of the metrical resolution of *indrāgnī́* out of a total of eighty-nine instances in which the form is found.

There are some noteworthy phenomena associated with the hieratic types of the dual dvandva. Of the thirty-five examples of our first type, the prior members of thirty-two stand initial in their *pādas* and the other three are preceded only by a prepositional particle.

The doubly dualized dvandva also has its favorite positions. Of the 321 in the RV., 119 are initial in their *pādas*; 30 stand second, usually preceded by a monosyllabic particle; 154 stand

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[1] The AV. shows in *agnāviṣṇū*, VII, 29, 1[a], 2[a], a metabolism in the stem of the prior element, due to analogy with the numerous *a* stems.

in the exact middle of a triṣṭubh or jagatī *pāda* and only 18 are final. This is not *metri causa* as they would frequently scan as well in other positions, but seems due rather to an artistic desire to get the long compound into one of the two effective positions of the *pāda*, either initial or at its medial summit. It would seem to have been done for conscious effect as the instances seem too numerous to be accidental.

The dual dvandva resembles the elliptic dual in its general irreversibility. The appended list shows that in the Vedas only *uṣā́sānáktā*, *parjányāvā́tā* and *dyā́vāpṛthivī́* can be reversed to *náktoṣā́sā*, *vātāparjanyā́* and *pṛthivī́dyā́vā* respectively. The last of these is a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον in RV. III, 46, 5[a].

§ 2.

The Dual Dvandvas.

In the following lists we follow the order in which the various types were presented and give first the RV. and then the AV. examples of the respective types.

I. The tmetic dvandva.

agní, see índrā.

índrā.

V, 45, 4[b]; VI, 59, 3[c],—índrā nv àgní.
VI, 60, 1[b],—índrā yó agní.
VI, 57, 1[a],—índrā nú pūṣáṇā.
IV, 41, 1[a],—índrā kó vāṁ varuṇā.
IV, 41, 2[a],—índrā ha yó váruṇā.
IV, 41, 3[a],—índrā ha rátnaṁ váruṇā.
IV, 41, 4[a], 5[a],—índrā yuváṁ varuṇā.
IV, 41, 6[c],—índrā no átra váruṇā.
VI, 68, 5[b],—índrā yó vāṁ varuṇā.

uṣā́sā and *uṣásā*, see náktā.

kṣā́mā, see dyā́vā.

dyā́vā.

X, 12, 1[a]—dyā́vā ha kṣā́mā.
I, 63, 1[b]—dyā́vā jajñānáḥ pṛthiví.
I, 143, 2[d],—dyā́vā çocíḥ pṛthiví.
I, 159, 1[a]; VII, 53, 1[a],—dyā́vā yajñāíḥ pṛthiví.
I, 185, 2[d]—8[d],—dyā́vā rakṣatam pṛthiví.
II, 12, 13[a],—dyā́vā cid asmāi pṛthiví.
II, 41, 20[a],—dyā́vā naḥ pṛthiví.

V, 43, 2[b],—dyā́vā vā́jāya pṛthiví.
VI, 11, 1[d],—dyā́vā hotrā́ya pṛthiví.
VIII, 97, 14[d],—dyā́vā rejete pṛthiví.
X, 35, 3[a],—dyā́vā no adyá pṛthiví.
X, 46, 9[a],—dyā́vā yám agním pṛthiví.
X, 91, 3[d],—dyā́vā ca yā́ni pṛthiví.
I, 61, 14[b],—dyā́vā ca bhū́mā.

náktā.
I, 73, 7[c],—náktā ca cakrúr uṣásā.
VII, 42, 5[c]—ā́ náktā barhíḥ sadatām uṣā́sā.

pūṣáṇā, see índrā.
pṛthiví, see dyā́vā.
bhū́mā, see dyā́vā.
mitrā́.
VI, 51, 1,—mitrā́yór ā́ṅ éti priyáṁ váruṇayoḥ.
The AV. has its only example in
XVIII, 1, 29[a], dyā́vā ha kṣā́mā, = RV. X, 12, 1[a].
II. Our second type, juxtaposition without composition, appears in I, 147, 1[c]; VIII, 103, 7[c],—toké tánaye.
IX, 58, 3[a],—dhvasrā́yoḥ puruṣā́ntyor.
VII, 66, 1[a],—mitrā́yor váruṇayoḥ.
V, 62, 3[b],—mitrarājānā varuṇa, a unique variant and sort of hybrid between the types.
III. The doubly dualized dvandvas.

**ágnīparjanyāu,* VI, 52, 16[a].
ágnīṣomāu, I, 93, 1[a], 5[d], 10[a], 11[a].
ágnīṣomā, I, 93, 2[a], 3[a], 4[a], 6[c], 7[a], 9[a], 12[a]; X, 19, 1[c].
agnī́ṣómā, I, 93, 8[a]; X, 66, 7[a].
**árṇācitráratha,* IV, 30, 18[c].
**indrākutsā,* V, 31, 9[a].
indrāparvatā, I, 122, 3[c]; 132, 6[a].
índrāparvatā, III, 53, 1[a].
índrāpūṣáṇā, VII, 35, 1[d].
indrābṛhaspatī, IV, 49, 1[b], 2[b], 3[a], 4[a], 6[a].
índrābṛ́haspátī, IV, 49, 5[a].
**indrābrahmaṇaspatī,* II, 24, 12[c].
índrāvaruṇā́, I, 17, 7[a], 8[a], 9[b].
indrāvaruṇā, III, 62, 1[c], 2[c], 3[a]; IV, 41, 1[d]; 42, 9[b], 10[c]; VI, 68,

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* ἅπαξ εἰρημένον in the Veda cited.

4c, 7b, 8a; VII, 82, 8d, 9a; 83, 1d, 2d, 3b, 7b, 9d; 84, 1b, 4a; VIII, 59, 3a, 4c, 5c.

índrāvaruṇā, I, 17, 5b; VI, 68, 10a, 11a; VII, 82, 1a, 3c, 4d, 5a, 7b; 83, 4a; VIII, 59, 1b, 2b, 6a, 7a.

índrāváruṇā, VI, 68, 3b; VII, 35, 1b; 82, 2b.

indrāvaruṇāu, VI, 68, 6c; VII, 83, 8b; 85, 2c.

índrāvaruṇāu, VII, 83, 5a.

índrāváruṇāu, VI, 68, 1c.

índrāviṣṇū, I, 155, 2b; IV, 55, 4a; VI, 69, 1b, 3a, 4b, 5a, 6a, 7a; VII, 99, 5a.

índrāvíṣṇū, IV, 2, 4b; VI, 69, 2b; VIII, 10, 2d; X, 66, 4b.

índrāsomā, II, 30, 6c; VI, 72, 1a, 2a, 4a, 5a; VII, 104, 1a—6a, 7c.

índrāsómā, VII, 35, 1c.

índrāsomāu, VI, 72, 3a.

uṣāsānáktā, I, 122, 2b; 186, 4b; II, 3, 6b; 31, 5b; IV, 55, 3d; V, 41, 7a; VII, 2, 6b; X, 36, 1a; 70, 6b; 110, 6b.

turváçāyádū, IV, 30, 17a.

dyāvākṣāmā, VIII, 18, 16a,

dyāvākṣāmā, I, 96, 5c; 102, 2b; 121, 11b; 140, 13b; III, 8, 8b; VI, 31, 2c; X, 36, 1b.

dyāvāpṛthivī, I, 31, 8d; 159, 5c; 160, 5b; 185, 11a; II, 32, 1a; VI, 50, 3a; VII, 52, 1d; 53, 2c, 3b; VIII, 42, 2d; IX, 69, 10d; X, 67, 12d; 93, 1a, 10a.

dyāvāpṛthivī, I, 35, 9b; 52, 14a; 61, 8c; 101, 3a; 112, 1a; 115, 1c, 3d; 160, 1a; II, 1, 15d; 2, 7c; III, 3, 11d; 25, 3a; 26, 8d; 30, 4c; 32, 10c; 58, 8d; IV, 14, 2c; 54, 6c; 56, 1a, 3b; V, 47, 2d; 51, 11d; 55, 7c; 63, 2d; 83, 8c; VI, 18, 15a; 44, 24a; 70, 1c, 4a, 5a; 75, 10b; VII, 35, 5a; 44, 1d; VIII, 22, 5c; 48, 13b; 96, 16c; IX, 68, 10c; 81, 5a; 97, 42d; X, 1, 7a; 2, 7a; 31, 7b, 8b; 35, 1c; 36, 1d; 37, 6a; 45, 12c; 47, 8c; 63, 9d; 64, 14a; 65, 8c; 66, 4c, 6c, 9a; 70, 10d; 81, 4b; 82, 1d; 89, 6a; 92, 11a; 110, 9a; 113, 1a, 5b; 114, 8b; 125, 6d; 149, 2d.

dyāvābhūmī, IV, 55, 1b; VII, 62, 4a; X, 12, 4b.

dyāvābhūmī, X, 65, 4b; 81, 3d.

**dhúnīcúmurī*, VI, 20, 13b.

náktoṣāsā, I, 13, 7a; 96, 5a; 113, 3d; 142, 7b; IX, 5, 6c.

parjányāvātā, VI, 50, 12d; X, 65, 9a.

**pṛthivīdyāvā*, III, 46, 5a.

**mātárāpitárā*, IV, 6, 7b.

mítrāvaruṇā, I, 15, 6b.

mitrāvaruṇā, I, 122, 6a, 15c; 137, 1f, 3f; 152, 1d, 3b, 7a; 153, 1b—3b;

II, 27, 5[c]; 29, 3[c]; 31, 1[a]; 41, 4[a]; III, 62, 16[a]; IV, 39, 2[d], 5[d]; V, 47, 7[a]; 51, 14[a]; 62, 2[a]; 63, 1[c], 4[a], 5[b], 7[a]; 64, 4[a]; 69, 3[c], 4[d]; VI, 67, 3[a], 9[a]; VII, 36, 2[a]; 50, 1[a]; 52, 1[c]; 60, 2[a], 3[c]; 61, 3[a], 6[b]; 62, 5[d]; 63, 5[d]; 64, 2[c], 4[c]; 65, 2[c], 3[c], 4[a]; VIII, 72, 17[a]; 101, 3[a]; X, 51, 2[c]; 132, 2[a].

mítrāvaruṇā, V, 63, 2[b].

mitrā́váruṇā, I, 2, 9[a]; 23, 5[c]; 71, 9[c]; 75, 5[a]; 111, 4[c]; III, 20, 5[c]; 56, 7[b]; V, 46, 3[a]; 63, 3[b]; VI, 11, 1[c]; 49, 1[b]; 67, 1[b]; VII, 33, 10[b]; 41, 1[b]; 42, 5[d]; VIII, 23, 30[b]; 25, 4[a]; IX, 7, 8[a]; 97, 42[b], 49[b]; 108, 14[c]; X, 61, 17[c]; 64, 5[b]; 93, 6[b]; 125, 1[c].

mitrāvaruṇāu, I, 2, 8[b]; 122, 9[a]; V, 41, 1[a]; 62, 9[c]; 63, 6[a]; VI, 67, 2[c], 11[b]; VII, 60, 12[b]; 61, 2[a].

mitrā́váruṇāu, I, 35, 1[b]; 167, 8[a]; VII, 35, 4[b]; VIII, 101, 1[c]; X, 93, 6[b].

**çúnāsīrāu*, IV, 57, 5[a].

sū́ryāmā́sā, VIII, 94, 2[c]; X, 64, 3[c]; 68, 10[d]; 92, 12[c]; 93, 5[b].

sómāpūṣaṇā, II, 40, 1[a], 3[a].

sómāpūṣanāu, II, 40, 5[c].

sómārudrā, VI, 74, 1[a], 2[a], 3[a].

sómārudrāu, VI, 74, 4[b].

AV.

ágnāviṣṇū, VII, 29, 1[a], 2[a].

ágnīṣomā, I, 8, 2[d]; XVIII, 2, 53[a].

agnī́ṣómā, VI, 93, 3[c].

agnīṣomāu, VI, 54, 2[a].

agnī́ṣómāu, III, 13, 5[b]; VIII, 9, 14[a].

indrāpūṣaṇā, VI, 3, 1[a].

índrāpūṣáṇā, XIX, 10, 1[d].

índrāvaruṇā, VII, 58, 1[a], 2[a].

índrāváruṇā, XIX, 10, 1[b].

índrāsomā, VIII, 4, 1[a]—6[a], 7[c].

índrāsómā, XIX, 10, 1[c].

uṣā́ṣānáktā, V, 12, 6[b]; 27, 8[c]; VI, 3, 3[b].

dyāvāpṛthivī, II, 29, 4; IV, 22, 4; 26, 1; VI, 40, 1.

dyā́vāpṛthivī, II, 12, 5; 16, 2; IV, 26, 2—6; V, 14, 12.

dyā́vāpṛthivī́, II, 1, 4; 10, 1—8; 12, 1; 29, 5; III, 4, 5; 15, 2; 31, 4; IV, 6, 2; 26, 7; 30, 5; V, 12, 9; 23, 1; 24, 3; VI, 3, 2; 8, 3; 55, 1; 58, 1; 62, 1; 94, 3; VII, 30, 1; 82, 4, 5; 112, 1; VIII, 2, 14; 5, 3, 6, 18; 8, 21, 22; IX, 2, 20; 4, 10; X, 7, 35;

8, 39; XI, 3, 2; 7, 2; XIII, 1, 5, 6 bis, 7, 37; 2, 26, 35; 3, 1, 4; XIV, 1, 54; XIX, 10, 5; 14, 1; 15, 5; 20, 4; 49, 1; 58, 3.
dyā́vābhūmī, XVIII, 1, 31[b].
bhávāçarvāu, IV, 28, 1[a]; VIII, 2, 7[c]; XI, 2, 1[a].
mitrāvaruṇā, VI, 97, 2[a]; IX, 10, 23[b]; XIX, 11, 6[a].
mítrāvaruṇā, IV, 29, 3[b], 4[b].
mitrā́váruṇā, III, 4, 4[a]; 16, 1[b]; IV, 30, 1[c]; XIV, 1, 54; XVIII 3, 12[a].
mitrāvaruṇāu, I, 20, 2[c]; III, 25, 6[a]; IV, 29, 1[a]; VI, 32, 3[a].
mítrāvaruṇāu, IV, 29, 6[b]; XIII, 1, 31[c].
mitrā́váruṇāu, IV, 29, 7[c]; V, 24, 5[a]; 25, 4[a]; VI, 89, 3[a]; 132, 5[a]; XIII, 1, 20[b]; XVI, 4, 7; XIX, 10, 4[b].
sómārudrā, VII, 42, 1[a], 2[a].
sómārudrāu, V, 6, 5[c], 6[c], 7[c].

The instances in which there is a loss of numerical concord in the weak cases are
divásprthivyós, RV. II, 2, 3[b]; V, 49, 5[d]; X, 3, 7[b]; 35, 2[a].

Those in which there is a loss of concord in case are
agnī́ṣómābhyām, AV. XII, 4, 26[a].
índrāváruṇayos, RV. I, 17, 1[a].
dyā́vāprthivī́bhyām, AV. V, 9, 7; VII, 102, 1; XI, 3, 33; XIX, 17, 5.
dyā́vāprthivyós, AV. VI, 58, 2; XVI, 8, 23.
mitrā́váruṇābhyām, RV. V, 51, 9[a].
mitrā́váruṇayos, RV. X, 130, 5[a].
AV. X, 5, 11[a]; XI, 3, 44[d]; XVI, 8, 25[c].

IV. Doubly dualized dvandvas with single accent.

RV.

**vātāparjanyā́*, X, 66, 10[b].
sūryācandramásā, I, 102, 2[c].
sūryācandramásāu, V, 51, 15[b]; X, 190, 3[a].

Here, too, there is loss of case concord in the weak cases:
indrāpūṣṇós, I, 162, 2[d].
somāpūṣā́bhyām, II, 40, 2[d].

AV.

**bhavārudrāú*, XI, 2, 14[a].
bhavāçarvāu, IV, 28, 7[c]; X, 1, 23[a]; XI, 6, 9[a]; XII, 4, 17[c].
vātāparjanyā́, X, 4, 16[c].
sūryācandramásāu, VIII, 2, 15[d]; XI, 3, 2[b]; 6, 5[b].

Weak cases with loss of case concord are
vātāparjanyáyos, VI, 93, 3[d].
sūryācandramásābhyām, VI, 128, 3[b]; XI, 3, 34.
sūryāmāsáyos, III, 29, 5[d].

The vocatives of these words are naturally not indicative of their accentual condition, so they are included in the longer lists preceding.

V. The dvandva in its final form.

RV.

índravāyū, I, 2, 4[a]; 135, 5[f]; II, 41, 3[b]; IV, 46, 3[b], 4[b], 5[c], 6[a], 7[b]; 47, 4[d]; VII, 90, 5[c], 6[c]; 91, 2[c], 4[d], 5[b], 6[b].
indravāyū́, I, 14, 3[a]; 23, 2[b], 3[a]; 139, 1[c]; VII, 90, 7[b]; 91, 7[b]; X, 65, 9[b]; 141, 4[a].
indrāgnī, I, 108, 1[a], 2[b], 3[c], 4[d], 5[a], 7[a]—13[a]; 109, 5[a], 6[d], 7[b], 8[b]; VI, 59, 4[a]; X, 161, 1[d].
índrāgnī, I, 21, 5[b], 6[c]; 109, 1[b], 2[d], 4[b]; III, 12, 1[a], 2[a], 5[c], 6[a]—9[a]; V, 27, 6[a]; VI, 59, 1[d], 7[a], 10[a]; 60, 8[c], 9[c], 15[a]; VII, 94, 1[b]—3[b], 7[a], 8[c], 9[c]; VIII, 38, 1[c]—9[c].
indrāgnī́, I, 21, 1[a], 2[b], 3[b], 4[c]; 139, 9[g]; III, 12, 4[c]; V, 46, 3[a]; 86, 2[d]; VI, 60, 14[d]; VII, 35, 1[a]; VIII, 40, 4[b]; X, 125, 1[d]; 161, 4[d].
indragnībhyām, I, 109, 3[c]; VIII, 40, 5[b], 12[a]; X, 116, 9[a]; 128, 9[b].
indragnyós, VIII, 38, 10[b]; 40, 8[c].
ṛkṣāmā́bhyām, X, 85, 11[a]; 114, 6[d].
párjanyavātā, VI, 49, 6[a].
**viçvāmitrajamadagnī*, X, 167, 4[d].
**sāçanānaçané*, X, 90, 4[d].
**satyānṛté*, VII, 49, 3[b].

In the following instances the double dual of *índrāgnī* is practically restored by the metrical resolution. A comparison of the numerical citations shows that the two forms sometimes exist side by side.

indrāgnī, VI, 60, 13[a].
índrāgnī, V, 86, 1[a]; VI, 59, 2[b], 6[a], 8[a], 9[a]; 60, 7[a]; VII, 93, 1[b], 4[c]; VIII, 40, 1[a].
indrāgnī́, V, 86, 4[b]; VI, 60, 4[c], 5[b]; VII, 93, 3[d]; 94, 10[b]; VIII, 40, 3[b]; X, 65, 2[a].
indrāgnībhyām, V, 86, 6[a].

AV.

**akṣujālā́bhyām*, VIII, 8, 18[c].
**aghaçaṅsaduḥçaṅsā́bhyām*, XII, 2, 2[a].

**arkāçvamedhāú,* XI, 7, 7[c].
ahorātré, X, 7, 6[b]; 8, 23[c]; XI, 5, 20[b]; 6, 5[a], 7[b]; 7, 14[d]; XII, 1, 9[b], 36[d], 52[b]; 2, 49[a]; XII, 2, 5[d], 32[c]; XV, 6, 6; 18, 4[a].
ahorātrā́bhyām, VI, 128, 3[a]; XIII, 2, 43[b]; XIV, 2, 40[b]; XIX, 8, 2[c], 7[b].
ahorātráyos, XV, 6, 6; XVI, 8, 21[c].
**ādānasaṁdānā́bhyām,* XI, 9, 3[b].
**indravāyū́,* III, 20, 6[a].
indrāgnī, III, 11, 1[d]; IX, 1, 12[c].
índrāgnī, XIII, 1, 31[c].
indrāgnī́, I, 35, 4[c]; III, 3, 5[c]; IV, 30, 1[d]; V, 7, 6[b]; VI, 104, 3[a]; 132, 4[a]; VIII, 1, 2[d], 16[d]; 2, 21[c]; IX, 2, 9[a]; 3, 19[c]; X, 1, 21[c]; XI, 8, 5[c]; XIV, 1, 54[a]; XIX, 10, 1[a]; 16, 2[c]; 20, 1[b].
indrāgnī́bhyām, V, 3, 10[b].
indrāgnyós, IX, 1, 12[c]; XVI, 8, 24.
**uchocanapraçocanāú,* VII, 95, 1[c].
unmocanapramocané, V, 30, 2[c], 3[c], 4[c].
**ṛṣāmā́bhyām,* XIV, 1, 11[a].
**kapotolūkā́bhyām,* VI, 29, 2[c].
**palālānupalālāu,* VIII, 6, 2[a].
**pitāputrāu,* VI, 112, 2[d].
prāṇāpānāu, III, 11, 5[a], 6[a]; VII, 53, 5[b].
prā́ṇāpānāu, II, 16, 1[a]; XVI, 4, 5[b].
prāṇāpānāú, V, 10, 8[a]; VII, 53, 2[b]; VIII, 2, 11[a]; X, 7, 34[a]; XI, 4, 13[a]; 5, 24[c]; 7, 25[a]; 8, 4[a], 26[a]; XVI, 4, 7.
prāṇāpānā́bhyām, II, 28, 4[d].
**bodhapratībodhāú,* V, 30, 10[a].
**brahmarājanyā́bhām,* XIX, 32, 8.
**ródhacakre,* V, 1, 5[d].
vyānodānāú, XI, 8, 4[c], 26[c].
vrīhiyavāú, VIII, 2, 18[a]; XI, 4, 13[a]; XII, 1, 42[a]; XX, 129, 15, 16.
vrīhiyavā́bhyām, X, 6, 24[d].
**satyānṛté,* I, 33, 2[b].
**sadohavirdhāné,* XII, 1, 38[a].

The number of ἅπαξ εἰρημένα in this AV. list is noteworthy as indicative of the freedom with which the unified dvandva is thus employed.

III.

Origin and Relationship.

What is the origin of the elliptic dual? What of the dual dvandva? What genetic relation, if any, exists between them?

Diametrically differing answers have been given to these questions. The traditional and native theory seems to derive the elliptic dual from the dual dvandva. Such is the natural inference from the name—dvandva ekaçeṣa—given the former by the Hindoo grammarians. Such was the descent approved by G. Meyer (*KZ.* XXII, 8 ff.) and Wackernagel (*KZ.* XXIII, 309). Bergaigne (*Rel. Ved.* II, 116) and Delbrueck (*S. F.* V, 98), however, reverse the process and consider the dual dvandva a development from the elliptic dual. This view seems now the one more generally accepted.

It will be patent to the careful observer that we may begin with either the elliptic dual or the dvandva and work our way by successive stages to the mechanical evolution of the other, or that we may begin in the middle, *e. g.* with the doubly dualized dvandva, and work both ways. In either of the latter two methods, however, a practical test shows that we must make more assumptions and pass through more complex processes than in the case of the first. There are other difficulties also.

If we start with the elliptic dual we must first find an answer to our first question, the origin of this dual.

The fact that in the RV. *pitárā* and *mātárā* together stand in the ratio of 85 to 129, or almost exactly 2 to 3, to the whole number of its elliptic duals and the fact that these represent the one syllepsis, if any, that can be proved for Indo-European, as shown by the Avestan dual[1] *pitarə*, the Greek dual τοκῆε δύω, and the pluralized duals, Greek πατέρες, Latin[2] *patres*, Lithuanian[3] *tëvaĩ*, Gothic *berusjos*, Greek γονεῖς and τοκεῖς, Latin *parentes*, &c., all used to signify "father and mother" or the two parents, though in the strictest etymological sense applicable to but one of the pair, may warrant the

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[1] Yt. 10, 117, — *satāyuš* (*sc. asti miθrō*) *antarə pitarə* (acc. du.) *puθrəmča.*

[2] Surviving in this meaning in the Spanish *los padres*, as Dr. C. J. Ogden informs me.

[3] Shown by Joh. Schmidt (*KZ.* XXV, 34) to be from **ptëvas* = Greek πατήρ.

assumption that this particular syllepsis was a nidus, if not the nidus, of the usage. Its extension to *dampatī*, real or potential parents, which in the two Vedas stand next in numerical precedence, and then to other and personified couples exercising some real or fancied parental or generative functions, would be both easy and natural. The Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthātṛ by an easy figure may be the parents of the sacrifice. Morning and evening, a necessarily complemental pair, may be imagined as parents, and in fact are actually so called in more than one Vedic passage (*e. g.*, I, 142, 7[c]; V, 5, 6[b]; VII, 2, 5[c]; VIII, 99, 6[b]). If Bloomfield is right in identifying the hounds of Yama with the sun and moon, the elliptic duals *udumbalāú* and *çabálāu*, admit the same explanation. Only *mitrā́* remains and IV, 41, 7[d] shows that *mitrā́váruṇā* are compared to *pitárā*.

Thus one syllepsis and its analogical and figurative inclusions account for every elliptic dual in the Vedas and also for the few others cited from the grammarians and lexicographers. This is the whole story for Sanskrit and for Avestan with its unique elliptic dual (see above).

There seems to be no other pro-ethnic elliptic dual. Sporadic instances in individual languages have been cited. Some of these are doubtful. This interpretation of the Homeric Αἴαντε, so ingeniously supported by Wackernagel (*KZ.* XXIII, 308), is not accepted by competent Hellenists. The Latin *Cereres* and *Castores* undoubtedly came to be used as the plurals of such duals, but the origin of the plurals can be explained otherwise.[1] The Greek πενθεροί and Latin *soceri* are akin to and includible under the general syllepsis above. The Old Norse *feðgar* and *māeðgar*, if genuine, are merely an independent syllepsis. Admitting all of these we have only a handful of isolated syllepses, a weak foundation for the Indo-Europeanism of the elliptic dual outside of the almost necessary syllepsis for parents and its kindred.

In the presentation of the phenomena of the elliptic dual we have shown how often, 99 out 145 instances, the rishis

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[1] There were, for instance, two *Cereres*, one native, one imported. The former was the daughter of Caelus and Vesta and wife of Sicanus, king of the Siculi. She taught the Siculi the use of grain. Also Proserpina is called *Ceres inferna* and *Ceres profunda*. Again Ceres was identified with Terra, Luna and Libera. Cf. also the Catullan plurals *Veneres*, *Cupidines*.

seem to make a conscious effort to mention or suggest the connoted member of the syllepsis, somewhere in the neighboring context. The degree of propinquity may vary from several stanzas to consecutive *pādas.* Assuming that form in which the connoted member is expressed in the dual, either by mere attraction or by a conscious effort to express the parity of the members, as a starting point, we may readily show the possible mechanical evolution of the dual dvandva.

An example like RV. III, 7, 1[bc]—

ā́ mātárā viviçuḥ saptá váṇīḥ
parikṣitā pitárā saṁ carete,

in comparison with VI, 42, 5[a]—

ā́ náktā barhíḥ sadatam uṣā́sā

will show how little these two duals may differ. Intermediate between these is such an instance as VI, 51, 1[ab],—

úd u tyác cákṣur máhi mitráyor ā́ṅ
éti priyáṁ váruṇayoḥ adabdham,

which seems to partake almost equally of the characteristics of each. On its formal side the difference appears to be one of degree of propinquity. When the dual of the connoted member of an elliptic dual is expressed within some arbitrary limit,—as the *pāda,* the elliptic dual becomes a dual dvandva. Further increments of increase of propinquity will give the successive forms in the order presented above.

Such is an explanation of the dual dvandva consonant with the current view of its origin from the elliptic dual. Easy as this is on the formal side there seems to be ground for objection. It seems too mechanical, too wooden. It takes no account of the prevailingly differing content of these two species of dual. It divorces the origin of the dual dvandva from that of the other forms of the dvandva compound. The dvandva compound is undoubtedly, indisputably pro-ethnic in Indo-European and has a far wider range than can be traced for the elliptic dual. Its obvious origin is a simple asyndeton. Its original type is represented by the Vedic *turvaçam yadum, turvaçeṣu yaduṣu,* Avestan *Vandarəmainiš Arəjaṭaspō,* Lithuanian *tėtės matės,* Lettish mîſch-áuſas, Old Bulgarian *bratŭ sestra,* Latin *pactum conventum,* &c. Juxtaposition led naturally to composition. This in the case of two parathetic singulars gave either a dual or a dvandva singular. Both of these are Vedic. The latter is common to all the Indo-European group.

The general loss of the dual probably made the former less demonstrable.

We are prone to believe that the doubly dualized dvandva of Vedic and Avestan is but a hieratic variant of this former type. If we compare the contents of the lists of doubly dualized dvandvas and of completely unified dvandvas, given above, we see at once that with the exception of a half dozen ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, the former is made up of sets of names of pairs of associated deities. The latter list presents a marked contrast. It is a distinctively Atharvanic or demotic aggregation of associated pairs of various kinds, but has only three sets of deities. Of these *indravāyú* is found only in this list. *Párjanyavātā* occurs only once in this form. The numerous metrical resolutions of *indrāgní* shows that it is now in one class, now in the other, though prevailingly in the latter.

This hieratic variant is Aryan. Vedic confined it quite strictly to its hieratic character. In Avestan, of which only hieratic literature remains, it became propagative practically to the exclusion of other types. The double dual is not due to a mere grammatical attraction of number, but rather, we fancy, to a formalistic parataxis or a liturgical fulness of expression arising from a desire to magnify equally each of the associated deities somewhat after the manner of a *dualis maiestatis* or, at least, to express a formal parity between them. This could be effected by making both members either dual or singular, but the singular dvandva was too prone to be either collective or suggestive of a practical unity and too largely pre-empted by the neuter, to be appropriate. In other cases than that of associated deities there would not be the same formal scrupulosity. Hence the doubly dualized dvandva with its special range.

The genetic relation between the elliptic dual and the dual dvandva disappears in this view. The origins of the two kinds of dual become quite distinct. One is an evolution from asyndeton; the other from syllepsis. Thus both are rhetorical in origin. Both belong to the hieratic and more artistic sphere. On the side of form there are strong resemblances, but the genetic development from different sources shows these to be accidental. This hypothesis accounts for differing content, for relative age, for special ranges and for associated phenomena. It keeps together things that seem naturally to belong together. It presents no mechanical but an organic evolution.

The Dūtāṅgada of Subhaṭa, now first translated from the Sanskrit and Prākrit.—By Dr. Louis H. Gray, Newark, N.J.[1]

The *chāyānāṭaka* is a dramatic *genre* unrecognised by Sanskrit works on dramaturgy, yet to this category belong at least seven dramas, the *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhaṭa, Rāmadeva's *Subhadrāpariṇaya*, *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*, and *Rāmābhyudaya*, the anonymous *Harid(y)ūta*, Viṭṭhala's *chāyānāṭaka*, and the modern *Sāvitrīcarita* (Schuyler, *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama*, 102). Of these the only one yet published is the drama here translated, the *Dūtāṅgada*, edited by Durgāprasāda and Parab as the twenty-eighth volume of the *Kāvyamālā* (2d ed., Bombay, 1900; cf. also Schuyler, 85). This is the earliest extant play of its type. According to its *prastāvanā*, it was produced during the reign of Tribhuvanapāladeva, a Chaulukya king of the dynasty of Aṇhilvāḍ or Aṇhilpūr, who ruled in Gujarat in 1242—1243 (Bendall, *JRAS*, 1898, 229—230, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 105—106; Duff, *Chronology of India*, 189). The play was presented at a festival in honour of Kumārapāladeva, a monarch of the same line who ruled from 1143 to 1172 (Bendall, *opp. citt.*; Duff, 149—159; Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, 138—157), the particular event commemorated being Kumārapāladeva's restoration of a

[1] This translation was originally presented to the Society in 1906. Almost immediately afterward I learned that Professor Richard Pischel was working on the drama, with special reference to the longer recension. Although he very kindly urged me to publish this present version of the shorter text, and most generously added: "I am ready to send you the various readings of doubtful or difficult passages," it seemed to me presumptuous to issue my translation, especially as he proposed to give one in his own edition. Professor Pischel's death—so sore a loss to Sanskritists—renders improbable any completion of his labours on the *Dūtāṅgada*, at least in the near future. Meanwhile the present translation may serve to give some idea of Subhaṭa's literary worth.

Śaiva temple at Devapattan or Somnath in Kathiawar, Bombay (Bendall. *JRAS*, *loc. cit.*; Forbes, 147—148). The exact time of year at which the play was produced is given by the reading *yātrāyaṁ dolāparvaṇi* in a manuscript recorded by Aufrecht (although the Bombay edition omits the latter word). It was, consequently, given at the *dhooly* festival on the fourteenth of Phālguna (March 7), 1243.

In his *Das altindische Schattenspiel* (*Sitzungsberichte der königlich preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1906, 482—502) Pischel has very pertinently remarked (p. 16f. of the offprint) that 'there are almost as many *Dūtāṅgadas* as there are manuscripts' (for a convenient summary of these cf. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 257; ii, 55, 205; iii, 55); but in general two recensions, a longer and a shorter, may be distinguished. The shorter recension is that on which the present translation is based. Of the longer recension, as represented by a manuscript of the India Office, Eggeling writes (*Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office*, vii, no. 4189): 'not only is the dialogue itself considerably extended in this version by the insertion of many additional stanzas, but narrative verses are also thrown in, calculated to make the work a curious hybrid between a dramatic piece (with stage directions) and a narrative poem. This latter character of the composition is rendered still more pronounced by an introduction of 39 (12 + 27) stanzas in mixed metres (partly, however, placed in the mouths of *Rāma* and *Hanumat*), referring to incidents which lead to the discovery of Sītā's hiding-place.' As the author implies in his closing stanza, he has not hesitated to draw on his predecessors for material, among his sources being, according to Pischel (17f.), Murāri, Rājaśekhara, Bhavabhūti, and especially the *Hanumannāṭaka*. The *Dūtāṅgada* is divided, at least in its shorter recension, into three scenes; and from a comparison of it with the corresponding portions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (vi, 41, 107—108, 123) it would seem that its action implies a period of three or four days.

The meaning of the term *chāyānāṭaka* was long obscure. Wilson (*Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*, ii,[2] 390) supposed it to denote 'the shade or outline of a drama,' and that the *Dūtāṅgada* 'was perhaps intended to introduce a spectacle of the drama and procession, as it is otherwise difficult to conceive what object its extreme conciseness could

have effected.' Lévi (*Le Théatre indien*, 241 f.) dubiously suggests: 'On serait tenté de l'expliquer par "ombre de drame" si les règles de la grammaire ne s'opposaient à cette analyse du composé chāyā-nāṭaka. Elles admettent du moins une explication voisine et presque identique: "drame à l'état d'ombre."' Pischel originally held that *chāyānāṭaka* might mean a 'half play' (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1891, 358 f., *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, 1902, 403); and in the earlier draft of this introduction I fancied that the word might mean a 'play that is but a shadow' (or, less probably a 'play in shadow' [i. e., in miniature]; cf. for examples of these two types of compound Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, ii, a, 244—245, 250—253), my argument being that the *chāyānāṭaka* was, so to say, 'a condensed yet complete drama, a "shadow" of the *nāṭaka* both in number of acts and in their length, although the general theme is the same in both. The *Dūtāṅgada* may thus not inappropriately be termed the "shadow" of, for instance, the *Mahāvīracarita*.' All these views have been rendered nugatory by Pischel's monograph already noted, in which he has shown that *chāyānāṭaka* means simply and solely 'shadow-play.' This form of drama is expressly mentioned by Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on *rūpopajīvanam* in *Mahābhārata* XII, ccxcv, 5: *rūpopajīvanaṁ jalamaṇḍapiketi dākṣiṇātyeṣu prasiddhaṁ,' yatra sūkṣmavastraṁ vyavadhāya carmamayair ākārai rājāmātyādīnāṁ caryā pradarśyate*, '*rūpopajīvana* is called *jalamaṇḍapikā* among the Southerners, where, having set up a thin cloth, the action of kings, ministers, &c., is shown by leathern figures' (for further details see Pischel, 4 ff.). Of such a shadow play the *Dūtāṅgada* is at least the legitimate successor, and the oldest extant Indian specimen, whether it was presented after the fashion of *ombres chinoises* or by real actors (cf. Pischel, 19 f.).

The suggestion has been made by Rājendralāla Mitra (*Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of his Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner*, 251) that the *Dūtāṅgada* 'was evidently intended to serve as an *entr'act* to a theatrical exhibition.' If this be true, the Sanskrit *chāyānāṭaka* would correspond almost precisely to the English 'interludes,' which 'seem to have not unfrequently been produced to diversify or fill up the pauses of the banquets ensuing in great houses upon the more substantial part of the repast' (Ward, *History of English*

Dramatic Literature, i, 108, 237—238; cf. also Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, introd. 55—56), while in France they were sometimes acted in the intervals of the mysteries, and hence were called *pauses*. If the suggestion of Rājendralāla Mitra be taken still more strictly, the *chāyānāṭaka* would find its European parallel in the Italian *intermezzi* of Cecchi and Borghini, as well as in the Spanish *entremeses* of Timoneda, Cervantes, and Lope de Vega (Klein, *Geschichte des Drama's*, iv, 657, 674, 682—684; ix, 185—187, 375—412; x, 510—516). All this, however, is scarcely probable; for if the *chāyānāṭaka* is really a shadow play, as it almost certainly is, the universal mode of presenting such plays would forbid us to consider it as in any sense an interlude.

The *Dūtāṅgada* has already been analysed by Wilson (*loc. cit.*, on which is based the brief note of Klein, *op. cit.*, iii, 369) and by Aufrecht (*Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, 139). It is, as its name implies, based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and deals with the sending of the monkey Aṅgada by Rāma to demand the restoration of the captive Sītā by Rāvaṇa. A *nāṭaka* was composed on Aṅgada by Bhūbhaṭṭa (Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 4), but probably the closest analogue to the *Dūtāṅgada* is to be found in the sixth act of Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita*, which was far anterior to Subhaṭa's play, and which may have served to some extent as his model.

Rāma plays have enjoyed a wide popularity throughout certain portions of the East. Originating in India, and comprising such dramas as Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita*, Rājaśekhara's *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Murāri's *Anargharāghava*, Jayadeva's *Prasannarāghava*, and Rāmabhadradīkṣita's *Jānakīpariṇaya* (Lévi, 267—295), they spread to Java, Bali, Malacca, Burmah, Siam, and Cambodia (Juynboll, *Indonesische en achterindische tooneelvoorstellingen uit het Rāmāyaṇa*, in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 6th series, x, 501—565; Serrurier, *De wajang poerwå*, 171—172; Bastian, *Reisen in Siam*, 328, 503—504; Moura, *Royaume de Cambodge*, ii, 444—458; F. W. K. Müller, *Nǎng, siamesische Schattenspielfiguren*, supplement to *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, vii; Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 517—519). Aṅgada himself, the hero of Subhaṭa's play, appears in Java, Bali, Siam, and Cambodia, although he is by no means the principal figure in any of

these dramas of Farther India. The source of the Rāma plays in Cambodia, Siam, Burmah, and the Malay Peninsula was doubtless Java (cf. Skeat, 503—521; Hazeu, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het javaansche tooneel*, 28—36), while Java obviously received the Rāma legend from India. Yet from Java, despite its affection for the story of Rāma and the extreme elaboration of its dramaturgy, we gain little light on the *Dūtāṅgada*. In Java the Rāma cycle may be treated in the dramatic categories of the *wayang purwå*, a shadow play produced by puppets of buffalo leather; the *wayang topeng* and the *wayang wong*, produced by masked and unmasked men respectively, and the *wayang beber*, in which pictures are unrolled and explained by the *ḍalang* (Juynboll, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xiii, 4—5). In many respects the latter, as the manager of the puppets and the speaker of the dialogue, in which he modulates his voice according to the various characters of the drama (Serrurier, 95—96, 106—112; Hazeu, 7—9), corresponds very probably to the Sanskrit *sūtradhāra*, although his name seems to signify merely 'stroller, strolling player,' and it has been suggested that he was primarily a priest who rendered worship to the ghosts represented by the shadows cast by the puppets on the curtain in the *wayang* (Hazeu, 23—24, 39—57). At all events, we are justified in seeing in the Javanese *wayang purwå*, or shadow play, the analogue of the Sanskrit *chāyānāṭaka*, and both are without doubt the congenors of the Chinese shadow play, the Turkish *qaragöz*, and the marionettes which, originating in India, have spread throughout Asia and Europe to be enacted at the present day (see, for example, Pischel, *Heimat des Puppenspiels*; Rehm, *Buch der Marionetten*; Jacob, *Erwähnungen des Schattentheaters in der Welt-Literatur* and *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*; together with the literature cited in these works).

In conclusion a word may be added regarding the remaining Sanskrit plays classed as *chāyānāṭakas*. The *Harid(y)ūta* is anonymous and of uncertain date, but is clearly an imitation of the *Dūtāṅgada* (Bendall, *Catalogue*, 106). It is in three scenes, and is based on the *Mahābhārata* instead of on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. An analysis is given by Lévi (p. 242), but Pischel (p. 14) doubts whether it can rightly be considered a *chāyānāṭaka*. Rāmadeva, the author of the *Subhadrāpariṇaya*, the *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*, and the *Rāmābhyudaya*, flourished in the

fifteenth century, the *Subhadrāpariṇaya* being written between 1402 and 1415, and the *Rāmābhyudaya* dating from the middle of the same century (Bendall, *JRAS*, 1898, 231, *Catalogue*, 106—108). These two plays have been analysed by Lévi (p. 242); the *Rāmābhyudaya* is in two acts, and the *Subhadrāpariṇaya* is still shorter. An analysis of the third *chāyānāṭaka* of Rāmadeva, the *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*, is given by Eggeling (*Catalogue*, no. 4187). Of the brief *chāyānāṭaka* by Viṭṭhila nothing is thus far known beyond the brief statement of Rājendralāla Mitra (*loc. cit.*) that it is based on the history of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, which ruled in Bījāpūr from 1489 to 1660. The *Sāvitrīcarita*, written by Maheśvarātmaja Śaṅkaralāla, is an entirely modern composition, and, unlike the others of its class, is a long and dreary drama of seven acts (Lévi, 241).

THE DŪTĀṄGADA.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

In the Induction.

The Stage-Manager.
Vilāsavatī, an Actress.

In the Play.

Rāma, a Prince of India.
Lakṣmaṇa, Brother to *Rāma*.
Sugrīva, a Monkey-king, ally to *Rāma*.
Aṅgada, a Monkey, messenger to *Rāma*.
Rāvaṇa, Demon-king of Laṅkā.
Vibhīṣaṇa, a Demon, brother to *Rāvaṇa*.
Mālyavān, a Demon, counsellor to *Rāvaṇa*.
Prahasta, a Demon, porter to *Rāvaṇa*.
Hemāṅgada, a Gandharva.
Citrāṅgada, a Gandharva.
[*Sītā*], Wife to *Rāma*.
Māyāmaithilī, a Demoness in the shape of *Sītā*.
Mandodarī, Wife to *Rāvaṇa*.

Celestial Bard.
A Rākṣasī.
Demons.

ACT I.

[1] (*Induction.—Invocation.*)

May Śiva's trump bring safety unto you,
All white with jasmine and with lotuses,
Whereon the moon hath his abiding-place,
And whose dread call doth loose the zones which deck
The brides of them that war against the gods.

And, further,

How wondrous would great Rāma's nature seem
Did all men know that he is Viṣṇu's self,[1]
And that he ever worketh for their weal;
He brake Śiv's bow,[2] and yet was not revealed,
Slew Śakra's son,[3] and still was unperceived,
He built the bridge,[4] nor then was recognized;
E'en from the conference of Aṅgada[5]
His ways remain untraced by mortals still,
For that he hath assumed the form of man.

(End of the invocation.)

(Enter the *Stage-Manager,* looking toward the wings.)

Stage-Manager. Dear Vilāsavatī, hither now!

[2] (Enter an *Actress.*)

Actress. Here I am, husband. May my lord tell what is to be done!

Stage-Manager. At the command of the council of the great king, the sovereign lord, the glorious Tribhuvanapāladeva,[6] a boar[7] for the support and the like of the burden of all the earth, a royal swan of majesty swimming in the flood of the many tears fallen from the blue lotus eyes of the wives of whole hosts of enemies cloven by his own hands,

---

[1] Rāma was one of the avatars, or incarnations, of Viṣṇu.

[2] The bow given by Śiva to Janaka, but bent and broken by Rāma, who thus won his bride Sītā (see *Rāmāyaṇa* i, 67).

[3] Vāli, the brother of Sugrīva and father of Aṅgada (*Rāmāyaṇa* iv, 16—22).

[4] The modern Adam's Bridge between India and Ceylon.

[5] The *bīja*, or allusion to the subject-matter of the entire drama (cf. Lévi, *Théatre indien*, 34).

[6] A Chaulukya monarch of Aṇhilvāḍ, who ruled for a year in Gujarat (1242—1243; see *Introduction*).

[7] In other words, a quasi-Viṣṇu (alluding to this god's third or boar-incarnation), and consequently a quasi-Rāma.

I have undertaken a pre-eminent production. What ho! ye members of the audience! hear ye attentively that to-day, at the festival of spring,[1] at the procession of the divine and glorious Kumārapāladeva,[2] a shadow-play[3] is to be presented called *The Messenger Aṅgada*, composed by a great poet, the glorious Subhaṭa, thoroughly versed in knowledge of word and phrase.

Actress. The undertaking is excellent, husband!

Voice (within).

Upon Suvela's[4] heights doth Rāma sport,
Who crossed the sea and slew the simian king,[5]
Conferring all his realm on Tārā's spouse.[6]

Stage-Manager. My dear, the actors have begun, for here are heard the conversations of the heroes attendant upon Rāma. Come, then! Let us both be ready for what must straightway be done!

(Exeunt.)

(End of the Induction.)

(Enter *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa*, sitting on a rock in the hills of Suvela. *Sugrīva* and others in order of rank as a retinue.)[7]

Rāma (to *Lakṣmaṇa*). Good Lakṣmaṇa,

[3] The ocean's passed, and now the monkey-host
Hath swallowed up the demon-capitol;
While I that speak have played the man to-day,
Aided by Fate, or by yon mighty bow.

Lakṣmaṇa. Noble sir, what advantage is there in a fate subject to a coward's soul?

Unto the man of deeds fair Fortune comes;
'Tis only cowards moan that 'Fate is Fate':

---

[1] *Vasantotsava*, 'formerly held on the full-moon day of Chaitra [March-April], but now on the full-moon day of Phālguna [February-March], and identified with the *Holi* festival' (Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v.). See also *Introduction*.

[2] A Chaulukya monarch of Tribhuvanapāla's dynasty, who ruled from 1143 to 1172 (see *Introduction*).

[3] On the signification of this term, see *Introduction*.

[4] One of the peaks of the mountain Trikūṭa, on whose central height Rāvaṇa's capital was situated.

[5] Vāli.

[6] Sugrīva, who, after Vāli's death, married Tārā, his brother's widow.

[7] The first scene, which begins here, is based on *Rāmāyaṇa*, vi, *41*, 58—73.

Slay thou thy fate, and strive as heroes strive;
If then thou fall, not thine the dark disgrace.[1]

And, furthermore,

While half thy brow alone be dark with frowns,
And while thy bow remaineth still unstrung,
Let him who ruleth o'er the fiends of night[2]
Bend low the roots of all the triple world,
And wax unceasing in his arrogance.

Therefore let Aṅgada be told his message.

Rāma (looking at *Aṅgada* respectfully). Good friend,
All words are dumb to tell thy father's deeds
Against that mighty fiend whose necks are ten,[2]
And yet this flesh our wonder doth reveal;[3]
But thou thyself, in reverence to thy sire,
Curtailest thine own prowess! Do not so!
Up! prove thee worthy of our trust in thee!

Aṅgada (bowing with both hands touching the circle of his head, speaks).
What message shall I bear to Laṅkā's[4] gates?
Or shall I there raise mighty hosts for thee?
[4] Or ring the ocean through eternity
With all the lofty mountains of the world?
Tell me, O, King! what thou wouldst have me do,
And what the tasks that wait my sturdy arm!

Rāma. Friend,
Swift haste thee now, and unto Rāvaṇ say:[5]

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[1] A verse borrowed from the *Pañcatantra* (ed. Kielhorn and Bühler, i, 361; ii, 130) or from the *Hitopadeśa* (ed. Peterson, i, 22), and repeated in Sanskrit anthologies (see Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, 1255). Durgāprasāda and Parab note that it is omitted in some manuscripts of the *Dūtāṅgada.*

[2] Rāvaṇa.

[3] Of course an allusion to the familiar 'horripilation' constantly mentioned in Sanskrit literature. The reference to Vāli's deeds of prowess against Rāvaṇa seems to be a mere compliment of Rāma to Aṅgada, unless one may infer from the fact that both Rāvaṇa and Vāli ruled in Laṅkā that there was hostility between them, so that Aṅgada, in a measure, inherited his father's feud.

[4] Usually identified with Ceylon, although this is doubted by Jacobi (*Das Rāmāyaṇa*, 90—93), at least so far as the oldest portions of the Rāma-cycle are concerned.

[5] Comp. the message given Aṅgada for Rāvaṇa by Rāma in *Rāmāyaṇa* vi, 41, 61—72. The Bombay editors note that Kṣemendra, who flourished in the eleventh century (Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i,

'Unwitting, or by kingly lust inflamed,
Thou stolest Sītā whilst I was afar;
Restore her unto me, or with thy sons
In Death's grim city thou shalt dwell ere long,
Thy royal parasol the crimson blood
Welling from wounds that Lakṣmaṇ's arrows deal.'

Aṅgada. Sire,
If I be messenger in peace or war,
Full soon the spouse of mighty Rāvaṇa
Shall fall, whether her fate be life or death.

Rāma. Good, O, son of Vāli, good! (So saying, laying his hand on his back, he dismisses him. Exit *Aṅgada*, bowing.)

Sugrīva (gazing at the summit of the rocks of Laṅkā). Look, sire, look!
Like to a tusker mad with must, the fiend
Doth gaze in deep disdain, as if he felt
The host of simian heroes captive made
And on his shoulder borne unto their doom.
Come then! Let us gaze upon the shores of the sea, adorned by the forests on Suvela's cliffs.

(Exeunt.)

(Enter *Rāvaṇa, Mandodarī,* and *Vibhīṣaṇa* and others as retinue.)[1]

Rāvaṇa (to *Vibhīṣaṇa*). Friend Vibhīṣaṇa,
Am I not Rāvaṇ, Laṅkā's lord, and these
The hands that cure great Indra's itching arms?[2]
[5] I hear that Rāma bridgeth ocean o'er
And see the monkey-hosts invade mine isle,
E'en though no sound is heard, and naught is seen.[3]
And, furthermore,
How comes it that this wanderer ne'er hath heard
Of my grim blade, that with resistless might
Could cleave the temples of Airāvata,[4]
And that men name 'The Laughter of the Moon'?[5]

---

135), ascribes this verse, with minor variations, in his *Suvṛttatilaka* (ii, 37 of the *Kāvyamālā* edition) to Bhavabhūti.

[1] The second scene, which begins here, is based on *Rāmāyaṇa*, vi, 41, 74—90.

[2] An allusion to the defeat of Indra by Rāvaṇa and his son Indrajit or Meghanāda (*Rāmāyaṇa* vii, 27—29).

[3] Thus indicating his supernatural power.

[4] The elephant of the god Indra.

[5] *Candrahāsa*, the sword bestowed on Rāvaṇa by Śiva (*Rāmāyaṇa* vii, 16).

But lo, he findeth Laṅkā's shores all bare
Of Meghanāda and his comrades bold,
Wherefore his death-doomed soul now wavereth.

Mine arms eclipse the moon of Indra's pride,
And unto holy hermits work dire woe.
Oh, portent dread of evil yet to come!

Mandodarī (aside).
Even to-day envenomed arrogance
Pours from his throat as rain to wake the buds
Upon the tree of doom to all his kin!
(Aloud.) Look, husband, look! Wonderful, wonderful!
The surging cries of wrathful monkeys ring
Within thy house of dalliance, my lord!

Rāvaṇa (contemptuously). O, queen, sweet is thy speech by nature, but enough, enough of this terror at the sound of these wretched apes! What further wouldst thou say?

Mandodarī.
Still, still thou may'st escape! give Sītā back
To Rāma's arms! I pray thee, hear my plea!

[6] *Rāvaṇa* (with an angry laugh). My queen,
It may not be, since she by force was stolen
And was not given back to him straightway;
But lo, to-day the surging sea is bound,
And must I sue for peace by yielding her?
Therefore leave thou this pleasure-house. (Exit *Mandodarī*, weeping.)

Rāvaṇa (to *Vibhīṣaṇa*). Friend Vibhīṣaṇa, what speech is thine?

Vibhīṣaṇa. Sire, lord of Laṅkā, consider well!
They twain be more than men, and these great apes
Be more than members of the monkey-folk;
Behind their guise lurks awful mystery
Pregnant with woe for Laṅkā's mighty king.
Therefore set Sītā free, a night of doom for the race of Rākṣasas!

Rāvaṇa (angrily drawing his sword). Ah! knave, adherent of mine enemy, brand of thy family, and scoundrel! with Candahāsa shall I make thy head to fall! (Seizes him; *Vibhīṣaṇa* flees in terror.)

Mālyavān[1] (standing between them). Sire, lord of Laṅkā! consider well whether evil hath been spoken by prince Vibhīṣaṇa.

Rāvaṇa. Ha! Art thou, too, like to him? (*Mālyavān*, in terror, stands silent.)

Rāvaṇa (to *Vibhīṣaṇa*). Thou cursed kinsman! leave my capital, join that hermit,[2] and make thy skill in ethics known! I will not slay thee again![3]

Vibhīṣaṇa. What needs must hap doth not happen otherwise!

(Exit. Enter a porter named *Prahasta.*)

Prahasta. Sire, at the door stands a monkey, saying: 'I am Rāma's envoy.'[4]

[7] *Rāvaṇa* (contemptuously). Let him enter then!

[7] (Enter *Aṅgada* with *Prahasta.*)

Aṅgada (looking at *Rāvaṇa*, aside).

'Tis Rāvaṇa, that fain would wreck the world!
But in his groves shall Rāma launch his darts!

(Aloud.)

Ye Rākṣasas, where stands curst Rāvaṇa
Who stole the gem that decks the moon and sun?
He is a moth doomed unto Rāma's flame,
That fills the threefold world with radiance.

(Several *Rākṣasas* assume the form of *Rāvaṇa.*)

How many Rāvaṇs art thou, O thou fiend?
In sooth we heard that thou wert multiform;
The one subdued by Kārtavīrya's arm[5];
Another given as food to dancers vile
By wanton slave-girls of the Daitya lord;
And to a third 'tis direst shame to speak;
Who art thou, if thou art not one of these?

Rāvaṇa (assuming various forms, insultingly). Who art thou, ape? Whose messenger art thou?

---

[1] Though no 'enter' is given this character, he was doubtless included among the retinue surrounding Rāvaṇa at the beginning of the scene.

[2] Rāma, in allusion to his exile from his native land.

[3] Vibhīṣaṇa, if struck by Rāvaṇa once, would never live to receive a second blow.

[4] Comp. *Mahāvīracarita* vi (Pickford's translation, 131—133).

[5] See *Viṣṇupurāṇa* iv, 11. The allusion to the 'Daitya lord' (apparently either Bali or Pātālaketu) is obscure.

Aṅgada.

The son who shirks the deeds his father did
Could scarce instruct the elders of his house.[1]

So be it, then,

Yet one hath come to earth to bear the woe
By demons wrought through all this mortal world;
And I, his envoy, stand before thee now,
Great Rāma's messenger, and Vāli's son.

And, furthermore,

I am the messenger of mighty Rām
That slew my sire, whose valor thou dost know.

[8] *Rāvaṇa* (to *Aṅgada*).

What doeth Rāma?

Aṅgada. Naught.

Rāvaṇa. And yet but now
He cometh unto ocean's shore!

Aṅgada. 'Tis naught!

Rāvaṇa. Why hath he bound the sea?

Aṅgada. For kingly sport!

Rāvaṇa. Doth he not know that Rāvaṇ shieldeth it?

Aṅgada. Vibhīṣaṇa, thy brother, knows it well,
Who stands by Rāma's side on Laṅkā's soil.

Rāvaṇa (in alarm). What now is Rāma's course?

Aṅgada. Upon his lap he takes Sugrīva's head,
Yea, and the foot of him who Akṣa slew,[2]
Then on a golden deer-skin soft reclines;
And glanceth at the arrow keen and straight
By Lakṣmaṇ made to slay the demon-host,
The while he hearkens to thy brother's words.

(*Rāvaṇa*, gesticulating contempt, speaks thus and thus in the ear of *Prahasta.*)

Prahasta. As my lord commands.

(Exit *Prahasta*; enter a *False Maithilī*[3] with *Prahasta.*)

False Maithilī. Victory, victory, my spouse! (Thus speaking, she climbs to the lap of *Rāvaṇa.*)

Rāvaṇa (aside). Good, good, even though false! thou knowest how to please him of ten necks![4]

---

[1] Probably meaning that if he fails, none will heed his words.

[2] Akṣa, the eldest son of Rāvaṇa, was slain by Hanumān (*Rāmāyaṇa* v, 47).

[3] Maithilī is only a synonym for Sītā.

[4] Rāvaṇa.

[9] *Aṅgada* (aside, in sorrow). Would even Janaka's daughter go the way of her who takes gain from a stranger? So be it! Let me consider now!

Rāvaṇa. Lady daughter of Videha, answer thou this monkey, sent by Rāma!

False Maithilī (looking at *Aṅgada* respectfully). Good Aṅgada, answer thou the son of Raghu in my words:

'O, Rāma, wherefore doth this cause thee woe?
Swift get thee home, for of mine own accord
And publicly I wedded this my lord.

Yea, more than this,

Like to a swan in Rāvaṇ's lotus-lap
I sport the live-long day; so get thee hence
Unto thy realm where Bharata lies dead
Within a land by demons devastate.'[1]

Aṅgada (stopping his ears). Nay, lady daughter of Janaka!

Such words of shame fair Sītā never speaks,
For spotless purity adorns her soul,
And like the Ganges she doth cleanse the world.

(Enter, with a toss of the curtain,[2] a *Rākṣasī.*)

Rākṣasī. Tidings of ill hath Rāma's captive spouse
Heard of her lord, and fain would end her days
Upon a slender cord of tendrils wove.

Rāvaṇa (in distress). Ah! Ill words and at a time unseemly! Rākṣasas, protect, protect the daughter of Janaka!

(Dismisses the *False Maithilī.*)

Aṅgada (joyfully). Through the glory of the true Maithilī the blackness of the false Maithilī is hid!

[10] *Rāvaṇa.* What wouldst thou say, thou wrinkle-face?

Aṅgada. Disgrace comes not to thee from evil deeds,
Wherein thy hellish race its glory finds;
'Tis natural thou should'st steal another's wife
And think our warriors' wrath unjust to thee.

Rāvaṇa (angrily). Thou knave of evil face! through the sight of thy calumny thou deservest nevermore the sight of Raghu's son![3]

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[1] A false statement to make Rāma retire from Laṅkā.

[2] In token of hasty entrance.

[3] Rāma.

Aṅgada. Nay, consider thou another tale;
Rāma hath passed the sea impassible,
Fulfilling his great vow, and portions out
Suvela's forests as thy many arms.[1]
Rāvaṇa. Thou fool in understanding!
The ocean is not crossed by simian hosts,
Or they would swarm on every mountain-peak,
Unless, forsooth, they lurk in coverts hid;
But on the touchstone of the sword to-day
Will I put Rāma's valor to the proof.
Nay, more than this, thou knowest not Rāvaṇa!
With Candrahāsa oftimes I have gone
To fell the forest of the foemen's throats,
And lo, the bursting veins wept tears of blood,
And choking sobs were hushed by Death's chill hand;
Lord Śiva beareth witness to my words.[2]
Aṅgada. Nay, what hath Rām to do with thy keen glaive?
Thine arrows end the terror of the world,
And, thanks to them, thou fool, thy severed heads
Shall never rise to lofty majesty
Like to the changing moon on Śiva's brow.
[11] *Rāvaṇa* (angrily drawing *Candrahāsa*). Away! away from me! I shall not slay thee twice!
Aṅgada (anxious to be gone).
Set Sītā free, thou demon of the night!
In vain thou prancest through thy valorous steps;
Before thee standeth all the simian host,
Dread with the might of their immortal king,
And with their prowess hymned by kinnaras.[3]
And, more than this,
He will not give thee wives as Śiva did,[4]
Though many be thy heads, for lo, he makes
The sea a lake, thou soldier of Kailās;[5]
Thou wert my friend when he did slay my sire—

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[1] Rāvaṇa had twenty arms.

[2] The deity who had given him his sword.

[3] Celestial musicians, dwelling in Kuvera's paradise and having the form of a man with the head of a horse.

[4] An obscure allusion.

[5] An allusion to Rāvaṇa's victory over the semi-divine Yakṣas at Mount Kailāsa, a peak of the Himālayas (*Rāmāyaṇa*, vii, 14—15).

O shaken pillar of fame! restore the spouse
Of Rām, the noble kin of lotuses!

Nay, too,

He that lopped off the arms of Tāṭakā,[1]
Yea, marred thy sister's wondrous loveliness,[2]
Destroyed thy soldiers in the forest-glades,
And bindeth now the sea, doth work thy doom;
Yet still to fond delusion thou dost cling.

Yea, furthermore,

Thou foolish fiend! trust not to Śiva's boon,
Since he is wroth with thee for Sītā's sake;
Else he had given back thy sacrifice
When he was girt with skulls that he did break.

Yet, more than this, we know the true nature of thine attachment to the service of the Lord,[3] but thou art proud in vain!

Why dost thou vaunt thyself, Paulastya[4] cruel:
Lo, I that speak brought joy to Śiva's heart
By gifts of his own beauteous lotuses;
[12] But on thee he bestowed thy blade divine
Through merest pity of thy penances,
And in remorse for the fifth head of Brahm,
Which he destroyed in olden days of sin.[5]

Hearken, thou ten-faced fiend! we shrink not in terror of the words which come from the hole within thy face!

(Exit *Aṅgada.*)

Voice (within).

Thou art the sovereign of the threefold world,
And yet the apes of Rāma slay thy hosts!
Swift to the fray! or hath thy valor quailed?

Rāvaṇa (anxiously). Alas! mightily wail our subjects that are being slaughtered!

(Enter *Demon-Warriors* with wounded limbs.)

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[1] The demonic daughter of Suketu, slain by Rāma (*Rāmāyaṇa* i, 26).

[2] Śūrpaṇakhā, a hideous demoness, became enamoured of Rāma, who bade his brother Lakṣmaṇa cut off her nose and ears (*Rāmāyaṇa* iii, 18).

[3] Śiva.

[4] Rāvaṇa, as being the grandson of the *ṛṣi* Pulastya.

[5] Alluding to the Puranic legend that Śiva pinched off the fifth head of Brahma.

Demons.

'Tis shame for us to die at simian hands!
If thou be lord, make not thy wisdom vain
While thou dost live and breathe in Laṅkā's isle.

Rāvaṇa (angrily calling *Prahasta* in haste).

Arm swift my mighty demons for the fray!
What be these apes in cursed Rāma's host?
Lo, in my hand doth Candrahāsa wake,
Grim 'Laughter of the Moon' to mourning brides
Of the immortals falling 'neath its blade.

(Again striding about terribly.) To-day the world will be without Rāvaṇa or without Rāma! (Exit.)

(Enter *Hemāṅgada* and *Citrāṅgada*, two *Gandharvas*[1] wandering in the path of sky).[2]

Hemāṅgada. Good Citrāṅgada,
With arms divine that cried 'Earth, Ether, Sky!'[3]
Great Rāma severed Rāvaṇa's ten heads,
Whilst an eleventh sun shone through the clouds;
And by Kakutstha's wondrous scion slain,[4]
Yea, killed by his swift dart that Brahma sped,
The lord of demons of the night doth lie
A headless thing upon a hero's couch.

[13] *Citrāṅgada.* Good friend, long have we travelled fearlessly by this path of sky!

(Loud noise within.)

Crushed is the might of Rāvaṇ, Laṅkā's king,
He whose ten heads were made to rule the world,
Whose twenty arms gave him a strength tenfold;
Yet slain upon the field by Sītā's spouse
With crescent arrows radiant and keen.

Celestial Bard.

Hearken, Hemāṅgada! look, Citrāṅgada, as on a picture!
With arrows tawny as great Caṇḍa's[5] gold

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[1] Celestial bards.

[2] The third scene, which begins here, is based on *Rāmāyaṇa* vi, 107—108. Comp. also the last scene of the sixth act of the *Mahāvīracarita* (Pickford's translation, 135—148).

[3] *Bhur, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ*, a cry of mystic power as early as the Yajur Veda.

[4] Kakutstha, king of Ayodhyā, was the father of Raghu, and thus an ancestor of Rāma.

[5] A demon slain by Durgā.

All demons save Vibhīṣaṇa are slain
And set by Rāma in his precious store
Of boons to aid him through the lives to come;
Yet in their fear of Yama's conqueror [1]
The timid gods shower no garlands down,
Nor dare to sound the drums of victory.

Citrāṅgada (to *Hemāṅgada,* wonderingly). Good Hemāṅgada, this victor over the rangers of the night and this diadem of heroes is this marvellous vessel of the sentiment of wonder, glorious through his love for the spouse of Bhavānī,[2] before whom all gods and demons bow through the might of his exceeding majesty. But he who, in ages past, in his devotion to the foe of cities,

Paid ten-faced worship unto Śiva's bride,
Who thought the world, yea, and its Lord,[3] his own,
And fain would lay his hands on Brahm's five heads,
Doth roam no more on Durgā's mountain-heights.[4]

(Beholding the might of *karma*, anxiously.)

Look, Hemāṅgada, look!
What vengeance dread for ancient deeds of sin!
Great Śiva, see! the heads that once were thine [5]
Are now defiled by loathsome birds of prey!

Hemāṅgada. Is not this exceeding clear, my friend? 'Where justice is, is victory', is a true saying of the text-books.[6] Therefore in this very instance is revealed the future of those who work good or evil by their bodies and the like. There Rāvaṇa himself forms an example, for

[14] Lo, on this earth thy body is but wealth
To win thee everlasting righteousness,
And when 'tis gone it cometh nevermore;
So Rāvaṇ gave his heads and worlds threefold
To Brahma for a wondrous lotus blue.[7]

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[1] In allusion to Rāvaṇa's victory over Yama, the god of death (*Rāmāyaṇa* vii, 20—22).

[2] The husband of Bhavānī (Pārvatī) is Śiva.

[3] Śiva.

[4] The Himālayas, which include the Mount Kailāsa already mentioned.

[5] An obscure allusion.

[6] The same proverb occurs in the *Dharmaviveka* and the *Prasaṅgabhāraṇa* (*Indische Sprüche* 2348, 5030).

[7] See *Rāmāyaṇa* vii, 10.

Voice (within).

Its banner-pole all gashed with Rāma's darts,
Its charioteer a-faint in streams of blood,
The carrion vultures hovering o'er its path,
And with its axle broken 'neath the fall
Of Rāvaṇ's headless corpse, his car now comes
To Laṅkā, swiftly drawn by whinneying steeds
That would return to their remembered stalls.

(Again within.)

Come from your homes, ye brides of gods immortal,
And thou, mahout of our dread deities,
Fast tie thy mighty elephant divine;
Go forth, ye gods, as watchmen of the night,
And brighter, sweeter far be now the bloom
Of coral trees in Indra's holy grove;
For at the eastern gate lies Rāvaṇ's head,
Defiled and branded by the hands of slaves.

And, more than this,

Girt round with fragrance showered from the hands
Of brides divine rejoicing in the fray,
Himself descended from his car of war,
And with his hand resting on Lakṣmaṇa,
His ears filled with the cry of 'victory'
Torn from the prisoners' reluctant lips,
Doth Rāma, Sītā's mighty spouse, draw nigh!

Rāma (crowned with flowers, going to Ayodhya,[1] to *Sītā*, pointing out the battle-field of Laṅkā).

Here Phaṇipāś yielded to Lakṣmaṇ's might,
There, rent and torn, Droṇādri once became
The captive of divinest Hanumān;
Here by my brother Indrajit was slain,
And there did one[2] whose name I may not tell
Hew Rāvaṇ's heads from his accursed frame,
Like some unholy wood, sweet Eyes 'o Fawn![3]

Joying the heart of Sītā with such words,
Whose sentiment is new to mortal ears,

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[1] The modern Oudh.

[2] Rāma himself.

[3] Comp. with this speech *Rāmāyaṇa* vi, 123, 3—15, and the last act of the *Mahāvīracarita.*

His limbs a-thrill with beauty and delight,
[15] Let Rāma haste unto his capital;
And there rule o'er his land forevermore—
Guarding his realm and loyal citizens,
Whom he shall bless with bounties manifold.

By Subhaṭa this drama hath been writ
Upon a theme dear to the bards of old,
And to it he hath added his own words,
Commingling prose and verse in flavor sweet.

The Hebrew Metheg[1].—By Frank R. Blake, Ph. D., Johns Hopkins University.

The Traditional View.

The traditional views of the Jewish grammarians on the sign Metheg are ably set forth by Baer in his article on "Die Methegsetzung".[2] In this article, which forms the basis of the treatment of this subject in modern Hebrew Grammars, Baer states that when any sound that does not bear the primary tone is to be emphasized, a Metheg is affixed to the sign for that sound, the Metheg, conformably with its name (bridle), indicating that the sign to which it is attached is to be dwelt upon and not hastened over in pronunciation. He divides the various Methegs into three classes, light, heavy, and euphonic, with a number of subdivisions. His scheme is in outline as follows.

I. The light Metheg (מתג קל).

A. The ordinary Metheg (פשוט) indicating the secondary tone, in the first open syllable two or more places from the primary tone, as, e. g., in הֶאָדָם (Gen. 1, 27).

B. The indispensable Metheg (תמוך).

a) with long vowel before Shewa, e. g., הָיְתָה (Gen. 1,2).

b) with long vowel before Maqqeph, e. g., שֶׁת־לִי (Gen. 4, 25).

c) with Sere in Nasog Ahor, e. g., אֹהֵב (Prov. 12, 1).

d) with a vowel before a Ḫateph, e. g., נַעֲשֶׂה (Gen. 1, 26).

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[1] In the following article the primary accent or tone of Hebrew words will be marked by the sign ̄, e. g., הֶאָדָם, unless there is some special reason for employing the proper accent marks. In the application of Metheg, two or more words connected by Maqqeph are treated as if they formed one word.

[2] S. Baer, *Die Methegsetzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen dargestellt*, in Merx's *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des alten Testaments*, Bd. 1, Halle 1869, pp. 55—67 and 194—207.

e) with the vowel before the initial consonant of היה, חיה, e. g., יְהִיָה (Gen. 1, 29).

f) in the forms of the plural of בית, e. g., בָּתִּים, and in אֲנָא.

II. The heavy Metheg (מתג כבד).

A. with vowels.

a) with the vowel of the article before a consonant with Shewa and without Dagesh, e. g., הַמְכַסֶּה (Lev. 3, 3).

b) with the Pathaḫ of ה interrogative, e. g., הַאַלֶּה[1] (Ex. 2, 7).

c) in certain forms with a short vowel (including Pathaḫ, Segol, short Ḫireq, and short Shureq) three places before the primary tone, provided this is marked with a disjunctive accent, e. g., וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ (Gen. 3, 8).

d) in the second closed syllable before the tone with the vowels Segol, short Ḫireq or short Shureq[2], when the first syllable before the tone contains Pathaḫ or Segol, and the tone is marked by a disjunctive accent, e. g., הַמִּתְהַפֶּכֶת (Gen. 3, 24).

e) with the first syllable of imperfects with Qames Ḫatuph before Maqqeph, e. g., יִשְׁמָר־צֵאתְךָ (Ps. 121, 8).

f) with the Pathaḫ of the forms זַרְעֲךָ, זַרְעֲכֶם with disjunctive accent,

g) with the Pathaḫ of וַיְהִי and וַיְחִי before Maqqeph and when accented with Pashta.

h) with the vowel of the initial syllable of a number of miscellaneous forms, accented for the most part with Zarka.

B. with Shewa in the initial syllable.

1.—in the metrical books.

a) with a Shewa three places before the tone, when the word is marked by a disjunctive accent without preceding conjunctive, instead of on the following open syllable, e. g., נְסֵה־עָלֵינוּ (Ps. 4, 7).

b) with the Shewa of the divine names אדני (יהוה) and

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[1] The Metheg with ה interrogative is regularly placed to the right of the vowel to distinguish the ה from the article, except in the poetical books: cf. Baer, *op. cit.*, p. 196, ft. nt. 1.

[2] That Pathaḫ is not entirely excluded is shown by הַנַּחֵ־לוּ (Hos. 4, 17). For the second Metheg cf. III, A. *a*.

אלהים when they are accented with great Rebia without preceding conjunctive accent, e. g., אֱלֹהַי[1] (Ps. 25, 2).

c) with the Shewa of a word accented with Oleveyored, Great Rebia, or Deḫi, without preceding conjunctive accent, provided at least one vowel intervenes, and this has not already Metheg, e. g., וְהָיָה (Ps. 1, 3).

d) with אֲנִי when accented with Munaḫ as conjunctive accent before Deḫi.

2.—in the other books of the Bible

a) with the Shewa of words accented with Gershaim or Pazer without preceding conjunctive accent, when at least two vowels lie between Shewa and tone syllable, and the first has not already Metheg, e. g., וְאֶת־פַּתְרֻסִים (Gen. 10, 14).

b) with the Shewa of words accented with Darga as second conjunctive accent before Rebia, with Kadma as second conjunctive accent before Pashta or Tebir, or with Munaḫ as third conjunctive before Telisha, provided that at least one vowel lies between Shewa and the tone syllable, and that this vowel has not already Metheg, e. g., שְׁלֹמִים (Gen. 34, 21).

III. The Euphonic Metheg (געיא לתקון הקריאה).

A. at the end of a word.

a) with a final ע preceded by Pathaḫ in a word accented on the penult, when this word is connected by a conjunctive accent with a word accented on the first syllable, e. g., וַיַּשְׁבַּע־לוֹ (Gen. 24, 9).

b) with a final guttural consonant of a word closely connected by Maqqeph or conjunctive accent with a word beginning with a guttural, e. g., גְּבִיעַ הכסף (Gen. 44, 2).

B. at the beginning of a word.

a) in the closed initial syllable of certain dissyllabic words, e. g., רְדָפוּ (Ps. 71, 11).

This classification is of course entitled to respect as representing the views of the native Jewish grammarians, but it must be remembered that they were not the same men who

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[1] When Metheg is affixed to a composite Shewa it is placed between Shewa and vowel as here, cf. Baer, *op. cit.*, p. 202, ft. nt.

invented the pointing, but later commentators on this pointing. They represent what they thought was the meaning of the various points at their time, basing their conclusions in all probability not only on tradition, but also on their own individual opinions[1]. The body of rules for Metheg was a gradual growth, compiled from various sources. This is indicated by the variation of the manuscripts in its use, and by the fact that in the best and oldest manuscripts some of its most prominent uses are practically unknown, e. g., the use of Metheg before a Ḫateph (I. B. *d*)[2]. There is no reason, therefore, why the traditional view should be accepted simply because it is traditional, its acceptance or rejection will depend largely on its ability to explain the actual phenomena.

As a matter of fact the traditional classification of the uses of Metheg is not satisfactory. While there is a certain amount of justification for it in general, many of the details are not properly worked out and assimilated to the general scheme (cf. e. g., II. A. *h*, III. B. *a*). We find uses separated that belong together, and those which are quite different placed under the same heading. For example the Metheg in such forms as וַיִּתְנַבְּאוּ and that in those like וַיִּתְעַצֵּב are placed in different sub-classes of the heavy Metheg (viz., A, *c*, and A, *d*), though they evidently belong together. On the other hand the Metheg in the forms of the verbs היה and חיה, e. g., יִהְיֶה, is placed under the same general heading as the Metheg in forms like יַעֲשֶׂה (viz. light Metheg B. *d* and B. *e*), though they are used to denote two entirely different things. Moreover the connection between the various kinds of Metheg is not made sufficiently clear, nor is the general principle underlying the use of the Metheg in all cases adequately emphasized. A more accurate and scientific classification of the various uses of Metheg is certainly to be desired.

The underlying Principle.

The general principle which underlies all the uses of Metheg, according to the traditional explanation, is that of emphasis, but the emphasis is certainly not always an actual emphasis,

[1] Cf. C. D. Ginsburg, *Introd. to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, London, 1897, pp. 462—465: B. Stade, *Lehrbuch der Hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 54, § 50.

[2] Cf. Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 469—778 *passim*.

as is indicated by Baer's statement[1], cf. I. B. *b*. The fundamental use of Metheg seems to have been, not necessarily to emphasize, but to call special attention to; it was thus a sort of *nota bene*. The fact that the majority of the syllables marked with Metheg bore the secondary tone led to the idea that emphasis or lingering on the sound in question was the underlying signification of the sign.

Considering this faculty of calling special attention to, to be fundamental, the chief uses of Metheg may be classed under three heads. It may be employed to call special attention to—

a) a consonant,
b) a vowel,
c) an accent, or accented syllable.

Metheg used to call attention to a Consonant.

This Metheg corresponds to Baer's III. A. *a* and *b*. In both these cases the Metheg is placed under a final guttural to call special attention to it in positions where it would be likely to be slurred over.

Metheg used to call attention to a Vowel.

This Metheg calls special attention to a vowel which is likely to be mispronounced in the form in question, or which is irregular or out of place in the form. The vowel which is thus marked may be long or short.

This Metheg is employed with a long vowel in the following cases, viz.:

(1) It is used with a long final vowel in a closed syllable before Maqqeph, e. g., שֵׁת־לִי (Gen. 4, 25), עֵץ־הַגָּן (Gen. 2, 16): in the first case without Metheg the reading would naturally be *šŏth-lî*, while before Maqqeph a Sere regularly becomes Segol; cases like שִׂים־נָא (Gen. 47, 29) and בְּתוֹךְ הַגָּן (Gen. 3, 3), where there is no danger of a mistake without Metheg, have followed the analogy of the first two cases, the point of contact being that both sets of cases end in long vowels.

(2) It is used with Sere which is to be retained in Nasog Ahor, e. g., אֹהֵב דָּעַת (Prov. 12, 1); without Metheg the reading would naturally be אֹהָב.

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[1] *op. cit.*, p. 56, § 1.

(3) It is used with a long vowel before Shewa, the Shewa being silent as in גֵּרְשׁוֹן (Gen. 46, 11), בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַר (Dan. 5, 12), or vocal as in הֱיִתָה (Gen. 1, 2), יֶדֶךָ (Gen. 22, 12), יֹדְעֵי (Gen. 3, 5). Here originally as in (1) the Metheg was used to prevent an improper pronunciation, e. g., גֶּרְשׁוֹן or *ǵödχa*; cases like יֹדְעֵי are due to an extension of the principle to all long vowels. In cases in which the Shewa is vocal, as it probably is in הֱיִתָה, יֶדֶךָ, &c.[1], the Metheg stands in the syllable which bears the secondary tone, and so came to be regarded as the sign of this tone. It is not impossible that the use of Metheg as an accentual sign originated with cases like these.

(4) It is used in the forms of בָּתִּים and in אָנָּא to insure the pronunciation *bâttím*, *ânná* instead of *bŏttím*, *ŏnná*.

This Metheg is employed with a short vowel in the following cases, viz.:

(1) It is used in the forms of היה and חיה to call special attention to the *i* vowel before ה and ח where we should expect Segol or Pathaḥ, e. g., יָהִיָה, יָחִיָה, &c.; the Metheg in forms like אֶהְיֶה (Gen. 26, 3), וֶהְיֵה (Gen. 12, 2), וֶחְיֵה (Gen. 20, 7), is probably due to the analogy of the more numerous forms with Ḫireq.

(2)[2] It is used to call special attention to an *ŏ* vowel in a situation where it might be mistaken for *â*, e. g.. אָרָה־לִי (Nu. 23, 7), קָבָה־לִי (Nu. 22, 11, 17), קָדְשִׁים and שָׂרְשִׁים in numerous instances. Here the Qames of the first syllable would naturally have been read *â*, as it stands in an open syllable. The use of the Metheg with Qames Ḫatuph was also extended to cases in which this vowel stood before Shewa. In certain imperative forms with *ŏ* in the first syllable Metheg was employed to call attention to the unusual vocalization, *ŏ* instead of the regular *i*, e. g., שָׁמְרָה (Ps. 86, 2). In certain infinitive and imperfect forms with suffix הָ—, Metheg was used with Qames to call special attention to the fact that the regular *ō* (Ḫolem) of the infinitive had been changed to *ŏ* (Qames

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[1] Cf. F. E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrg. der Hebr. Spr.*, Leipzig, 1881. 1te H., pp. 111—118.

[2] For a discussion of the pronunciation of the Qames in these forms cf. König, *op. cit.*, pp. 104—111.

Ḫatuph), e. g., לִמְשָׁחֶךָ[1] (1 Sam. 15, 1), לַהֲרֶגֶךָ (1 Sam. 24, 11), יָפְגֶשָׁךְ (Gen. 32, 18). The extension of this Metheg to the infinitive form בְּעֶבְרוֹ (Jos. 4, 7) is apparently without special reason, as *ŏ* is the regular vowel in such forms; possibly it is due to formal analogy with the imperatives like שֶׁמְרָה. The fact that Metheg was ordinarily employed to mark a long Qames before Shewa, would naturally lead to a confusion between *ŏ* and *â*, and this is doubtless the reason why the Metheg with *ŏ* is preserved only in exceptional cases. The Metheg with *ŏ* in forms like פֶּעֱלוֹ, פֶּעֱלְךָ does not belong here, but under the accentual Metheg (cf. below p. 85).

(3) In the forms of the divine name אדני with prefixed particles, Metheg is used with the Pathaḫ of the particle in all cases where the א is written without Ḫateph, to call attention to the fact that Pathaḫ is the proper vowel here, and not Qames (â) even though the א has apparently quiesced, e. g., וַאדֹנָי, לַאדֹנָי, בַּאדֹנָי, &c.: so also with similar forms of יהוה, viz., וַיהוָה, לַיהוָה, בַּיהוָה, &c., because they were read וַאדֹנָי, &c.

(4) In the word אַשְׁרֵי, a Metheg is employed after the Shewa to indicate that it is vocal, viz., אַשְׁרֵי[2] (Ps. 1, 1), and elsewhere.

Accentual Metheg.

The third and most common use of the Metheg is to call attention, not to the vowel itself to which it is affixed, but to the fact that the vowel bears a special stress. This use may have originated from the fact that in certain forms the Metheg marked a vowel which bore the secondary accent (cf. above pp. 83, 80). This use may be subdivided as follows.

I.

It is employed with a full vowel in the first open syllable two or more places before the tone to denote a secondary accent. This is Baer's so called ordinary Metheg (I. A.). Exemples are הָאָדָם (Gen. 1, 27), הָאַרְוָדִי (Gen. 10, 18), מַהַתְּחִתֹּנוֹת

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[1] Baer-Delitzsch has לִמְשָׁחֶךָ with Ḫateph Qames; this is an additional indication of the *o* quality of the preceding Qames.

[2] For the Metheg with Pathaḫ cf. below p. 94.

(Ezek. 42, 5), בֹּא־אַתָּה (Gen. 7, 1), קִבְרַת־רָחֵל (Gen. 35, 20). The vowel of the open syllable is usually long as in the examples cited, but it may also be short as in מֶלֶךְ־צֹר (2 Sam. 5, 11), נָחֲלוּ (Jos. 14, 1).

This ordinary Metheg, however, includes a great deal more than Baer states. He enumerates cases like וַיַּהַרְגֵהוּ (Gen. 4, 8) and וְאֶעֱשֶׂךָ (Gen. 12, 2) under this head, but places cases like תֵּעָבֹד (Gen. 4, 12) and נֶאֱחַז (Gen. 22, 13) under the so-called indispensable Metheg. This latter class of cases, and all cases in fact in which Metheg is employed with a vowel before a Ḫateph such as e. g., הֶעָשִׂירִי (Gen. 8, 5), צֶחֱקָה (Gen. 18, 13), וְטֶהָר (Job. 17, 9), &c., are simply examples of forms with the ordinary Metheg. These forms are to be read, *tà-ʿa-bôd, nè-ʾe-ház, hà-ʿa-sî-rí, çà-ḫa-qáh, ù-ṭo-hár*, &c.

In the case of forms beginning with copulative וּ the usage varies. Many such forms are without Metheg under וּ, as e. g., וּלְמִקְוֵה (Gen. 1, 10), וּכְמוֹ (Gen. 19, 15), וּשְׁתֵּי (Gen. 19, 30), וּשְׁפָחֹת (Gen. 12, 16), &c. Other forms again, particularly those with sibilants after the וּ take the Metheg with וּ, the following consonant having Ḫateph Pathaḥ, e. g., וְזָהָב (Gen. 2, 12), וְשָׂדֶה (Lev. 25, 34), וְשָׁמָע (Num. 23, 18), וְקֶרֶב (Ps. 55, 22), וְרֵעַם (Ps. 28, 9), &c. In the first case the forms are probably meant to be read *ul-miq-ṷéh, ukh-mó, uš-té, uš-fa-ḫóth*, the *u* being regarded as short, and forming one syllable with the following consonant; thus there is no open syllable two or more places before the tone to receive Metheg. In the second case the forms, as is shown still more clearly by the use of the Ḫateph, are intended to be read *ù-za-hav, ù-sa-dhéh, ù-qa-ráv, ù-ra-ʿém*, the *u* being probably regarded as long, and forming by itself an open syllable, which being two places before the tone takes Metheg. The inconsistency in the use of Metheg with וּ may be due to the fact that it was pronounced *ŭ* by some and *û* by others, one tradition being preserved in one case, and the other in another, or it may be due to the fact the וּ was pronounced *û* only before sibilants and certain other consonants.

Cases in which the vowel *a* of the article takes Metheg before a consonant with Shewa, and cases in which the *a* of the interrogative ה takes Metheg are also to be classed here, the Metheg in all these cases marking the secondary tone in tke first open syllable with full vowel two or more places back from the tone. Such forms as הַמְכַסֶּה (Lev. 3, 3), הַלְוִיִּם (Lev.

25, 32), בַּצְּפַרְדְּעִים (Ex. 7, 27), לַמְסִלָּה (Jer. 31, 21), are to be read *hà-me-kas-séh, hà-le-ṯiṯ-ṯîm, bà-çe-far-de-ʿím, là-me-sil-láh*[1]; forms like הַמְכַסֶּה[2] (Gen. 18, 17), הַכְּזוֹנָה (Gen. 34, 31), הַאֲלַף (Ex. 2, 7), הַחִנָּם (Job. 1, 9), are to be read *hà-me-kas-séh, hà-ke-zo-náh, hà-ʾe-lêkh, hà-ḫin-nám.*

The Metheg is not used in the above cases when *yod* is the consonant immediately following the article or interrogative particle, e. g., הַיְלָדִים (Gen. 33, 5), הַיְדַעְתֶּם (Gen. 29, 5), &c.; nor in cases like הַמְעַט[3] (Nu. 35, 8), לַקְרָב (Ps. 144, 1), הַאַף (Gen. 18, 13), הַבְעַד (Job. 22, 13), where the tone is on the syllable immediately following; nor in cases where the syllable adjoining the article or interrogative particle has already what Baer calls the usual Metheg as, e. g., בֶּא־הַמְשָׁגֵּעַ (2 Ki. 9, 11), הַאֶחָיִכֶם (Num. 32, 6)[4]. In the first of these exceptions the *yod* forms a diphthong with the preceding *a*, viz., *haỉ-la-dhîm, hai-dha-têm,* so that we have what was regarded as a closed syllable two places or more before the tone, and hence no Metheg. In the second series of exceptions no Metheg is used because the *a* of ה stands immediately before the tone; forms in which ה precedes a consonant with Shewa are to be read as dissyllabic, viz., *ham-ʿát, laq-ráv, hav-ʿádh,* &c. In the third series of exceptions, the Metheg stands on the syllable which was preferred as the place of the secondary tone: in the first example *ham* probably forms a closed syllable, viz., *bà-ham-šu-gáʿ*; in the second, *ha* is only one place before the secondary tone[5]. In the case of ה interrogative, moreover, no Metheg is employed in those forms in which Daghesh is placed in the consonant following

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[1] It is not impossible to regard the first syllable of forms with the article like הַמְכַסֶּה as having an initial closed syllable, viz. *ham-kas-seh*; and forms like הַמְעַט (Nu. 35, 8) in which the first syllable is certainly closed, viz. *ham-ʿat,* and hence without Metheg, might seem to point that way. The Metheg would then belong under the second subdivision of accentual Metheg (cf. below). The difficulty with this view, however, is that it offers no explanation of the absence of Metheg in forms like הַיְלָדִים.

[2] Cf. above p. 79, ft. nt. 1

[3] Written with Metheg, viz., הַמְעַט by Van der Hooght, 1705. This writing indicates the pronunciation *ha-me-ʿat,* the Metheg being the ordinary accentual Metheg.

[4] Van der Hooght has הַאַחִיכֶם with the second variety of accentual Metheg described below.

[5] Cf. Baer *op, cit.* p. 58, § 7.

the ה. The *a* in these forms was of course regarded as standing in a closed syllable, hence no Metheg.

II.

Metheg is employed in a number of cases in a closed syllable[1] with the vowels of the article, ו consecutive, the preposition מן, the reflexive prefix הת, with a vowel before a doubled consonant, and with the vowel of certain particles and constructs before Maqqeph; e. g., הַכְּנַעֲנִי (Gen. 10, 18), וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ (Gen. 3, 8), מְזַרְעֲךָ (Gen. 17, 12), הִתְיַצְּבוּ (Ex. 14, 13), אֲשַׁלֶּחֲךָ (Gen. 32, 27), אֶל־כָּל־עֵדַת (Ex. 16, 9), מִטַּר־אַרְצְכֶם (Deut. 11, 14), &c. According to Baer this Metheg is used only in the third syllable before the tone with the short vowels *a*, *i*, *e*, *u*[2] when the first syllable before the tone has Shewa, and the word in question has a disjunctive accent. It is true that this variety of Metheg is used chiefly under the above conditions, but it does not seem to be confined to them, e. g., מֶן־הַשָּׂדֶה (Gen. 30, 16), מִכָּל־הַמְּקוֹמוֹת (Ezr. 1, 4), עֲל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (Ex. 29, 21), וַיִּתְעַצֵּב (Gen. 6, 6), הִתְגַּלְּגוּ (Job. 30, 14), &c.

This use of Metheg is probably due to the fact that a special stress fell on the vowel in each of these cases. That the article and ו conversive bore originally a strong stress is indicated by the doubling of the following consonant[3]. It is also quite natural for a special stress to fall on the heavy prefix הת and on the vowel before a doubling, and on the final syllable (i. e. the original tone syllable) of a construct. Why a special stress should fall on proclitic prepositions and particles, except in the case of מן which for the most part comes under the head of a vowel before a doubled consonant, the *nun* being regularly assimilated, is not entirely clear.

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[1] Olshausen apparently regards this Metheg as accentual, cf. *Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache*, Braunschweig, 1861, p. 88, *e*, 1.

[2] According to Baer the vowel *ŏ*, Qames Ḥatuph, is not included here, because Qames with Metheg is ordinarily long Qames and confusion would therefore have resulted, e. g., כָּל־מַעֲיָנוֹת (Gen. 7, 11) &c. All the examples given by Baer (*op. cit.*, p. 199, § 27) are cases in which the *ŏ* vowel is the vowel of כל. As it would be quite natural for the word meaning "all" to have a special stress, Baer's explanation of the regular absence of Metheg with this word is quite plausible.

[3] Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1908, Bd. 1, p. 107, v.

The fact that Metheg is not employed with the vowels in question in all cases would seem to indicate that they did not always bear a special stress. This stress was ordinarily preserved by tradition only in cases where the syllable in question was the only other syllable of special prominence in the word besides the tone syllable. No Metheg was employed when the accent of a word was a conjunctive accent, as in that case the secondary tone was not so prominent.

Whenever there is an open syllable two places from the tone in a word of the form prescribed above, it regularly takes the Metheg according to rule, but in this case the Metheg is also affixed to the preceding syllable, e. g., וַיַּעֲקֹד (Gen. 22, 9), וַיִּתְפֹּצֵצוּ (Hab. 3, 6), בַּצָּהֳרַיִם (Gen. 43, 16), אֲשֶׁלַּחֲךָ (Gen. 32, 27), &c. The Metheg in the open syllable in these examples may be due to the fact that it has become a fixture with the vowel before a Ḫateph, and so was retained in spite of the fact that the secondary tone falls on another syllable, or it may be that we have here a combination of two conflicting traditions, one school of Massorites preferring to place the secondary accent on the emphatic closed syllable[1], the other preferring the regular method of accenting the first open syllable two or more places back from the tone. When the Ḫateph stands under a consonant which is not identical with the one that follows, and the vowel that precedes the Ḫateph is Ḫolem, no Metheg is employed in the syllable before Ḫolem, e. g., הַשֹּׁאֵבֹת (Gen. 24, 11), וַיֹּגְאֵלוּ (Neh. 7, 64), עַד־בֹּאֲךָ (Gen. 19, 22). In this case there appears to have been no doubt as to the place for the secondary tone, the long vowel seeming to all the most emphatic element outside of the syllable with primary tone.

The forms with copulative וּ which Baer includes here, e. g., וְלִזַרְעֲךָ (Gen. 13, 15), וּמְבֹרָכֶיךָ (Gen. 27, 29), וּבְשָׁכְבְּךָ (Deut. 6, 7), &c., are perhaps properly classed under this head, וּ taking the secondary accent for the same reason as the preposition עַל; in this case the *u* is short, and the forms are to be read *ùl-zar-ʿa-ká, ùm-ba-ra-khê-kha, ùv-šokh-be-khá,* &c. It is also

[1] That the Metheg in the closed syllable is the more original of the two is indicated by the fact that Metheg before a Ḫateph is rarely used in the best manuscripts, while the other occurs in a number of cases. Cf. Ginsburg, *op. cit.* pp. 474, 675, 731.

possible, however, that the *u* is long, and that the Metheg marks the secondary tone in an open syllable, viz., *ù-le-zar-ʿa-khâ, ù-me-bà-ra-khé-kha* (cf. below p. 92), *ù-ve-šokh-be-khâ,* &c.; if this is so these forms belong under (I).

III.

Metheg is employed in the first of two closed syllables connected by Maqqeph with a word accented on the first syllable, provided this accent is disjunctive, e. g., קֵדְמַת־עֵדֶן (Gen. 4, 16), יָלַד־בֵּן (Gen. 4, 26), וַיִּפְצַר־בּוֹ (Gen. 33, 11), &c. The Metheg seems to indicate that the secondary tone, which would naturally fall on the syllable which is accented when the word is authotone, i. e.. on the last syllable, has been retracted to the preceding syllable in order to prevent the secondary and primary accents from standing in adjoining syllables. Cases like הַכֵּר־לְךָ (Gen. 31, 32), תֵּקַח־לְךָ (Gen. 7, 2), וְיִתֶּן־לְךָ (Gen. 28, 4), &c. belong here; the secondary tone is retracted in spite of the syllable *le* before the primary tone, as is shown by the Segol for Sere. When the accent of the word after Maqqeph was a conjunctive accent, the secondary accent on the preceding word was not so prominent and so was not specially marked, e. g., הִתְהַלֶּךְ־נֹחַ (Gen. 6, 9), נִשְׁמַת־רוּחַ (Gen. 7, 22), &c.

Those forms of the Hithpael which Baer includes here, e. g., הַמִּתְהַפֶּכֶת (Gen. 3, 24), וַיִּתְעַצֵּב (Gen. 6, 6), &c., really belong under the preceding heading; forms with וּ copulative such as וְתִכַּסֵּנוּ (Jer. 3, 25), וְסִחַר־כּוּשׁ (Is. 45, 14), &c. are perhaps best considered as belonging under (I), *u* being long and constituting an open syllable, viz., *ù-the-kas-sé-nu, ù-se-har-kûsh.*

Under this head are also to be classed the forms ויהי and ויחי before Maqqeph, e. g., וַיְהִי־אוֹר (Gen. 1, 3), וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר (Gen. 1, 5), וַיְחִי־יָרֶד (Gen. 5, 18).

Of a similar character, moreover, is the Metheg in the first syllable of an *o* imperfect followed by Maqqeph in which the *ō* has been shortened to *ŏ*, e. g., יִקְטֹל־עָנִי (Job. 24, 14), יִשְׁמֹר־צֵאתְךָ (Ps. 121, 8). In all such cases the *ō* has lost the tone and the Metheg is employed to emphasize the fact that the secondary tone is on the first and not on the second syllable. In these forms, however, the Metheg is always employed without regard to the accentuation of the following word as it has come to be regarded as the regular sign of an imperfect with *ŏ* in the second syllable, on account of the contrast

with the Metheg in such forms as יִגְבֹּל־אֹתוֹ (Jos. 18, 20), which calls special attention to the fact that the imperfect has an ō in spite of the Maqqeph.

IV.

Metheg is employed with a syllable containing Shewa in a variety of cases (cf. II. B. above page 79 f.) to indicate that some special stress falls on this syllable. The reason for the special accentuation of such syllables seems to be entirely a musical one, and as the musical value of the accents is lost, it is, of course, useless to speculate as to the exact value of the Metheg. All that can be said is that it denoted a special stressing of a usually unstressed syllable [1] in certain melodies.

Exceptional uses of Metheg.

The various uses of the Metheg enumerated above do not exhaust all the instances in which it is employed. There are a number of cases in which it is difficult to say what is the reason for the addition of the Metheg.

In the first place are to be noted the Methegs used in an initial closed syllable immediately before the tone syllable, e. g., עֵלְוָן (Gen. 36, 23), הִשְׁחִיתוּ (Ps. 14, 1), רָדְפוּ (Ps. 71, 11), תִּבְחַר (Ps. 65, 5), עֶרְבֹּת (Nu. 31, 12), דַּרְכֵי (Jer. 12, 16), לִשְׁכוֹת (Ezek. 42, 13), &c. These Baer groups under the euphonic Metheg, but his explanation of their significance as a class is not satisfactory.

It is not impossible that in some cases the sign was used to call attention to a short vowel. This was perhaps the case in the Edomite proper names עֵלְוָה, עֵלְוָן (Gen. 36, 23; 40). Here some probably pronounced a long vowel in the first syllable as is indicated by the LXX equivalents of עֵלְוָה, viz., Γωλων, Γωλωμ, Γωλαν: the Massorites on this supposition would have used the Metheg to call especial attention to the fact that they preferred the pronunciation with short vowel.

In some cases, whatever was the original meaning of the sign, some Massorites undoubtedly regarded the Metheg as indicating a secondary tone in a closed syllable, as is shown by

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[1] Cf. Baer, *op. cit.*, p. 202, § 35; p. 203, § 37; p. 205, § 40, all near end of paragraph.

the fact that the following consonant is in some MSS. pointed with a Chateph, e. g., תְּבֶחַר (Ps. 65, 5, Baer-Del.), תְּלַעֵג (Prov. 30, 17, Baer-Del.).

The Metheg in forms like דַּרְכֵי is regarded by Baer as an additional sign of the absence of the Daghesh in the initial consonant of the second syllable, which view is not impossible. The spirantic value of the third consonant, due to the vowel that originally stood before it, but which has been syncopated, would naturally lead to the idea that the preceding Shewa was vocal, and hence that the syllable before the Shewa was open. To indicate this view Metheg was employed.

The forms וַיֶּהִי and וַיֶּחִי accented with Pashta are perhaps to be classed with these forms, if they indeed form one class, inasmuch as they have Metheg in what is apparently a closed syllable preceding the tone. It may be, however, that these forms, in the melody indicated by Pashta, were to be read *ṵà-i̯e-hî*, *ṵà-i̯e-ḫî*.

In the second place the words זַרְעָךְ, זַרְעֲכֶם take Metheg with the Pathah under ז when the words have a disjunctive accent, viz.. זֶרַעֲךָ, זֶרַעֲכֶם. It is not impossible that this Metheg was employed to call attention to the short vowel of the first syllable, and to prevent the pronunciation *zâ-ra-kha*; *-khem*, to which the combinations *zar-ʿa-kha, -khem* would tend to be reduced in order to obviate the difficulty occasioned by the occurrence of both ע and spirated כ in close proximity.

Examples of individual forms with peculiar Methegs are, e. g., קִלְּתִי (Job. 40, 4), יְפַגֶּשָׁךְ (Gen. 32, 18), וּמְגִדְּלִים (2 Chr. 14, 6), וְיוֹצִיא רִיב׃ (Prob. 30, 33). In קלתי the Metheg may have been placed under ל to indicate that the accent is not on the syllable marked with the prepositive accent, but on the second syllable. In יפגשך the Metheg with ג marks the short *ŏ*; the Metheg in the first syllable is perhaps due to the irregular pronunciation of ג. Several of the imperfect forms of פגש have a spirated ג, viz., יפגשך and וַתִּפְגֹּשׁ (1 Sam. 25, 20), doubtless following the analogy of the perfect where ג regularly has this pronunciation, viz., פָּגַשׁ &c. This pronunciation may have given rise to the Metheg in the first syllable just as the spirantic value of the third consonant may have done so in the forms like דַּרְכֵי explained above. In ומגדלים it is not impossible that the Metheg, by an extension of the use of the accentual Metheg to a closed syllable, may be intended to mark the second-

ary accent in the second syllable before the tone[1]. In יוציא ריב the Metheg is perhaps intended for the so-called euphonic Metheg (Baer III. A. *b*).

Repetition of Metheg.

In a number of cases two or more Methegs occur in the same word or series of words connected by Maqqeph.

When two or more syllables precede a Metheg denoting the secondary tone, the first open syllable two or more places before the syllable with Metheg takes an additional Metheg to denote what might be called a tertiary accent; e. g., הָאַשְׁרִיאֵלִי (Num. 26, 31), וּמֵהַתְּיכוֹנֹת (Ezek. 42, 5), וַאֲבָרֶכָה (Gen. 12, 3), וַהֲקִמֹתִי (Gen. 9, 11), וֶאֱשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (Gen. 24, 48), שְׁנֵי־בְנֵי־יַעֲקֹב (Gen. 34, 25), &c.

When one of the elements discussed under the second subdivision of the accentual Metheg (cf. above p. 87 f.) occurs two places or more before a Metheg denoting the secondary tone, it may take a second Metheg just as if the first Metheg denoted the primary accent, e. g., מִמַּחְשְׁבוֹתֵיכֶם (Is. 55, 9), מְמִסְגְּרוֹתֵיהֶם (Ps. 18, 46), &c. This Metheg denotes a tertiary accent as in the first case.

A Metheg which for any of the reasons already stated falls on a short vowel in a closed syllable may be retained immediately before a Metheg which precedes a Ḫateph, e. g., וַיַּעֲקֹד (Gen. 22, 9), בַּמַּחֲזֶה (Gen. 15, 1), unless the Metheg stands with Ḫolem, e. g., הַשְּׁאֵבֹת (Gen. 24, 11) [cf. above p. 11].

Occasionally an open syllable preceding a syllable with Metheg before a Ḫateph also takes a Metheg for one of the reasons just stated, e. g., שְׂנַאֲךָ (Ex. 23, 5, Mantua). In the form מְלֵאֶתְךָ (Ex. 22, 28, Mantua) both second and third open syllable before the tone are marked by Metheg, indicating doubtless a combination of two traditions with regard to the place of the secondary tone.

The Metheg that marks a long or short vowel as such without regard to tone may stand before a Metheg which marks the secondary tone, e. g., הָקִים־אֹתְךָ (Deut. 29, 12), וְלֶהֱיֹתְךָ (Deut. 26, 19), כָּל־עֵץ־מַאֲכָל (Ezek. 47, 12), &c. When, however, a syllable containing such a Metheg is preceded by a syllable which should take the Metheg denoting the secondary tone,

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[1] Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriß*, p. 103, η, αα.

the accentual Metheg is omitted, e. g., עָשָׂר־יוֹם (Nu. 9, 3), וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה (Gen. 9, 15), &c. The non-accentual Metheg is here apparently treated as if it had accentual value, these cases following the analogy of instances like כִּי־מָלְאָה (Gen. 6, 13), where the Metheg, whatever it may have stood for originally, certainly marks the secondary tone.

Words ending in a final guttural and consisting of two closed syllables, which are joined by Maqqeph to a word with a disjunctive accent on the first syllable, may take an accentual Metheg with the vowel of the first syllable (cf. above p. 89), and a Metheg under the guttural (cf. above p. 82), e. g., נִקַּח־לָנוּ (Gen. 34, 16), נִשְׁבַּע־לִי (Gen. 24, 7), הָנַח־לוֹ (Hos. 4, 17).

In כִּי־לֹא־כֵן[1] (2 Sam. 23, 5) the Metheg may in both cases mark the long vowel before Maqqeph; the one with כִּי, however, may be accentual. For the two Methegs in יִפְגָּשֶׁךָ (Gen. 32, 18) cf. above p. 91.

Occasionally three Methegs are found in the same word, e. g., וּמִמַּעֲמָדֶךָ (Is. 22, 19, Mantua), בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוֵיתִי (2 Ki. 5, 8)[2]. Here the Metheg nearest the end of the word indicates the secondary tone according to rule, and the preceding complex of syllables takes two Methegs just as if the secondary tone were primary (cf. above p. 92).

Confusion in the Use and Interpretation of Metheg.

The variety of uses to which the Metheg was put would naturally lead to a certain amount of inconsistency in its application to the text of the Old Testament, and also to a certain amount of confusion as to the meaning of the sign after its application, especially as this was not the work of one man working at one time, but of a large number working at different times and under various influences. Inconsistencies and misunderstandings, therefore, are to be expected, and in spite of the fact that the rules for its application were in all

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[1] This pointing is given by Olshausen, *Lehrbuch*, p. 89. No Metheg is employed in either case in the Mantua edition, Van der Hooght, or Baer-Delitzsch.

[2] If this form is to be read הִשְׁתַּחֲוֹתִי (cf. Burney, *Notes on Hebr. text of the Book of Kings*, Oxford, 1903, pp. 208, 280; also Stade and Schwally *The Books of Kings* in SBOT ed. by Prof. Paul Haupt, Leipzig, 1904, p. 201), then the Metheg of the first syllable is like the first Metheg in forms like וַיַּעֲקֹד above.

probability thoroughly worked over and systematized at a later period, some of these still remain.

From the fact that the Metheg was employed to call attention to both long and short vowels, it happens that it was used not only with a long Qames, but sometimes also with a Qames Ḫatuph (cf. above p. 83 f.). The Jewish grammarians, however, considered that every Qames marked with Metheg indicated an *â*, hence they read פֹּעֲלוֹ, פֹּעֲלֵךְ, אֹרַה־לִי, קֹדָשִׁים, &c., *pô-ʿo-lô, pô-ʿol-khâ, ʾâ-râ-lî, qô-dâ-šîm*, &c., respectively[1].

From the fact that it may stand in both open and closed syllables, it was sometimes doubtful as to which was the character of the syllable in which it stood when the vowel marked with Metheg was followed by a simple Shewa. Therefore it happens that a long vowel with Metheg before Shewa e. g., הָיְתָה, יֹאמְרוּ, יָדְךָ, יֹדְעֵי, &c., is regularly considered by the Jewish grammarians as standing in a closed syllable[2], viz., *hâi̯-thah*, &c., though it is more likely that the syllable is open and the Shewa vocal, viz., *hâ-i̯ĕ-thah*, &c.[3] On the other hand certain cases in which we have a closed syllable with short vowel and Metheg followed by silent Shewa are considered by the Massorites as open syllables, the Shewa being therefore vocal, e. g., יַהְיֶה (Gen. 18, 18)[4] and תִּהְיֶה (Lev. 7, 33)[4], and certain of the forms mentioned on page 13 f., e. g., תִּבְחַר (Ps. 65, 5), תִּלְעַג (Prob. 30, 17), which are evidently to be read according to certain Massorites *i̯i-he-i̯eh, ti-he-i̯eh, ti-va-har, ti-la-ʿag.* The fact that, in a combination of forms like יהיה, יחיה with a preceding word by Maqqeph, no Metheg is used in the final open syllable of the first word, e. g., לֹא־יַהְיֶה (Gen. 9, 15), seems to indicate that the Metheg in the second word was considered an accentual Metheg. That the Massorites were not always certain as to whether the Metheg stood in an open or closed syllable when the vowel was short is shown by the form אַשְׁרֵי, which was marked with Metheg in the first syllable; viz., אֶשְׁרֵי. Whatever may have been the original meaning of the Metheg here, it was considered as marking an open syllable by the Massorites, and a special Metheg was often placed after the

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[1] Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 28te Aufl., Leipzig, 1909, p. 52, *v.*

[2] Gesenius-Kautzsch, *op. cit.* p. 68, *i.*

[3] Cf. König, *Lehrgebäude* 1, pp. 111—118.

[4] Cf. Baer, *op. cit.*, p. 65, ft. nt. 2.

Shewa to show without a doubt that the intended reading was *'a-še-rê* and not *'aš-rê*, as would be possible if the pointing were simply אַשְׁרֵי.

Cases in which we have two accentual Methegs in adjacent syllables, the second usually standing before a Ḫateph vowel, are perhaps, as we have seen, due to a combination of two traditions as to the proper place for the Metheg (cf. pp. 92, 88).

Use of Ḫatephs after Metheg.

There seems to have been a tendency that was not completely carried out, to mark vocal Shewa after Metheg by a Ḫateph. This tendency seems to have originated from the close association of Metheg with a following Ḫateph in words where the Ḫateph stands under a guttural, where of course it is quite regular, as, e. g., in נַעֲשֶׂה (Gen, 1, 26), בְּאֵרֹת (Gen. 14, 10), אָהֳלֹה (Gen. 9, 21), צָחֳקָה (Gen. 18, 13), צְעָקִים (Gen. 4, 10), הַאֲמָת (Gen. 42, 16), &c. From such cases it was extended to forms in which the consonant following the Metheg was not a guttural, Ḫateph Pathaḫ being employed except in the vicinity of an *u* or *o* vowel or of a labial consonant, when Ḫateph Qames is used; e. g., נַלֶּכָה (Ex. 3, 18), וְלֶהַבְדִּיל (Gen. 1, 18), וְזָהֳב (Gen. 2, 12), לָקָחָה (Gen. 2, 24), וְטָהָר (Job. 17, 9), שְׁמֶעָה (Ps. 39, 13), וְגָלוּ (Gen. 29, 3), קְלֶלָתְךָ (Gen. 27, 13). This use of Ḫateph we find extended by some authorities to cases in which the Shewa is certainly not vocal, e. g., יְצָחֵק (Gen. 21, 6), הֲתִמְלֹךְ (Jer. 22, 15], אֶבְחַר (Job. 29, 25), &c.

In the case of Shewa following non-guttural consonants, the Ḫateph is the rule according to some grammarians with a consonant which has lost the doubling preceded by Pathaḫ, e. g., וַתְּאַלֵּצֵהוּ (Jud. 16, 16), הַלְלוּ (Ps. 113, 1), &c., and also with a consonant after any vowel, when the same consonant is repeated immediately, e. g., סְרָרִים (Ps. 68, 7), קְלֶלָתְךָ (Gen. 27, 13), &c. Here the use of the Ḫateph has been carried to greater lengths than elsewhere, though even in this case there are exceptions[1].

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[1] These rules, though said to be rules of Ben Asher, are not supported by the evidence of the best manuscripts. Still they represent the ideas of certain of the grammarians, and as such are worthy of note: cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch *op. cit.* p. 55 foll., Ginsburg, *Introd.* p. 466; T. C. Foote, *Some Unwarranted Innovations in the text of the Hebrew Bible*, JHU. Circs. No. 163, June, 1903, p. 71f.

Baer's rule that Metheg always stands with a vowel which precedes a Ḫateph unless the consonant between them is doubled, results from the fact that in all cases except those in which the Ḫateph follows a guttural, the Ḫateph is due to the Metheg and not vice versa.

Relation between Metheg and Daghesh.

In a number of cases the Metheg seems to stand in some relation with Daghesh, particularly with the Daghesh which represents an accentual doubling, such as the Daghesh following the article. As both signs have a similar signification, both denoting an emphasis of some sort, a Daghesh does not usually follow Metheg, as in that case they would both emphasize the same vowel. The two signs are often mutually exclusive. This fact appears most clearly in the case of ה interrogative. Here when the ה is pointed with Pathah it regularly takes Metheg, e. g., הַמְכַסֶּה (Gen. 18, 17), &c. [cf. above p. 85 f.], but in a certain number of cases, chiefly with Shewa after the initial consonant of the word to which ה is profixed, Daghesh stands in this consonant instead, e. g., הַכִּצְעָקָתָה (Gen. 18, 21), הֲיִיטַב (Lev. 10, 19), הַשְּׁמֵנָה (Nu. 13, 20), הֲרִאִיתָם (1 Sam. 10, 24), &c. A similar relation between the Metheg and the Daghesh was perhaps felt also in the case of the article and ו conversive. Compare for example הַמְכַסֶּה (Lev. 3, 3), וַיְשַׁלְּחָהָ (Gen. 21, 14), with הַמִּקְרֶה (Ecc. 10, 18), וַנְּשַׁלֵּחַךָ (Gen. 26, 29), &c.

We find Metheg instead of Daghesh also in some instances in which the Daghesh represents a real doubling. Compare, for examples, מְשִׁתַּיִם (Jon. 4, 11), הַלְלוּ (Ps. 113, 1).

In a number of cases, however, in spite of this antithesis we find both Metheg and Daghesh together, e. g., cases like הַכְּנַעֲנִי (Gen. 10, 18), וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ (Gen. 3, 8), in which both Metheg and Daghesh emphasize the same thing, viz., that the vowel of the article or ו conversive has a secondary stress, and cases like אֲשַׁלֵּחַךָ (Gen. 32, 27), מִמֶּחֱרַת (Gen. 19, 34), יָקֻם־קַיִן (Gen. 4, 24), וְיַתֶּן־לִי (Gen. 23, 9), &c., in which the Daghesh indicated simply a doubled consonant and had no accentual meaning, and hence Metheg was affixed to the preceding vowel to indicate that it bore the secondary tone.

While it seems probably that this antithesis between Metheg and Daghesh was recognized, and made use of to a

certain extent, it was certainly never generally applied to the text of the Old Testament, doubtless because it served no special purpose. It is not impossible, however, that on this antithesis is based the use of the sign Raphe (cf. below p. 23).

Relation between Metheg and the Musical Accents.

One of the most important points of difference, according to Baer, between the so-called light and heavy Metheg is that the light Metheg may be changed into certain conjunctive accents, e. g., הָאָדָם (Gen. 2, 19) instead of הָאָדָם, while the heavy Metheg is never supplanted in this way.

It is to be noted, however, that even when according to what appear to be the Massoretic rules, such change is possible, it is not by any means always made[1]. Moreover the Metheg in a closed syllable immediately before the tone which may become a conjunctive accent as in בַּל־יִחְיוּ (Is. 26, 14), וְאֶת־בְּנֹתָיו (1 Chr. 28, 11), is certainly different from the ordinary accentual Metheg in an open syllable two or more places from the tone. So the fact that two Methegs may be replaced by a conjunctive accent does not necessarily show that they are of the same character.

The fact that the so-called heavy Metheg is not ordinarily changed to a conjunctive accent may be due to the difference in the character of the forms in which it is found. In most cases it occurs in a closed syllable, while the so-called light Metheg ordinarily occurs in an open syllable.

That the so-called heavy Metheg may occasionally become a conjunctive accent is shown by such forms as, לְזַרְעֲךָ (Gen. 24, 7) for לְזַרְעֲךָ, וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ (Ezra 4, 1) for וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ, אָת־גָּדְלְךָ (Deut. 3, 24) for אֶת־גָּדְלְךָ, &c., where the Metheg is replaced by the so-called Methiga[2].

The difference between forms with Metheg and those with a conjunctive accent is probably one of a more or less musical recitation of the word; Metheg indicating simply a stress or emphasis of some kind, the conjunctive accent, a stress plus some musical modulation. It is not impossible that the reason

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[1] Cf. W. Wickes, *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the , . . Prose Books of the O. T.*, Oxford, 1887, pp. 67, 73, 80, 81, 91, 97, 109, 110, 111; *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the . . . Poetical Books of the O. T.*, Oxford, 1881, pp. 57, 70, 86, 88.

[2] Cf. Wickes, *Accent. of Prose Books*, pp. 81, 82.

the Metheg is replaced by the conjunctive accent, instead of standing together with it, is in the first instance a mechanical one, to avoid the heaping up of diacritical points, as almost all these conjunctive accents are placed below the consonant in the same position as Metheg. Compare for example הָאָדָם with Metheg, with הָאָדָם, הָאָדָם, הָאָדָם, הָאָדָם, הָאָדָם, with Munaḥ, Merḥa, Mehuppakh, Mayela, and Azla respectively.

Other Signs derived from Metheg.

Numerous as are the uses of the Metheg which have been enumerated, the category of its activities has not yet been exhausted. There are several other diacritical marks which are identical with Metheg in form and which seem to be simply extensions of the uses of Metheg proper. These diacritical marks are Silluq, Paseq[1], and Raphe (?).

The fundamental use of Metheg, as we have seen, was to call special attention to something, and the things to which it ordinarily called the attention were three in number, viz., a consonant, a vowel (long or short), and an accent.

The Silluq, which calls attention to the strong emphasis that rests on the accented syllable of the final word in a verse, is probably simply an extension of the accentual Metheg.

The Paseq[2], in one of its uses, is practically identical with the Metheg that emphasizes a final guttural to prevent its being slurred with the initial guttural of the following word, as, e. g., פֶּתַח הָאֹהֶל (Nu. 12, 5), יוֹכַח אִישׁ (Hos. 4, 4), שָׁלַח חֹשֶׁךְ (Ps. 105, 28), אַרְבַּע־עֶשְׂרֵה (Gen. 31, 41), צָרַר רוּחַ (Hos. 4, 19) &c. The Paseq in question is called *paseq euphonicum,* and is used occasionally without any regularity between two words, one of which ends and the other begins with the same consonant, e. g., הָאֵל ׀ לָנוּ (Ps. 68, 21), לְדָבָר ׀ רָע (Ps. 141, 4), גַּן ׀ נָעוּל (Cant. 4, 12), &c. The chief differences between Metheg and Paseq in this case seem to be first that Metheg is used in the case of a guttural including ר, while Paseq is used with other consonants including ר; secondly that in the case of Metheg the two consonants are not necessarily identical, while in the case

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[1] For the identity of Silluq and Paseq with Metheg in form cf. Wickes *Accent. of Poet. Books,* p. 95.

[2] For the best discussion of the uses of Paseq cf. Wickes *Accent. of Poet. Books,* pp. 95—98; *Accent. of Prose Books,* pp. 120—129.

of Paseq they are regularly so, though there is one instance in which this is not the case, the consonants however being both sibilants, viz., נָחָשׁ | שָׂרָף (Deut. 8, 15). These differences, it is plain, are merely formal, perhaps accidental, and not differences in principle. It is not improbable that the Paseq originated from the Metheg used with consonants, which for some reason, perhaps by accident, was placed after the word instead of under the final consonant.

The chief use of the so-called ordinary Paseq, however, seems to be to call special attention to the word after which it was placed, e. g., יהוה | יִמְלֹךְ (Ex. 15, 18), הַיּוֹנָתָן | יָמוּת (1 Sam. 14, 45), עַל־הַדָּם | תֹּאכֵלוּ (Ezek. 33, 25), לֹא יִשְׁמַע | אֲדֹנָי (Ps. 66, 18). This is evidently an extension of the same general principle which lies at the basis of the use of Metheg.

From its position between two words or perhaps more especially because it was employed to prevent two identical consonants from being slurred together, Paseq came naturally to be used as a sign of separation. This is the principle at the basis of the *paseq distinctivum*, e. g., וַיֹּאמֶר | לֹא (Gen. 18, 15), which is marked with Paseq to denote that the two words are to be separated and not closely connected as in the identically sounding combination וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ; חָצוֹר | חֲדַתָּה (Jos. 15, 25), where the two words are to be treated as distinct names, &c. It also lies at the basis of *paseq homonymicum*, which is employed occasionally between two identical or similar words, e. g., אַבְרָהָם | אַבְרָהָם (Gen. 22, 11), אָמֵן | אָמֵן (Nu. 5, 22), הִמּוֹל | יִמּוֹל (Gen. 17, 13), יִשְׁמָע | הַשֹּׁמֵעַ (Ezek. 3, 27). Here also belongs what is called *paseq euphemisticum*, which separates the divine name from a word with which it seemed improper to associate it, e. g., אֱלֹהִים | אָדָם (Deut. 4, 32), אֱלֹהִים | רָעָה (1 Sam. 18, 10), יהוה | שָׂטָן (1 Ki. 11, 14), אֱלֹהִים | רָשָׁע (Ps. 10, 13).

Finally the Paseq implying separation was made a part of the system of musical accents. It was employed in some cases as a disjunctive accent to mark the dichotomy in clauses governed by certain of the minor disjunctive accents, though the principles that govern its application are the same as in the case of the ordinary Paseq; we have namely *paseq distinctivum, emphaticum, homonymicum, euphonicum, euphemisticum.*

Besides being employed as an independent disjunctive accent, Paseq is employed to transform a conjunctive into a disjunctive accent. In the prose books, when joined to Munaḥ, it forms

Legarmeh or Munaḫ Legarmeh. In the poetical books, from Shalsheleth, Azla, and Mehuppaḫ it forms Great Shalsheleth, Azla Legarmeh, and Mehuppaḫ Legarmeh. In the case of the prose accent Shalsheleth, the Paseq is added to an already disjunctive accent for the sake of conformity with the pausal Shalsheleth of the poetical books [1].

The upright line to the left of the two perpendicular dots in Zaqeph Gadol (׃) is possibly nothing but Paseq, which true to its emphatic nature indicates a fuller, stronger melody than Zaqeph Qaton with the two perpendicular dots alone [2].

The Raphe, which is a straight mark similar to Metheg, only horizontal instead of perpendicular, is possibly also simply Metheg in its origin. It has been shown that the antithesis of Metheg and Daghesh was probably recognized by the Massorites, but that only an exceptional use was made of this principle (cf. above p. 19). It is not impossible that the inventors of the system of pointing, in casting about for a sign to mark the absence of Daghesh, selected the Metheg for this use on account of its recognized antithesis to Daghesh. To place the Metheg either before or after the consonant in which the absence of Daghesh was to be noted would have led to great ambiguity, as Metheg in this position already had a well defined positive signification, so it was placed above the consonant in question, and here, probably for reasons of convenience, it was written in a horizontal position.

Conclusion.

The results of the preceding discussion may be briefly summed up as follows. In general the traditional classification of the uses of Metheg as set forth by Baer, has been rejected and new principles of division set up. An attempt has been made to reduce all of the uses of Metheg to the same fundamental principle; to show what the relation between Metheg and certain diacritical marks is; and finally to prove that certain of these marks are simply extensions of Metheg.

Three chief uses of the Metheg are to be distinguished, viz.,

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[1] So Wickes, *Accent. of Prose Books*, p. 121.

[2] Wickes thinks this is a doubled accent mark like Gershaim (״), Merkha Kephula (֯), or Pazer Gadol (֮), the sign ״ standing for "; cf. *Accent. of Prose Books*, p. 18.

that which calls special attention to a consonant, that which calls special attention to a vowel long or short, and that which marks a secondary or tertiary accent, the accentual Metheg.

The historical development of these uses is perhaps to be conceived of as follows. At first the sign was a *nota bene* attached to a consonant or a vowel. From the fact that the Metheg was often affixed to a vowel which bore the secondary accent, the sign acquired an accentual meaning, and was employed to mark the secondary tone, regularly in an open syllable, as it was in such syllables that the accentual use originated, and also to some extent in closed syllables. The most important and most common use of the Metheg, viz., the accentual use, would therefore not be the most original use of the sign. An extension of its accentual use was to mark an accent falling on a Shewa as the result of the musical recitation of the text. A further extension of the accentual Metheg is the use of the sign as Silluq to mark the tone syllable of the final word in a verse. The Paseq seems to be derived from the Metheg, being most commonly employed to call special attention not to a single sound or accent, but to a whole word. It originated perhaps from the Metheg affixed to consonants. Its uses as a sign of separation, and as an element of the system of musical accents are secondary. Finally from an accidental opposition between Metheg and Daghesh, the Metheg comes to be used in a changed position as Raphe to mark the absence of Daghesh.

As the result of the varying uses of Metheg a certain amount of confusion arises in the application of the sign, and its uses have for the most part never been carried out to their logical conclusion. This is particularly true of its minor uses, such as for example its use to specially mark out a vowel, but it is also the case even in its most important and most common use, as the sign of the secondary accent. Here it is practically confined to open syllables for the reason stated above, though in a number of cases it is for special reasons extended to closed syllables.

The same thing is true of the Paseq, the cases in which it is omitted, when it might be applied according to rule, are much more numerous than the cases in which it occurs.

From the fact that Metheg was very frequently used before a Ḫateph in words containing a guttural has arisen a tendency

to use a Ḫateph in place of a simple Shewa after all Methegs, but here again the tendency after some development became abortive.

Metheg has come, probably through accident, to be regarded to some extent as the antithesis of Daghesh, hence the development of Raphe from Metheg.

The fact that a conjunctive accent is at times substituted for Metheg, does not necessarily show anything with regard to the value of the Metheg, it is simply the substitution of a sign denoting melody for a *nota bene* or accentual sign. The fact that Metheg is not retained in addition to the musical accent is perhaps due to the fact that in the great majority of cases the proper position of both was to the left of the vowel of the syllable to which they appertained, and so the less important sign was omitted.

Metheg has never been regarded as a sign which has everywhere the same meaning, but there has always been a tendency among grammarians to exaggerate the importance of the accentual Metheg which marks the secondary tone and hence an open syllable, at the expense of the less prominent varieties, and to ascribe to this Metheg cases which really belong elsewhere. Enough has been said, however, to show that in no case can the meaning of Metheg be considered as fixed *a priori*, it does not necessarily mark a long vowel, or an open syllable, nor is the Shewa that follows it necessarily vocal, its significance will depend on the character of the form in which it occurs.

Nevertheless in spite of this fact, Metheg taken in connection with the other pointing, and our knowledge of the forms derived from other sources, furnishes very useful evidence with regard to the traditional pronunciation of Hebrew, and is therefore quite worthy of the attention of those who make a study of Hebrew grammar.

Metheg is not the only sign, the conception of which is in need of revision; the last word has by no means been said as to the significance of a number of the marks used by the Massorites. A thoroughgoing investigation of the principles, fundamental and derived, of these marks would, I think, reduce to much smaller proportions the residuum of unexplained forms in the text of the Hebrew Bible.

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A Conjectural Interpretation of Cuneiform Texts vol. V, 81—7—27, 49 and 50.—By Ellen Seton Ogden, Albany, New York.

The following text appeared in 1898, but no interpretation has yet been given beyond the more or less generally accepted opinions that the fragment is part of one of the so-called "practice-tablets", and that the older characters thereon are somewhat imperfectly executed Babylonian pictographs.[1] Against this hypothesis it may be urged, first, that the archaic signs do not have at all the peculiar *genre* of Babylonian writing nor do they resemble the Babylonian signs of any known period or locality with sufficient closeness to warrant calling them Babylonian; and secondly, that the marked diversity of characters in each case and under each heading still remains unexplained.

The present paper wishes to suggest that the fragment may be part of an Elamitic-Babylonian syllabary in which the Elamitic equivalents are given under a Babylonian or Neo-Babylonian denominative usually to be found at the left of each case. It will be noted that while the Babylonian signs are fairly homogeneous, the others seem to represent two distinct types of writing. One is partly linear and partly cuneiform but still pictographic; the other is partly cuneiform and apparently the style of a later period. It is with the archaic signs only that this paper is to deal, but the suggestion may be made that the later ones are likewise Elamitic, since the Elamites developed a cuneiform system of their own probably parallel to that of the Mesopotamian Valley.

According to de Morgan, the proto-Elamitic script appears for the first time in Susa during the period of archaic culture which ended about 4000 B. C. (dating Sargon at 3800 B. C.).

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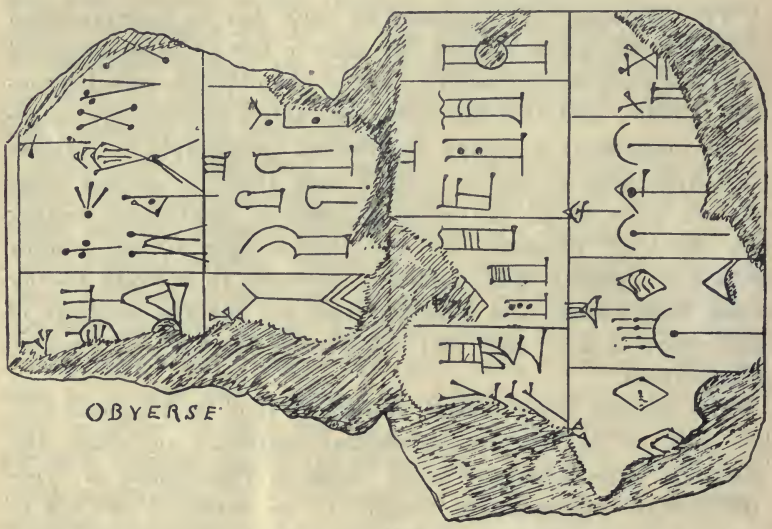
[1] Weber, *"Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer"*. p. 293.

Of course this must be considerably reduced if the conclusions of more recent writers be accepted in regard to Sargon. Père Scheil places the inscriptions of Karibu of Šušinak in the middle or end of the fourth millenium B. C.[1] It would be too hazardous to assign a date to the archaic forms of the present tablet without more data, but their general appearance would indicate that they are later than the proto-Elamitic of Karibu, and it is of oourse possible that the mixture of linear and cuneiform characters may be accounted for by a revival of archaic writing such as took place in Babylonia.



In working over the interpretation on these unfamiliar signs many suggestions were gleaned from a study of Cretan writing in Mr. Arthur J. Evan's *Scripta Minoa.* Mr. Evans himself has called attention more than once to the close resemblance between certain Cretan and Babylonian pictographs and this was found to be even more strikingly true of the Cretan and Elamitic. Of course it is impossible to claim identity when the resemblance can be accounted for by coincidence or the nature of the object represented, yet there are here definite characteristics in common which at least raise the question of

[1] De Morgan, *Delegation en Perse,* vol. vi, p. 60, 61. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan,* vol. I, pp. 50ff.

connection between the Minoan civilization of the Mediterranean basin, and the culture not only of the Mesopotamian Valley but also of the great "Hinterland" of Elam. The direction of the transmission of the culture and the possible part played in it by the Hittite civilization must be left to future investigation. All that the present paper wishes to call attention to in passing are certain resemblances of writing. To facilitate this the Cretan forms are included in the text.

Case. A. The case sign is ⫽, NU, the original meaning of which seems to have been "to be hostile, to destroy" and as will be shown later its earliest form was the picture of a weapon or implement for cutting. For full assignment of meanings here and under succeeding signs see Meissner's *Ideogramme* and Brunnow's *Classified List.* With regard to the Elamitic characters it must also be remembered that the signs are reversible, pointing towards either right or left.

1. For identifications of forms see as follows. Elamitic, *Liste*[1], Nos. 408, 416, 417, 501. Babylonian, *Rec.*[2] Nos. 257, 517 bis. The Babylonian ŠU = abatu, to destroy, (Br. 8650) aḫâzu, to seize, (Br. 8651) saḫâpu, (Br. 8737) to overthrow, destroy. The origin is not clear.

2. See for Elamitic *Liste* No. 412; for Babylonian *Rec.* No. 154. An analysis of the Semitic meanings of this sign leads to the conclusion that it is a pictograph representing two crossed arrows, hence the double meanings nakâru, nakru, to be hostile, enemy (Br. 1143—4), and naṣâru, to protect (Br. 1146). Compare also šanu (M. 654), šunnu (Br. 1148), to change, alter. In support of this origin may be quoted the crossed arrows of the Egyptian NEIT, to indicate hostility (?)[3], and possibly the Cretan sign although Evans[4] at present ascribes to it a different origin and meaning.

3. This sign is obviously late and has no exact counterpart. The nearest to it is perhaps the Neo-Babylonian form

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[1] For Elamitic characters when cited under this heading see De Morgan's *Delegation en Perse*, Paris, 1901—1905, Vol. VI.

[2] For Babylonian characters when cited under this heading see Thureau-Dangin's *Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Ecriture cuneiforme*, Paris, 1898.

[3] Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, p. 114.

[4] Evans, *op. cit.* List, 112a.

quoted, which is the usual sign for ṣalmu, statue, image. The customary reading for this in Sumerian is ALAM, but it is worth noting that ṣalmu is given as one of the Semitic meanings for NU, (Br. 1963) and that this association with NU may account for its presence under this case sign. Possible the form here found is a late Elamitic equivalent of the Neo-Babylonian.

4. This sign is clearly a compound, of which the first part apparently serves as a determinative.

a) This determinative suggests grain or a growing plant and finds a parallel in the Elamitic sign *Liste* 75 or in one of the groups 557—61 and 116—7, all of which are plant signs. For the Babylonian compare *Rec.* 140, where ŠE = plant or grain or wood; the Cretan , (List 92,1, d)[1], unmistakably a plant sign, and the Egyptian a clump of papyrus[2]. The sign may be therefore tentatively read here as an Elamitic determinative for plant or wood comparable to iṣu in Babylonian.

b) The second part of the compound (see for Elamitic forms *Liste* 71—2, and for Babylonian, *Rec.* 19) has been already identified with NU = balu, to destroy (Br. 1961).

It is clear from the archaic form that this character and not = KUR, PAP (see above) was the original of the present case sign though both have the meanings "hostility, destruction" in common and seem to have been to a certain degree interchangeable. For its use with a plant determinative compare NU-U (iṣu) some kind of instrument for cutting (Br. 1993) and NU- (iṣu) SAR (amelu) gardner (Br. 1992).

5. Again a compound, but as yet unidentified.

Case B. The case sign is NA = abnu, a stone, (Br. 1582).

1. Père Scheil has already identified the Elamitic sign (*Liste* 373—7) with the Babylonian GAL-ZU (*Rec.* 98 + 188). ZU = ḫuraṣu, gold (Br. 134) or ṣarpu, silver, (Br. 138), hence GAL-ZU would mean "a large nugget of gold or silver".

2. Two Elamitic signs (*Liste* 19, 20, 22) may compared and also the group *Liste* 722—734 which suggests weights

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[1] Evans, *op. cit.*

[2] Erman, *Egyptische Grammatik,* M. Nos. 41, 42, and Evans, *op. cit.* page 114.

with the amount or value marked thereon. The Cretan (*List* 53, 54) also suggests a weight though not so regarded by Evans.[1] The Babylonian form is clearly that for NA = abnu, stone, (*Rec.* 13).

Case C. This is very difficult. The case sign may be read either MA or a variant of BA. If the former its archaic form was which Prince describes as "a representation of land, earth",[2] and which is not unlike the character here found. If the latter, the primitive meaning would seem to have been "to cut, divide, apportion" and the pictograph some kind of an implement.

1. For possible Elamitic, see *Liste* 543—6 and for the Babylonian, *Rec.* 10, in which case it is the same as the case sign MA mentioned above.

2—4. Compare *Liste* 712 for the Elamitic; no similar forms in Babylonian.

Case D. The broken case sign permits only a conjectural reading, but , DU, meaning daḫâdu, be plentiful (Br. 4474) is the best restoration.

1. With the Elamitic form (*Liste* 484) compare the Cretan (*List* 98)[3] representing two palm branches. Evans has noted the resemblance to the archaic form of DU, be plentiful (see *Rec.* 64 and above)[4] and the palm as a symbol of prosperity and plenty was probably not confined to Babylonian.

Case E. The Elamitic form is *Liste* 339, not identified.

Case F. The case sign is broken, but is probably . The sign is here used with its double significaton of kalbu, on the one hand and of amelu (Br. 11256), bultu (Br. 11258) and baltu (Br. 11257) on the other, the two latter being used instead of the more ordinary UŠ, , URU although the underlying idea of the case is clearly that of the organs of generation.

1. For the Elamitic and Babylonian see *Liste*, 201—3, and

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[1] Evans, *op. cit.* p. 202.
[2] Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon p. 228.
[3] Evans, *op. cit.*
[4] Evans, *op. cit.* p. 98.

Rec. 26. The latter equals UŠ = ridû, (Br. 5401), GIŠ = riḫû, (Br. 5042) and NITAḪ = zikaru (Br. 5048).

2. The Elamitic form (*Liste* 195) corresponds to the Babylonian sign (*Rec.* 403) GA = alâdu, to bear (Br. 5415).

3. The Babylonian is listed in *Rec.* as No. 438. LIK = Kalbu, dog.

Case G. The case sign is obliterated, but the contents of the case are olearly related to those of the preceding one in much the same way that Babylonian MAḪ and NITA are related to UŠ.

1. Compare for Elamitic *Liste* 197 and for the Babylonian *Rec.* 27. The latter equals NITA, zikaru, male (Br. 957) and URU, ardu, slave (Br. 956).

2. Compare for Elamitic *Liste* 196 and for the Babylonian *Rec.* 20, , GAN, an irrigated field. Père Scheil has already identified this Elamitic sign with the Babylonian GAN[1], but its presence here in this group is difficult to understand except by an association of ideas peculiarly Semitic. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of its three sign names is GA-GUNU, viz. the gunu of the GA which here appears as No. 2 of Case F and which means alâdu, to bear. Considering the late date of the tablet as indicated by the character of the case signs such a gunu-hypothesis is wholly tenable.

3. Seemingly a variant of No. 2.

Case H. Case sign lost and the signs late.

Case I. No case sign, though strangely enough in the usual place for it the tablet is unbroken. No identifications.

Case J. Case sign is , inu, eye.

1, 2, 3. All variants of the same sign for which see for the Elamitic *Liste* 612, and for the Babylonian *Rec.* 238. It represents the side view of the eye ball with the "eye-string".

Case K. Case sign is = SIG. Its primitive meaning seems to have been "fresh, bright, pale, yellow or green". Later it has also a numerical value.

1. No. Elamitic equivalent. The Babylonian form is *Rec.* 101, SIG, arḳu, pale, yellow. Barton also gives to it the numerical value 216,000.[2]

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[1] *Delegation en Perse, Liste,* Nos. 372, 384.

[2] *Origin of Babylonian Writing,* No. 308.

2. This is the Elamitic sign *Liste* 653 with numerals inserted. Barton has suggested that the original form was , viz. 3600x 60 = 216,000[1] and this corresponds to *Rec.* 491 which also equals 216,000 or 3600x 60.

3. Likewise a numeral.[2]

Case L. Case sign is = ŠAR, totality, completeness, also the numerical value 3600 (Br. 8234).

1. The Elamitic form is given in *Liste* 653, with which compare also *Liste* 26, 27, 28, from which it will be seen that Père Scheil has already identified this sign with *Rec.* 206 (cf. also 476, 489) ŠAR = gitmalu, kiššatu, etc., and the numeral 3600 (Br. 8234).

2. For the Elamitic see *Liste* 700, (cf. also 637), and *Delegation en Perse*, vol X, Pl. 4, D.

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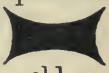
[1] See *The Haverford Library Collection*, Pt. II, pp. 16, 17.

[2] See *The Haverford Library Collection, loc. cit.* and Hilprecht, B. E. XX, p. 26.

The Babylonian form is *Rec.* 490, to which Thureau-Dangin gives the numerical value 36,000.

On the reverso cases M-Q show late characters.

Case R. The case sign is broken away, but the general meaning of the signs contained in the case is "brightness, light".

1. The Elamitic form is given in *Liste* 832. A similar Babylonian sign (*Rec.* 549) remains unidentified, but a possible meaning for all three signs is suggested by than Cretan  (*List* 56)[1] which Evans interprets as an ingot of gold or bronze.

2. Compare for the Elamitic *Liste* 361—3, tentatively identified by Père Scheil with ⊠⊡⊡⊡, išatu, fire, the archaic form of which is given in *Rec.* 82, suppl. 79, and which represents a burning torch.

3. Here the Elamitic is very close (see *Liste* 29) and has been identified with ⟨⟨⟨⟨, AZAG (*Rec.* 252) silver.

4. The Elamitic form (*Liste* 97—8) has been already identified with ⊠⊡, AN (*Rec.* 5). Compare the Cretan star or sun symbol (*List* 107 d).

5. No similar sign and no clue as to interpretation. The sign itself suggests a pair of polished metal mirrors.

Case S. and T. have only late characters.

Case X. Case sign is ⊠⊡⊡⊡ as follows, GIN, to go: TUM, to cause to go; GUB, to stand, to set up; Du and RA with somewhat undetermined force. The signs in this case clearly convey the idea of motion but with two exceptions remain unidentified.

1, 2, 5, 6, all unidentified.

3. Compare the Elamitic forms *Liste* 533—5. Also the Babylonian TUM (*Rec.* 310) meaning to approach violently.

4. No similar form known in Elamitic but Babylonian TUM (*Rec.* 311) means kablu, loins(?) (Br. 4958) and bears the same relation to the previous Babylonian that the Elamitic does to the previous Elamitic sign.

Conclusions may be drawn as follows. First, that the cases are arranged after a definite plan according to which the general underlying meaning is given by the case sign. The

[1] Evans' *Scripta Minoa.*

remaining signs in each case are therefore more or less closely related to each other and either interpret or are interpreted by the case sign, after the manner of syllabaries. Secondly, there remains the subtle and yet irrefutable fact that the genre of the characters is *not* Babylonian. The broad general resemblance is very close, yet careful study will show that in the smaller though equally important details these signs correspond more consistently to the Elamitic as far as it goes than to the Babylonian. From these facts it is reasonable to conclude that the tablet is a fragment of an Elamitic-Babylonian syllabary.

	Tablet	Elamitic	Babylonian		Babylonian Ideographic value
Case A 1					ŠU
2					KUR, PAP.
3					NU = salmu (ALAM)
4					
5					NU
6					
7					
Case B 1					GAL-ZU
2					NA
Case C 1					MA (see J.A.O.S. XXIV, p. 389)
2					
3					
4					
5					
Case D					DU
Case E					

	Tablet	Elamitic	Babylonian		Babylonian Ideographic value
Case F 1					UŠ GIŠ NITAH
2					GA
3					LIK
Case G 1					NITA URU
2					GAN
3		"	"	"	
Case J 1					IGI
2		"	"	"	
3		"	"	"	
Case K 1					SIG
2		*			* plus six tens inserted
3					
Case L 1					ŠAR
2					
Reverse Case R 1					
2					NÊ, NI
3					AZAG
4					AN
5					

	Tablet	Elamitic	Babylonian		Babylonian Ideographic value
Case X 1					
2					
3					TUM
4					TUM
5					
6					
7					
8					

The Name of the Red Sea.—By SARAH F. HOYT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

THE name *Red Sea* is a translation of Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, which is used in the Greek Bible for the Hebrew *yam sûph*, that is, *Bulrushy Sea.* The Greeks used the name *Erythrean Sea*, not only of the Gulf between Arabia and Egypt, but also of the Arabian Sea between Arabia and India, including the Persian Gulf. At the time of the Exodus (*c.* 1200 B. C.) the Red Sea extended farther north, the Bitter Lakes and the Crocodile Lake north of them were then connected with the Gulf of Suez. When the Suez Canal was dug in 1867, beds of rock-salt and strata with recent shells and corals were laid open. The bed of the Red Sea is becoming shallower by the gradual rise of the land. We know that at the time of King Jehoshaphat of Judah (*c.* 850 B. C.) the Gulf of 'Aḳabah stretched up to Ezion-geber, some twenty miles north of 'Aḳabah. Similarly the Persian Gulf at the time of Sennacherib (*c.* 700 B. C.) extended so far north that the four rivers Euphrates, Tigris, Kerkha, and Karûn, emptied separately into the Gulf.[1]

Professor Haupt thinks that the ancestors of the Jews (OLZ **12**, 163)[2] crossed the Red Sea at the small peninsula,

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(1) See Professor Haupt's paper *The Rivers of Paradise* in JAOS **16**, ciii, and his note in the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 154, ll. 33—51; also the conclusion of his article *Wo lag das Paradies?* in *Über Land und Meer*, 1894/5, No. 15; and his paper on *Archæology and Mineralogy* in JHUC, No. 163, p. 52[a], below; *cf.* Driver, *Genesis* (London, 1904) p. 60; Skinner, *Genesis* (Edinburgh, 1910) p. 65; also Ungnad and Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911) pp. 114. 162. 164.

(2) Note the following **Abbreviations**: AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages.* — BA = Delitzsch and Haupt, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie.* — JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.* — JHUC = *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (Baltimore). — KAT[3] = Eb. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, third edition,

seventy-five miles south of the northern end of the modern Suez Canal, between the larger and the smaller basins of the Bitter Lakes.[1] The water northeast of this peninsula, it may be supposed, was driven by a strong east-wind into the larger basin of the Bitter Lakes, while the water in the shallow lower basin receded at low tide. Although the Bitter Lakes and the Red Sea are now connected only by the modern Suez Canal, the tide extends to the southern end of the Bitter Lakes. In the St. Lawrence the tide is noticeable as far as Three Rivers, about midway between Quebec and Montreal. The present northern end of the Gulf of Suez is practically dry at low tide. Major-General Tulloch observed that under a strong east-wind the waters of Lake Menzâlah, at the northern end of the Suez Canal, receded for a distance of several miles. According to Exod. **14**, 21, JHVH caused the Red Sea to go back by a strong east-wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. But when the Egyptians tried to follow the Hebrews, the wind shifted, and the water, which had been driven away by the strong east-wind, came back, so that Pharaoh's chariots were cast into the sea, and they sank as lead in the mighty waters (Exod. **15**, 10).

Professor Haupt (OLZ **12**, 246) has pointed out an interesting parallel to this catastrophe in Herod. **8**, 129. Herodotus relates that after the battle of Salamis (480 B. C.) Xerxes' general, Artabazus, besieged the Corinthian colony Potidea, on the narrow isthmus of the Macedonian peninsula Pallene. After the siege had lasted for three months, the water was very low for a long time, so that a part of the Toronaic Gulf, on the eastern shore of the peninsula, was dried up. The Persian besiegers, therefore, attempted to advance to the peninsula Pallene through the Toronaic Gulf, in order to attack Potidea from the south. After they had completed two fifths of the march, the tide overwhelmed them, so that those who

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edited by Zimmern and Winckler (Berlin, 1903). — OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.* — PAPS = *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia). — ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

(1) See Professor Haupt's papers on *Archæology and Mineralogy* in JHUC, No. 163, p. 52; *Moses' Song of Triumph* in AJSL **20**, 149; *The Burning Bush and the Origin of Judaism* in PAPS **48**, 368; *Midian and Sinai* in ZDMG **63**, 529.

could not swim were drowned, while the others were slain by the Potideans. This flood was regarded by the Greeks as a judgment of the gods, just as the Hebrews attributed the annihilation of their Egyptian pursuers to a miracle of JHVH. The unexpected high-tide which saved the Potideans and the Hebrews seemed miraculous, just as Captain George E. Goddard, of the Lone Hill station, called the sudden floating of the North German Lloyd S. S. "Princess Irene" a *miracle of good luck.* The great ship had been held in the grip of the sand of the inner bar of Fire Island for more than three days, and for many hours 2,000 lives, and property worth nearly $ 2,000,000 had been in jeopardy; but on Palm-Sunday afternoon the ship was suddenly floated by an unusually high tide, stirred by a southeasterly storm at sea.

According to Strabo (779) the name *Red Sea* was derived from the color of the water, which was supposed to be due to the light of the sun, or to the reflex of the mountains surrounding the sea. Some said that there was a red spring whence red water emptied into the sea. Others derived the name from a Persian, Erythras, who was said to have been a son of Perseus.[1] The famous German geographer Karl Ritter (1779—1859) thought that the name *Red Sea* was connected with the name of the Himyarites in southwestern Arabia. This view has recently been endorsed by Professor Martin Hartmann, of Berlin, in the second volume (p. 375) of his work on the Islamic Orient. But Ḥimyar (حمير) does not mean *red.* Arabic *áḥmar* (احمر) does not denote a *redskin*, but, rather, a *paleface.*[2] Arab. *ḥamrâ'u* denotes *white non-Arabs* in Syria and Mesopotamia; *áḥmar* is opposed to *áswad*, black; *áḥmar wa-áswad* means *Arabs and negroes.*

In his paper on *Archæology and Mineralogy* (JHUC, No. 163, p. 52[b]) Professor Haupt derived the Hebrew name *yam sûph*, Bulrushy Sea, from the bulrushes in the Crocodile Lake (*Timsâḥ*) which formed the northern end of the Red Sea at the time of the Exodus. Before the construction of the modern

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(1) Strabo says: Ἐρυθρὰν γὰρ λέγειν τινὰς τὴν θάλατταν ἀπὸ τῆς χροιᾶς τῆς ἐμφαινομένης κατ' ἀνάκλασιν, εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ κορυφὴν ὄντος, εἴτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐρυθραινομένων ἐκ τῆς ἀποκαύσεως· ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ εἰκάζειν· Κτησίαν δὲ τὸν Κνίδιον πηγὴν ἱστορεῖν ἐκδιδοῦσαν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐρευθὲς καὶ μιλτῶδες ὕδωρ.

(2) See Professor Haupt's paper on the passage of the Hebrews the Red Sea in OLZ 12, 246.

Suez Canal, Lake *Timsâḥ* was a shallow sheet of brackish water, full of bulrushes. Rameses II (*c.* 1300 B. C.) dug a canal from Bubastis on the Nile to Lake *Timsâḥ*. This made the water brackish, while the Bitter Lakes south of it remained bitter owing to the large amount of bitter salt (magnesium sulphate) contained therein. Bulrushes, of course, do not grow in salt water, but marshes are full of them. Strabo (804) states that the canal from the Nile, which established a waterway between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, made the Bitter Lakes sweet. Strabo confounds here the Bitter Lakes with the Crocodile Lake north of them.[1]

In his paper on *Archæology and Mineralogy*, Professor Haupt connected the name *Red Sea* with the red color of the salt lagoons between the modern Suez Canal and the Bedouin Hill, northwest of Suez. These salt lagoons were originally a part of the Red Sea. The red color of their stagnant water is imparted by swarms of minute cladocerous, entomostracous crustaceans, apparently a variety of the common waterflea (*Daphnia pulex*) which is attracting some attention in Baltimore at present, inasmuch as the water pipes in certain sections of the city are full of them.

But Professor Haupt has since come to the conclusion that the first explanation given by Strabo is correct. The name *Red Sea* is indeed derived from the color of the water. The water of the Red Sea is, as a rule, of a deep bluish-green color; but an article on *red water*, printed in the Berlin weekly *Das Echo*, March 24, 1910, p. 1093, states that the water of the Red Sea near the coast, especially in sheltered coves, has a red color, due to microscopic algæ. The same phenomenon may be observed in the open sea, if the weather be perfectly calm. The sea appears then to be covered with a coat of reddish (or yellowish) color, so that the ship seems to ride through a mass of blood. This red color may be observed also near the western coast of British India, and some years ago the same phenomenon was noticed near Rhode Island in Narraganset Bay. If the water is covered with these algæ, a great many fishes die. The algæ are often decomposed, and the water becomes offensive. It has been suggested that the first Egyptian plague, as described in Exod. 7, 17—21, may have

(1) See Professor Haupt's paper on Midian and Sinai in ZDMG **63**, p. 529, ll. 14. 28; *cf.* OLZ **12**, 251.

been due to these algæ. A similar opinion was expressed by Prof. A. H. Mc Neile, of Cambridge, England, in his commentary on Exodus (London, 1908) p. 44. In the third part of his German translation of the Old Testament (Göttingen, 1787) J. D. Michaelis remarked on Exod. 7, 17, It is not impossible that God effected all this by a natural cause.

According to E. Wolf,[1] the red color of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean is due to *Trichodesmium erythræum* (Cyanophyceæ).

Postscript.—Since the above article was in type, Professor Haupt has called my attention to Alois Musil, *Im nördlichen Ḥeǧâz* (Vienna, 1911) reprinted from the *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, May 17, 1911. The distinguished explorer states there (p. 11 of the reprint) that the marshy plain, known as *al-ʿArabah*, between Elath and Ezion-geber has two wide borders of luxuriant bulrushes, extending several miles north of Ezion-geber. These bulrushes are due to the presence of innumerable fresh-water springs. The marshy plain between Elath and Ezion-geber was formerly the northern end of the Gulf of ʿAḳabah, and the Hebrew name *Bulrushy Sea* may be due, not only to the bulrushes in the Crocodile Lake, north of Suez, but also to the bulrushes at the northeastern end of the Red Sea, north of Elath. Innumerable fresh-water springs, which are covered by the sea at high tide, are found also along the northeastern coast of the Red Sea, south of Elath.

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(1) *Die Wasserblüte als wichtiger Faktor im Kreislaufe des organischen Lebens* in the *Berichte der Senckenbergischen Gesellschaft* in Frankfurt a/M, 1908, pp. 57—75; *cf.* the review in the *Botanische Centralblatt*, 1910, p. 170. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. B. E. Livingston, Professor of Plant Physiology in the Johns Hopkins University.

The Holy One in Psalm 16, 10.—By Sarah F. Hoyt, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

According to the traditional view, the coming of Christ is predicted by the Old Testament prophets. But the alleged Messianic prophecies, as well as the so-called eschatological passages, have, as a rule, a definite historical background. Professor Haupt says in the notes to his new metrical translation of the Book of Micah,[1] *There are no Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament, nor are there any Messianic psalms referring to Christ.* We find Messianic prophecies both in Egypt and Babylonia,[2] and Eduard Meyer thinks that the ancient Egyptian prophecies are the prototypes of the Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament. He has discussed this question on pp. 451—455 of his work *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme,* also in § 297 of the new edition of the first volume of his *Geschichte des Altertums* (Stuttgart, 1909).

One of the most important of the so-called Messianic Psalms is Psalm 16, which is referred to Christ in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. We read there that Peter said on the day of Pentecost: My brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David; you know he died and was buried. Therefore, when he said, Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption, he cannot have spoken of himself, but only of the resurrection of Christ (Acts 2, 29—31). Like the modern higher critics, the Apostle deviates here from the traditional interpretation, but the quotation, *Thou wilt not suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption,* is not based on the Hebrew text, but on the Septuagintal mistranslation of this passage, *οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.*

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(1) See Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910) p. 50, l. 11 (= AJSL 27, 50).

(2) See KAT³, p. 380.

The Hebrew word *šáḥaṯ* does not mean *corruption*, but *pit*, *i. e.* the abyss of Sheol. It is not connected with the verb *šiḥḥêṯ*, to corrupt, destroy; but with the stem *šûḥ*, to sink. Even if the final *t* were a stem-consonant, *šáḥaṯ* would have to be connected with the Assyrian *šaxâtu*, to be depressed, humiliated, humbled. Nor is the rendering *Thy Holy One* justified. In the first place, the Hebrew text has the plural *ḥasîḏêḵa*, Thy Holy Ones; moreover, *ḥasîḏ* does not mean *holy*, but *pious*. In the first Book of the Maccabees, the antagonists of the apostate Hellenizers, the pious Jews who faithfully adhered to the religion of their fathers, are called Ἀσιδαῖοι, Heb. חסידים. The plural חסידיך does not mean *Thy Holy One*, referring to Christ, but *Thy pious ones*, *Thy faithful ones*, and denotes the orthodox Jews in the times of the Maccabees.

The *holy ones*, on the other hand, which we find in the third verse of the present psalm, are the Greek gods of Antiochus Epiphanes. Hebrew קדושים is repeatedly used of foreign deities. In Moses' Song of Triumph (Exod. **15**, 11) we must read with Professor Haupt:

Who is like unto Thee, JHVH, 'mong the gods?
Who is like unto Thee in might, of the deities?

following the Septuagintal δεδοξασμένος ἐν ἁγίοις (AJSL **20**, 161).[1] Wellhausen says in his notes on Psalms **29** and **58** in the Polychrome Bible, Judaism has turned the heathen gods into angels, commissioned by JHVH to govern the foreign nations. The divinities worshiped by the heathen were placed by JHVH at the head of the nations.

At the end of his paper on Moses' Song of Triumph, Professor Haupt has restored the first two couplets of Psalm **16** as follows:

Preserve me, O God! To Thee I flee;
Of JHVH I say: My boon thou art!

Inferior to Thee are the gods in the land,
And all superb ones in whom they delight.

We must read בל עליך לקדשים, literally, *Naught beside Thee, forsooth, are the holy ones*; the prefixed ל is the emphatic particle.

(1) For the abbreviations see note 2 to the paper on the name of the Red Sea, above, p. 115.

Professor Haupt states there that Psalm **16** was written about B. C. 167, at the beginning of the Syrian persecution. The first half of verse 3 is a gloss, and should be read as follows:

רִבּוּ עִצְּבוֹתָם אַחֵר אחרים יִמַּהֲרוּ
Numerous are their idols, they run after other gods.

Verses 5 and 6 have been restored in Professor Haupt's address on *Purim* (p. 18).[1] In verse 5 we must not substitute תמיד for the Masoretic תומיך, but we must, with Professor Haupt, prefix תמיד to תומיך, or rather תּוֹמִיךְ, thus reading: אתה תמיד תומך גורלי. Similarly, we must not read in the so-called Song of Derision upon Sennacherib, 2 Kings **19**, 26, which is, according to Professor Haupt, a Maccabean Song of Derision upon Antiochus Epiphanes, לפני קומך instead of the Masoretic לפני קמה; but we must insert לפני קומך after לפני קמה, or rather, לפני קומה. The Masoretic pointing תּוֹמִיךְ is a conflate reading, combining the vocalizations of both תּוֹמֵךְ and תָּמִיד.

The line אתה תמיד תומיך גורלי means *Thou árt for éver suppórting my lót.*

In an article published in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements for 1894*, we are told that it is still customary at the allotment of land in Palestine to exclaim الله يقوم بحرلى, *May Allah stand by my lot,* i. e. *May He stand up for it*, uphold it, maintain it, defend it.

Time will not permit me to discuss all the textual details; but, before I present, in conclusion, a metrical reconstruction of the text according to the interpretation given in the Old Testament Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University during the present session, I should like to say a few words on the obscure term *Michtam.* Of course, *Michtam* cannot mean a *golden psalm,* or *inscription*, or *humble and perfect.*[2] Nor can we assume, with Cheyne, that מכתם is a corruption of תחנה or תחנון, *supplication*; it is difficult to believe that this corruption should have occurred in the titles of half a dozen psalms (Ps. **16** and Psalms **56** to **60**). It would be just as convincing to explain *michtam* as a slight modification of *Jerahmeel*!

In Assyrian, the stem *katâmu* means *to cover* and *to close* (synonym, *edêlu*, to bar, bolt). *Katâmu*, to cover, corresponds

(1) Paul Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) = BA **6**, part 2.
(2) See Baethgen, *Die Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1904) p. xxxvii.

to Arabic *kátama*, to hide, conceal, while *katâmu*, to close, may correspond to Arabic *kátaba*, to bind up a skin-bottle, the edges of a rent being tied around with strings or small leather straps. In the story of the stratagem of the Gibeonites (Josh. 9, 4) skin-bottles, mended in this way, are called נאדות מצֹרָרים. A number of allied stems would seem to show that the primary meaning of the stem כתם was *to bind*; the *t* may be an infix, so that כתם is connected with the Assyrian *kamû*, to bind, to enclose. This may mean *to put on bonds* or *fetters*, or *to restrain*. According to Professor Haupt, *Michtam* may, perhaps, have the special meaning *restricted by the meter, conformed to poetical measure*, just as metrical compositions are called in German *gebundene Rede*, that is *oratio numeris adstricta* or *vincta* in distinction from *oratio soluta* = prose.

The meter of this psalm is the same which we have in Moses' Song of Triumph in Exodus 15, *viz.* 2 + 2 beats in each line; and like this famous *Song of the Sea*, the present poem, as Professor Haupt pointed out in note 135 to his lecture on *Purim*, consists of three sections, each of which comprises three couplets with 2 + 2 beats in each line.

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

מכתם לדוד

A 1	שמרני אל	כי־חסיתי בך:
2	אמרתי ליהוה	אתה טובתי:
3	בל־עליך לקדושים	אשר בארץ {}
	ואדירים כלם	חפצו־בם {המה}:[β]
4	בל אסיך	נסכיהם ומדם
	ובל אשא	את־שמותם על־שפתי:
B 5	יהוה מנתי	חלקי וכוסי
	אתה תמיך	תומך גורלי
6	חבלים נפלו־לי	בנעמים {ז}בימינך}
	אף נחלתי	שפרה עלי:
7	אברך את־יהוה	אשר יעצני
	אף בלילות	יסרוני כליותי:[δ]

C 9 ᵉשמח לבי ויגל כבדי
אף בשרי ישכן לבטח:

10 כי־לא תעזב נפשי לשאל
לא־תתן חסידיך לראות השחת:

11 תודיעני יהוה ארח חיים
שבע שמחות את־פניך {} נצח:

(α) 2 אדני (γ) 11 נעמות בימינך
(β) 4 רבו עצבותם אחר אחרים ימהרו
(δ) 8 שויתי יהוה לנגדי תמיד
כי־מימיני־הוא בל אמוט: (ε) 9 לכן

This may be translated as follows:

Michtam of David.

A 1 Preserve me, O God, to Thee I fly.
2 To JHVH[α] I say: My boon Thou art!

3 Inferior to Thee are the gods in the land, [ ]
And all that is grand wherein [*they*] delight.[β]

4 I will never pour out their libations and offerings,
Nor will I pronounce their names with my lips.

B 5 JHVH is my share, my portion, my cup.
Thou art forever upholding my lot.

6 Rich possession is mine {at Thy right,} the most pleasant,[γ]
And this, my inheritance, greatly delights me.

7 JHVH I praise, who has given me counsel;
Even at night my thoughts exhort me.[δ]

C 9[ε] My heart was glad, my spirit rejoiced;
Even my flesh will remain in security.[1]

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(1) Their heart was always glad, and their spirit rejoiced, at the beginning of the Syrian persecution. When the situation was most desperate, when the martyrs were subjected to unspeakable tortures, they cheerfully submitted to them. Their spirit could not be broken. But now they hope that their flesh, too, will remain in security, so that they will be able to defend themselves against their relentless persecutors.

10 Thou wilt not surrender my life to Hades,
Nor suffer Thy faithful to see the Pit.

11 Thou showest me, JHVH, the pathway of life,
Great fulness of joy before Thee for ay.

(α) 2 the Lord
(β) 4 They have many idols, they run after other gods
(δ) 8 I have set JHVH before me forever,
With Him at my right I shall not be moved.
(ε) 9 therefore
(γ) 11 { } the most pleasant

The Etymology of Religion.—By SARAH F. HOYT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

THE Oxford Dictionary says, The connection of the word *religion* with *religare*, to bind, has usually been favored by modern writers.

This etymology, given by the Roman grammarian (end of 4th cent. A. D.) Servius (*Relligio, id est metus ab eo quod mentem religet, dicta religio*)[1] was supported by the Christian philosopher Lactantius (about 313 A. D.) who quotes the expression of the celebrated Roman philosophical poet Lucretius (*c.* 96 to 55 B. C.):[2] *religionum animum nodis exsolvere*, in proof that he considered *ligare*, to bind, to be the root of *religio.*[3] Several commentators upon Lucretius, *e. g.* Merrill, Munro,[4] Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities (edited by Harry Thurston Peck, 1898) and also Joseph Mayor in his commentary (2, 186) on Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, agree that this notion of *binding* was in the mind of Lucretius. St. Augustine, the most celebrated father of the Latin church, A. D. 354—430, makes this derivation.[5] The Century Dictionary, though referring to the uncertain origin of *religio*, cites the English *ligament* as perhaps allied. So Harper's *Latin Lexicon* refers to Corssen's *Aussprache* (**1**, 444 *sq.*) as taking *religio* in the same sense as *obligatio.* Other Latin nouns like *lictor* and *lex* have the root *lig.*

Especially the rare English words *religate*, *religation* suggest *religion* as having the root *religare*, to bind; for Christopher

(1) See *ad Vergil. Aen.* 8, 349.

(2) See *De Rerum Natura*, **1**, 931; **4**, 7.

(3) In *Institutiones Divinae*, **4**, 28, Lactantius writes, *Credo nomen religionis a vinculo pietatis esse deductum, quod hominem sibi Deus religaverit et pietate constrinxerit . . . melius ergo (quam Cicero) id nomen Lucretius interpretatus est, qui ait religionum se nodos exsolvere.*

(4) See Merrill on T. Lucreti Cari *De Rerum Natura*, **1**, 109. 932 (pp. 289. 383), and H. A. J. Munro on Lucretius (Cambridge, 1873).

(5) See *Retractiones*, **1**, 13.

Cartwright (1602—1658) wrote:[1] *They are not religated* (or *united*) *within the same communion*; and S. T. Coleridge (1772—1834):[2] *It is not even religion*; *it does not religate, does not bind anew*; so W. E. Gladstone (1809—1898) said,[3] *Religion . . . with a debased worship appended to it, but with no religating, no binding, power.*

But in *De Natura Deorum*, **2**, 28, 72, Cicero derives *religio* from *relegere*, as meaning *to go through* or *over again in reading, speech or thought.* Cicero says, *Qui omnia quae ad cultum deorum pertinerent diligenter pertractarent, et tamquam relegerent, sunt dicti religiosi ex relegendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo.*

In the *Noctes Atticae* (**4**, 9, 1) of the Roman grammarian Aulus Gellius (2d cent. A. D.) is preserved an old verse which supports this derivation, *Religentem esse oportet, religiosum nefas.*

Identical with *relegere* is the Greek ἀλέγειν, *to heed, to have a care for*; and in support of this derivation of the word *religion*, Geo. Curtius quotes the Iliad (**16**, 388): θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.

Professor Skeat, of the University of Cambridge, says in his *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 500, *Religion* seems to be connected with the English *reck*, to heed, *to have a care for.* From Teutonic base *rak*, Aryan *rag*, the derivation may be traced through Middle High-German, Middle English of Chaucer's time, and Anglo-Saxon. In Mark **12**, 14 we find *Bu ne recst*, Thou carest not.

Our term *religion* is used also in the sense *scrupulosity, conscientious scruple.*

Ben Jonson (*c.* 1573—1637) says,[4] *Out of a religion to my charge . . . I have made a self-decree ne'er to express my person.*

In the Authorized Version, *religion* is used of outward forms rather than of the inner spirit. In the Century Dictionary the two passages, James **1**, 26 and Acts **13**, 43, are quoted. *Religion* was so used by Jeremy Taylor (*c.* 1613—1637) as meaning the *rites* and *ceremonies* of religion: *What she was pleased to believe apt to minister to her devotions, and the religions*

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(1) See *Certamen Religiosum* by Christopher Cartwright, published in 1649 by Thomas Baylie.

(2) Cottle, *Early Recollections*, **2**, 84.

(3) *Gleanings of Past Years*, **3**, 130.

(4) See *New Inn*, **1**, 1.

of her pious and discerning soul.[1] Latimer (*c.* 1485—1555) in his *Sermons,*[2] writes, *For religion standeth in righteousness, justice, and well-doing.* In Shakespeare's *As you Like it* (Act 4, Scene 1) Orlando says that he will *religiously* keep a promise.

Religious means originally *observant, conscientious, strict.* A *religious* Jew is a Jew who observes the rules of the Sabbath, the dietary laws, who does not *neglect* them. *Relegere* is opposed to *neglegere,* which stands for *neclegere,* not observe, not heed, not attend to, be remiss in attention or duty toward a thing. An *irreligious* Jew *neglects* the Law. *Religion* is akin to *diligence,* and opposed to *negligence.* The Greek ἀλέγειν is generally used with a negative, οὐκ ἀλέγειν, equivalent to Latin *neglegere.*

Strict observance of law and conscience, heed of duty, involves taking pains, painstaking scrupulosity. This explains the connection of *religion* with ἄλγος, pain, and δυσηλεγής, painful. But, as Walde says in his well-known Latin dictionary,[3] an idea of *choice* and *interest* may be connected with *religion.* Lat. *diligo* (that is, *dis* + *lego*) may be associated with *reckoning, electing.* There may be a *picking out,* as in the German phrase, *Soldaten ausheben,* recruiting soldiers (so Walde).

If all points are carefully considered, Cicero's view would seem to be preferable, so that *religion* is not derived from *religare,* but from *relegere.* It is true that a clause from Cicero's *Oratio de Domo,* 105 is cited, *Nisi etiam muliebribus religionibus te implicuisses,* in proof that Cicero himself could not help connecting the word *religio* with the idea of *obligation.* So, in the *Second Philippic,*[4] occurs *religione obstringere,* and in *De Domo,* 106. 124 we find *domum religione obligare.*

But inconsistency occurs in the writings of all great men,—the present, of course, always excepted. The commentator most sure of himself is usually the most mistaken—an ex-

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(1) See the Works of Jeremy Taylor, **1**, 756 (London, 1835).

(2) See *Sermon* 21 of Hugh Latimer; edition of Rev. George E. Corrie (Cambridge, 1844) **1**, 392.

(3) See Alois Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1906) pp. 176. 330.

(4) See *Oratio Philippica,* **2**, 33. 83: *Obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum.*

perience which has been brought home to me very forcibly in the Old Testament Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University.

I present this modest contribution to a most intricate problem before this galaxy of distinguished comparative philologians, in the hope of getting some illuminative suggestions on a subject in which I have always taken a profound interest.

Notes on a Collation of some Unpublished Inscriptions of Ashurnazirpal.—By W. E. M. Aitken, Ph. D.

While engaged in studying two copies of the "Standard Inscription" of Ashurbanipal, recently acquired by the Semitic Museum at Harvard University, and in collating them with the copy published by Layard on p. 1 of his *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments,* London 1851, the writer's attention was drawn to the large number of errors they contained. Subsequently a copy of the same inscription in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston was studied and similar errors therein recorded. To these errors the following pages are devoted.

The first of these (A) was inscribed on a well-dressed slab of dark grey alabaster, now broken into a dozen pieces. The inscription consists of thirty-two lines of rather irregularly written characters covering a space 45 cmm. high and about 82 long. The second (B) is on a slab of light grey alabaster, and consists of twenty-six lines of beautifully inscribed signs, covering a space of 40 cmm. in height and 100 in length. The signs and lines are somewhat crowded at the centre, three lines at top or bottom occupying the same space as four at the centre. The slab has been broken into some twenty pieces, but fortunately with but slight damage to the writing. The third (C) is an inscription of twenty-one lines, covering a space 40 cmm. high and 140 long. It is written across the face of a beautiful bas-relief 210 cmm. high and 130 wide, which one time adorned the wall on the left-hand side of some doorway, a point made clear by the fact that the writing goes on around the edge of the slab.

In A there are to be found about 20 errors, consisting for the most part in the addition or omission of a wedge. (It is not always easy to decide whether a case in point is a mere variant or an error; it is possible that I have omitted some

things as variants that might properly have been called errors. At the same time I have added under the general head of error some illustrations that are rather examples of other things.) *Uš*, l. 2, is written as a)[1]; *tukulti*, l. 3, as b); *ma*, l. 5, as c); *niš*, l. 5, as *eš*, d); (a variant noted by Budge and King, *ni-eš* following *šak*, probably explains this); *ḥa*, l. 10, as e); *lu*, l. 10, as f); *tik*, l. 11, as g); *ni*, l. 14, as h); *ik*, l. 19, as i); *la*, l. 20, as j); *iṣ*, l. 27, as k). *Ekal iṣ dap-ra-ni* is written again after *iṣ urkarinni pl* with *ra*, l. 27, written as l). *Im*, l. 30, is written as m). Two erasures are found: *si*, l. 30, is written as n), with one horizontal erased; *a-na*, l. 28, as o). The scribe's intention was to write *a-na;* he omitted *a*, wrote *na*, and then erased all but the perpendicular. This stone cutter at least understood what he was writing, for, if the correction were due to a reviser, he would doubtless have corrected some of the other errors. There are a number of omissions: *it*, l. 28 (19a); *iṣ*, l. 24 (15c) and l. 27 (18a. 1⁰); *išten* (*en*) *u-*, l. 23 (14c); *al-ta-kan ur-du-ti u-pu-šu*, l. 19 (11d. 12a); *amêlu šak-nu-te-ia* closes l. 18, the next line begins with the next sentence. The inference here too is that the stone-cutter could read.

Of the three inscriptions B is the most beautifully written, and is engraved on the finest stone. There are only half the errors, but these are of the same character. *Adar*, l. 1, is written as p); *uš*, l. 2, as q); *kul*, l. 4, as r); *šar*, l. 6, as s); *ad*, l. 7, as t); *mar*, l. 13, as u); *si*, l. 18, as v); *ra*, l. 22, as w); *lib*, l. 23, as x); *šar*, l. 24, as s)[2]; *si*, l. 24, as y), with the last vertical erased, cf. n). The suffix of *gimri*, l. 19, referring to *mâtu* is *šu*. While this is not unheard of in Assyrian, it is significant here as proof that the stone-cutter understood what he wrote. *Ina*, l. 24 (20a), is written on the margin at the beginning of the line. Otherwise the lines begin perfectly regularly.

C, though so conspicuously situated, and though written over so beautiful a bas-relief, contains the largest number of errors.

[1] In the plate at the end of the article I have given the form as it actually occurs, and also the ordinary form at this period. Within brackets I have included a reference to Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* (Brit. Mus., 1902), p. 212ff. The number is the line number of Layard, *op. cit.*, which they have retained; the letter is their subdivision of the line.

[2] This is probably not an error.

Ru, l. 2, is written as z), with the centre horizontal, which has been very deeply cut, almost erased; *ru*, l. 9, is written the same way, but with no erasure. *Ḫu*, l. 4, is written as a'); *šar*, l. 5, as s)[1]; *ḫa*, l. 6, as e); *su*, l. 8, as b'); *alu*, l. 10, as c'); *ḫa*, l. 12, as d'); *ur*, l. 12, as e'); *ilâni*, l. 13, as f'); *šum*, l. 13, as g'); *šid*, l. 13, as h'); *tuḳunti*, l. 14, as i'; *du*, l. 14, as j'); *šar*, l. 14, as k'); *ki*, l. 14, as l'); *aš*, l. 15, as m'); *lu-bar*, l. 17, as n'); *-pi ina*, l. 18, as o'); *li*, l. 18, as p'); *ri*, l. 18, as q'); *mul*, l. 19, as r'); *a*, l. 19, as s'); *da*, l. 19, as t'); *ra*, l. 19, as u'); *te*, l. 19, as v'); *ma*, l. 19, as w'); *iṣ*, l. 20, as x'); *kaspi*, l. 20, as y'). In l. 19 *tamâti* is crowded into z'), cf. i'). In l. 11 *ḫas* is omitted.

Those ancient men whose business it was to write the cuneiform (they were not mere stone-cutters), to write the king's inscriptions, joined the wedges together carelessly, made signs inaccurately, added and omitted[2] signs, even to the extent of half a line. After I had finished my work I noticed that Budge and King has made a similar statement: "From the numerous mistakes and inaccuracies which are manifest in many of the copies, it is clear that the work was often done in haste and was entrusted to unskilled workmen and artisans, who were not infrequently unable to read the signs they were engraving"[3]. The evidence of hasty and unskillful work is abundant; the errors in C constitute over three per cent of the inscription. But I would point out that they are due, in this inscription at least, to men who show some signs of being able to read what they wrote.

Lyon in *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's, Königs von Assyrien*, so long ago as 1883 pointed out a considerable number of errors, especially in the Stierinschrift. Scheil, *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, Tome IV, has pointed out a number in the Code

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[1] This is probably not an error.

[2] Layard, *op. cit.*, gives a fine example of this, which Budge and King of course correct. In l. 5 one reads *bi-lat-su takšud* (*ud*) *ḫur-šani kâli-šu-nu i-pi-lu-ma bi-lat-su-nu im-ḫu-ru*, etc. The scribe had not finished writing *bi-lat-su* (*-nu*) when his eye caught the *su* of *ḳat-su*, l. 4, and he started over again, writing five words twice. *Takšud* (*ud*) he wrote incorrectly first as a''); the second time it is correct. In l. 13 the scribe's eye fell from *kibrâte* to the quite similar *uš* of *uš-ḫam-ma-ṭu*, and so he omitted *kibrâte* ^{pl} *šarru ša ki-bit pi-šu*, and produced an untranslatable sentence. This is all correctly written in A, B and C.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. LXXII f.

of Hammurabi; Ungnad in *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Leipzig, 1909, has added many more, and I suspect that all in the code have not yet been found. Others too have noticed errors here and there, yet the large number of errors in these inscriptions—and it is rarely that one may speak so surely concerning textual errors—comes to one almost as a revelation. Errors have occasionally been pointed out in writing on clay, as for example by Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*; but it is, as one would expect, in writing on stone that they are found in greatest abundance.

(Since writing the above (Jan, 1910) I have been interested to note errors in the clay tablet published in V R 47. In l. 40 ob. we read *ri-ša-a-tum* for *ri-da-a-tum*, and *ip-pi-e-ši* for *ip-pi-e-ri*. Cf. IV R., 60* B. ob., l. 11 (cf. Jastrow in J. B. L. XXV², p. 160, n. 90). In l. 24 we read *šar ra ki ma*. Jastrow (*op. cit.*, p. 148, n. 43), reads it *šar-ra ki-ma*, and translates "from a king, I became—". This is certainly ungrammatical. Is not *ki* an error for *ku*?—whether of the scribe or the modern copist I know not. For *sar-ra-ku-ma* cf. IR 17, 32, and Lyon, *Assyrian Manual*², § 22, bottom.)

a) (1b) for

b) (2b) „

c) (3b) „

d) (3b) „

e) (7a) „

f) (7a) „

g) (7c) „

h) (8e) „

i) (12b) „

j) (13b) „

k) (18a) „

l) (19b) „

m) (20b) „

n) (20b, 2°) „

o) (19a) „ or

p) (1a) NIN „ NIN

q) (1b) „ cf b)

r) (4a) „

s) (6a) „

t) (6b) „

u) (11b) „

v) (16b) „

w) (19b) „

x) (19b) „

y) (20b, 2°) „

z) (3a) „

a′) (5a) „

b′) (9b) for

c′) (10c, 2°) „

d′) (11d) „

e′) (12a) „

f′) (12b) pl „ pl

g′) (12b) „

h′) (12b) „

i′) (13a) „

j′) (13b) „

k′) (13b) „

l′) (13d) „

m′) (14c) „

n′) (17a) „

o′) (17d) „

p′) (17d) „

q′) (18a) „

r′) (19a) „

s′) (19b, 1°) „

t′) (19b) „

u′) (19b) „

v′) (19b) „

w′) (19c) „

x′) (20c, 1°) „

y′) (21b) „

z′) (14a) for

a″) (4d) for .

Comparative Syntax of the Combinations formed by the Noun and its Modifiers in Semitic. — By FRANK R. BLAKE, Ph. D., Johns Hopkins University.

Introduction.

THE syntax of the several Semitic languages has been more or less exhaustively treated in the various Semitic grammars, but little attention has hitherto been paid to the study of Comparative Semitic Syntax. Numerous points, it is true, have been treated incidentally in the different Semitic grammars and other works of a grammatical character, but there is nothing whatever in the nature of a systematic Comparative Semitic Syntax on a par with Delbrück's treatment of Comparative Indo-European Syntax in Brugmann's great work,[1] and very few monographs which discuss problems of this character.

Syntax, as seems to have been first expressly stated by the distinguished linguist the late Georg von der Gabelentz, may be treated from two different points of view, a formal and a logical.[2] We may start from the grammatical forms and explain their uses, as for example in a discussion of the Latin or Greek cases, or we may start from the grammatical categories expressed in language generally, and describe the differ-

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[1] *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (3 parts in 5 volumes + Indices: 3rd part = Delbrück's *Vergleichende Syntax der indog. Spr.*), Strassburg, 1886—1900: 2nd edition of first two parts, Strassb. 1897—1911. Brockelmann has promised a Comparative Semitic Syntax as Part II of his Comparative Semitic Grammar (Part I published in 1908, cf. p. 138) but it had not yet appeared when this article went to press. Since then the first fascicle, pp. 1—112, Berlin, 1911, comprising a portion of the discussion of the simple sentence, has been published.

[2] Cf. *Die Sprachwissenschaft*... von Georg von der Gabelentz, 2te, verm. u. verb. Aufl. herausg. von Dr. Albrecht Graf von der Schulenburg; Leipzig 1901, pp. 85, 86; H. Sweet, *The Practical Study of Languages*, N.Y., 1900, pp. 125, 126.

ent ways in which they are expressed, as when we discuss the various methods of expressing the genitive in Semitic. The two English constructions 'man's disobedience' and 'the disobedience of man' would be treated under the same head in logical syntax, while in formal syntax one would go under the inflections of nouns and the other under prepositions.

In the present article the syntax of the nominal modifiers is treated in general from the logical point of view. Each of the ideas which can possibly be made to modify the meaning of a noun is taken in turn, and its expression in the various Semitic languages is discussed from a comparative point of view. The object of the article is to point out how the noun and the words that express these ideas are combined, what their relative position in the combination is, and how they are affected by being joined together.[1]

The principal ideas which can modify the meaning of a noun in any language, with their most familiar means of expression in parentheses, are the following, viz.,

a) simple determination (definite article).
b) case determination (case ending or preposition).
c) simple indetermination (indefinite article).
d) simple qualification (descriptive adjective).
e) demonstrative qualification (demonstrative adjective).
f) interrogative qualification (interrogative pronoun or adjective).
g) indefinite qualification (indefinite pronominal adjectives).
h) numeral qualification (cardinal and ordinal numerals).
i) nominal qualification (noun in case form or after preposition).
j) personal pronominal qualification (possessive adjective).
k) nominal apposition (noun in apposition).
l) adverbial qualification (circumstantial expressions and adverbs such as 'also', 'only', 'indeed').
m) sentence qualification (clause, relative or other, modifying the noun).

To these may be added

n) nominal coordination (two or more nouns connected by 'and'),

[1] For the comparative syntax of the noun and its combinations in the Indo-European languages, cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* 3ter Th., Strassburg, 1900, pp. 88—103; 181—221.

though it does not, strictly speaking, belong here, as the words do not modify one another but are simply joined together.

Two or more of these modifying ideas may be combined, e. g., simple determination with simple qualification, or demonstrative qualification with simple qualification, etc.[1]

In the Semitic languages, these modifying ideas are not always expressed by an independent word, e. g., the idea of the possessive adjective is regularly indicated by a suffix, e. g., Hebrew כַּלְבִּי 'my dog'; nor is the element that expresses the modifying idea always grammatically dependent on the noun, e. g., 'all men' is expressed in general by the indefinite pronoun 'all' followed by the genitive of the noun, e. g., Hebrew כָּל־הָאֲנָשִׁים 'all men'. Nevertheless in all cases the material will be arranged with reference to the modifying idea.

The following languages and dialects have been included in the present investigation (the abbreviation used for the language is given in parentheses), viz.,

a) Assyrian (Ass.)
b) Arabic, Classical (Arab. or Cl. Arab.)
   „ , Modern (Mod. Arab.; Eg., Pal., Tu., Tl., etc.).
   Lihyanic (Lih.)
   Safaitic (Saf.)
c) Mineo-Sabean (Min.)
   Mehri (Meh.)
d) Ethiopic (Eth.)
   Amharic (Amh.)
   Tigriña (Ta.)
   Tigre (Te.)
e) Hebrew, Biblical (Heb. or Bib. Heb.)
   „ , Post-Biblical (Mish.)
   Moabite (Mo.)
   Phenician (Ph.)
f) Aramaic of Zinjirli (Ar. Zinj.)
   Biblical Aramaic (Bib. Aram.)
   Christian Palestinian (Chr. Pal.)
   Jewish Palestinian (Jew. Pal.)
   Samaritan (Sam.)

[1] Some of the most important of these combinations of two or more modifiers have been discussed in connection with the combinations of the noun with single modifier. Material for their complete discussion is not at present available.

Malulan (Mal.)
Syriac, Classical (Syr.)
Aramaic of Babylonian Talmud (Bab. Tal.)
Mandaic (Man.)
Modern Syriac (Mod. Syr.)

All words except those written in Hebrew characters will be furnished with a transliteration, the transliteration being in *Italics* except in the case of Classical Syriac, where Hebrew is employed. Lihyanic, Safaitic, Phenician, Zinjirli, Samaritan, Christian Palestinian, and Mandaic words are written in Hebrew characters, Mineo-Sabean words in Arabic characters. Assyrian, Mehri, and Malulan appear only in transliteration.

Analogies in Egyptian and Coptic, Indo-European, and other languages, will be given in the foot-notes.

The chief works which have been employed in preparing this article, with the abbreviation by which each will be cited, are the following, viz.,

C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Bd. 1, Berlin, 1908 (Brock. *Comp. Gr.*)

Ass. F. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, 2te Aufl., Berlin, 1906 (Del. *Ass. Gr.*).

„ *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1896 (Del. HB.).

Eth. Dillmann-Bezold, *Äthiopische Grammatik*, 2te Aufl., Leipzig, 1899 (Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.*).

F. Praetorius, *Äthiopische Grammatik*, Karlsruhe u. Leipzig, 1886 (Praet. *Äth. Gr.*).

A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae cum indice latino*, Lipsiae, 1865 (Dill. *Lex. Äth.*).

Amh. F. Praetorius, *Die amharische Sprache*, Halle 1879 (Praet. *Amh. Spr.*).

I. Guidi, *Grammatica elementare della lingua amariña*, Roma, 1889 (Guidi, *Gr. El. Amar.*)

C.W.Isenberg, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, London, 1841 (Isen. *Amh. Dict.*).

A. d'Abbadie, *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña*, Paris, 1881 (Abb. *Dict. Amar.*).

Ta. F. Praetorius, *Grammatik der Tigriñasprache*, Halle, 1871 (Praet. *Tig. Spr.*).

J. Schreiber, *Manuel de la langue Tigrai*, Vienne, 1887 (Schreib. *Man. Tig.*).

Te. E. Littmann, *Die Pronomina im Tigre*, ZA. 12, pp. 188-230, 291-316 (Littm. *Te. Pron.*).

North Arab. Wright-De Goeje, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1896, 1898 (Wright-De G. *Arab. Gr.*).

A. Socin, *Arabische Grammatik*, 5te Aufl., Berlin, 1904 (Soc. *Arab. Gr.*).

H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, Leiden, 1898 (Reck. *Syn. Verh.*)

W. Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1880 (Spitta, *Gram. Vul. Aeg.*).

A. Wahrmund, *Praktisches Handbuch der neu-arabischen Sprache*, Giessen, 1861 (Wahrm. *Prak. Handb.*).

A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Grammaire arabe vulgaire*, 4me éd., Paris, 1858 (Perc. *Gr. Arab. Vul.*).

H. Stumme, *Grammatik des Tunisischen Arabisch nebst Glossar*, Leipzig, 1896 (Stum. *Tun. Arab.*).

L. Bauer, *Das Palästinische Arabisch*, Leipzig, 1910. (Bauer, *Pal. Arab.*).

W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, Paris, 1902 (Març. *Arab. Tl.*).

D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, Wien, 1889, pp. 11—15 (Müll. *Epig. Denk.*).

J. Halévy, *Essai sur les Inscriptions du Safa*, Paris, 1882 [extr. du JA], p. 296f. (Hal. *Insc. Saf.*).

South Arab. F. Hommel, *Süd-arabische Chrestomathie*, München, 1893 (Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.*).

A. Jahn, *Grammatik der Mehri Sprache in Südarabien*, Sitzungsb. d. KAW, Wien, Philos. Hist. Cl., Bd. 150, Abh. VI (Jahn, *Meh. Gr.*).

Heb. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 28te Aufl., Leipzig, 1909 (Ges. *Heb. Gr.*).

Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches u. aramäisches Handwörterbuch über d. A. T.*, 15te Aufl., Leipzig, 1910.

A. Geiger, *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mischna*, Breslau, 1845 (Geig. *Spr. Misch.*).

Siegfried-Strack, *Lehrbuch der neuhebräischen Sprache*, Karlsruhe u. Leipzig, 1884 (Sieg.-Str. *Neuh. Spr.*).

S. Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893 (Hern. *Syn. Zahlw.*).

F. Philippi, *Wesen u. Ursprung des Status Constructus im Hebräischen*, Weimar, 1871 (Phil. *Stat. Con.*).

Mo. R. Smend and A. Socin, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, Freiburg i. B., 1886 (Sm.-Soc. *Moab.*).

Ph. P. Schroeder, *Die Phönizische Sprache* (Schroed. *Phön. Spr.*).

A. Bloch, *Phoenicisches Glossar*, Berlin, 1890 (Bloch, *Phoen. Gl.*)

M. A. Levy, *Phönizisches Wörterbuch*, Breslau, 1864 (Levy, *Phön. Wörterb.*)

Aram. M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898 (Lidz. *Handb.*).

E. Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Leipzig, 1884 (Kautz. *Bib. Aram.*).

K. Marti, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Biblisch-Aramäischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1896 (Marti, *Bib. Aram.*).

G. Dalman, *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch*, 2te Aufl., Leipzig 1905 (Dal. *Jüd. Pal.*).

G. B. Winer, *Grammatik des biblischen und targumischen Chaldaismus*, Leipzig, 1824 (Winer, *Gr. Chal.*).

F. Uhlemann, *Institutiones Linguae Samaritanae*, Lipsiae, 1837 (Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.*).

Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der aramäischen Dialecte. II. Über den christlich palästinischen Dialect*, ZDMG, 22, pp. 443—527 (Nöld. *Chr. Pal.*).

D. J. Parisot, *Le dialecte néosyriaque de Ma'lûla* JA, sér. 9, tome 11, 1898, pp. 239—312, 440—519 (Parisot, *Dial. Mal.*).

Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik*, 2te Aufl. Leipzig, 1898 (Nöld. *Syr. Gr.*).

R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxonii, 1868—1901 (Smith, *Th. Syr.*).

C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Berlin, 1895 (Brock. *Lex. Syr.*).

Th. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, Halle, 1875 (Nöld. *Man. Gr.*).

C. Levias, *A Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom... in the Babylonian Talmud*, Cincinnati, 1900 (Levias, *Bab. Tal.*).

M. Margolis, *A Manual of the Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud*, München, 1910 (Marg. *Man. Bab. Tal.*).

Th. Nöldeke, *Grammatik der Neusyrischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1868 (Nöld. *Neus. Spr.*).

A. J. Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of vernacular Syriac*, Cambridge, 1895 (Macl. *Vern. Syr.*).

Other Languages.—Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1893—1900 (Delbr. *Verg. Syn.*).

A. Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 3te Aufl., Berlin, 1910 (Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.*).

G. Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik*, 2te Aufl., Berlin, 1904 (Steind. *Kopt. Gr.*)

Simple Determination.

The determinate or definite state of a noun is expressed in most of the Semitic languages by a demonstrative particle used as a definite article.

In Arabic, Hebrew, Moabite, Phenician, and Tigre (also in the Aramaic dialect of Tur-Abdin, cf. below), the definite article is indicated by preformative particles;[1] in Classical Ara-

[1] The article stands before the noun in Coptic and late Egyptian (cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.*, p. 110f; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.*, p. 73f.), and in most Indo-European languages; a postpositive article, however, occurs in Old Bulgarian and Lithuanian with the attributive adjective (cf. A. Leskien, *Grammatik der Altbulgarischen Sprache*, Heidelberg, 1909, p. 142; F. Kurschat, *Grammatik der Litauischen Sprache*, Halle, 1876, pp. 406—408; Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. p. 89).

bic and its modern dialects, by ال *al*;[1] in Tigre by ላ *lâ* or ለ *la*;[2] in the Arabic dialect of the Safaitic and Lihyanic inscriptions, and in the other languages, by a particle whose original form was probably *hâ*:[3] e. g.,

Arab.	الملك *al-maliku*	'the king.'
Te.	ለሰብ: *la-sab*	'the people.'
Lih.	הבת	'the house.'
Heb.	הַמֶּלֶךְ	'the king.'
Ph.	השער	'the gate.'
Mo.	הבמה	'the high-place.'

In Phenician and poetical Hebrew, however, the use of the article is much restricted, and it is not necessary to indicate a definite noun.[4]

In Aramaic in general, in Mineo-Sabean, and Amharic the definite state of a noun is indicated by afformative particles. In Aramaic this particle is *â*,[5] e. g.,

Bib. Aram.	מַלְכָּא	'the king.'
	מַלְכַיָּא	'the kings.'

In some cases in Western Aramaic, and in practically all cases in Eastern Aramaic, instead of the form in *aiia* formed by combining the plural ending *ai* with *â*, a plural ending in *ê*[6] is employed, e. g.,

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[1] Connected ultimately with the root of the plural of the demonstratives, هؤلاء *hâ-'ulâ'i*, אֵלֶּה, etc., cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 316, 317 (§ 107 c, f). In some Southern dialects of Arabic ام *im, am* is used as article instead of ال, but without assimilation of final *m*; e. g., امبر *am-birru* 'piety', امصيام *am-çiiâmu* 'fasting'; this article ام contains the same demonstrative element as Assyrian *ammû* 'that': cf. Brock. *op. cit.* p. 317 (§ 107e), p. 469 (§ 246 Ba); Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. p. 270.

[2] Regarded by Littmann (*Te. Pron.* p. 299) as ultimately identical with the demonstrative root *al* (cf. preceding n.). It may, however, have been developed from the preposition ለ *la* used with a definite dependent noun as in Ethiopic ወልዱ: ለንጉሥ: *ualد-û la-nĕgûš* (cf. p. 145). Here the determination of *nĕgûš* is due to the combination of suffix and preposition, but in Tigre *la* itself was regarded as the cause of the determination, and so used as article in other cases. Closely connected with this phenomenon is the almost complete loss of ለ as preposition. Cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 470 (§ 246 Bcα).

[3] Cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 316 (§ 107 a).

[4] Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 424 (§ 126 *h*); Schröd. *Phön. Spr.* p. 161.

[5] This *-â* is probably identical with the preformative article *hâ*; cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 316.

[6] Probably the same plural ending that we have in Assyrian *bêlê* 'lords,' cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 454, 455.

Syr. מַלְכֵי ܡܠܟܝ 'kings.'

In the Eastern Aramaic dialects, and apparently also in Malulan, the definite state has lost its definite force, and has become the most common form of the noun, the meaning being either definite or indefinite, e. g.,

Syr. מַלְכָּא ܡܠܟܐ 'king, a king, the king.'
„ מַלְכֵּא 'kings, the kings.'

In Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic, and Mandaic the absolute or indefinite form of a noun is comparatively frequent in certain constructions,[1] but in Modern Syriac, with isolated exceptions, it has been completely lost.

In the Modern Aramaic dialect of Tur-Abdin a new preformative definite article has been developed from the demonstratives *haṵ*, *hâḭ*, *hânôn*, viz. m. *û*, f. *î*, pl. *ân*, e. g.,

û ḥmôro 'the ass.'
î žaneke 'the woman.'

In Mineo-Sabean the definite state is indicated by a final *n*[2] element, the so-called nunnation, e. g.,

بيت-ن *bḭt-n* 'the house.'

In Amharic the definite state of a noun may be indicated by *-û* for the masculine, *-îtû* for the feminine, but very often the sign of determination is omitted as in poetical Hebrew and in Phenician, e. g.,

ልጁ: *lĕjû* 'the son.'
ሴቲቱ: *sêtîtû* 'the lady.'

The ending *û* is apparently derived from the pronominal suffix of the third person singular (cf. below p. 144); *îtû* contains in addition the two feminine elements *î* and *t*.

In Assyrian the final *-m* which is frequently added to nouns had originally in all probability a definite meaning, but this meaning had been lost as early at least as the time of Hammurabi (circa 1950 B.C.),[3] just as the definite meaning of Aramaic

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[1] cf. Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* pp. 144—154; Nöld. *Man. Gr.* pp. 300—306; Marg. *Man. Bab. Tal.* pp. 62, 63.

[2] Perhaps to be read *ân*, a combination of *-â* (= Aram. *-â*) + a demonstrative element *n*: cf. Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* p. 36; Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 316, 317 (§ 107 a, d).

[3] Cf. Del. *Ass. Gr.* p. 189. This *-m* or mimmation is ultimately identical with the emphatic particle *-ma*; cf. *op. cit.* pp. 189, 219—221, and also below under Adverbial Qualification. It is probably distinct from the *-m* or *-n* which denotes indetermination (cf. p. 156); Brockelmann, however, seems to regard them as identical, cf. *Comp. Gr.* p. 474 (bot.).

-â was lost later in Eastern Aramaic (cf. above). Assyrian is therefore without article and a word either with the *-m* or without it may be either definite or indefinite, e. g.,

ilu
ilu-m } 'god, a god, the god.'

Ethiopic, Tigriña, and Mehri are entirely without article, and a noun in its absolute form may be either definite or indefinite, e. g.,

Eth. ንጉሥ: *nĕgûš* 'king, a king, the king.'
Ta. ሰብ: *sab* 'man, a man, the man.'
Meh. *ǵaiǰ* 'man, a man, the man.'

The Eastern Aramaic dialects, then, and Assyrian, Ethiopic, Tigriña, and Mehri have no direct means of making a noun definite under all conditions, but they are able nevertheless by employing various constructions, to express the determination in certain cases. Sometimes a language which has a regular definite article possesses these definite constructions as well.

In Assyrian, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Tigriña, and in Tigre in spite of the fact that it has developed an article, the pronominal suffix of the third person is employed in certain cases in the sense of a definite article. In Syriac this use seems to be confined to nouns after ܕ; in Ethiopic it is most common in repetitions; in Tigriña, in time expressions. e. g.,

Ass. *nêšu ša çîri-šu* 'the lion of *the* desert.'[1]
Syr. ܡܪܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܐܣܛܘܢܐ 'St. Simon of *the* pillar.'[1]
Eth. ሕለምከ ፡ ሕልመ ፡ ወከመዝ ፡ ሕልሙ ፡ *ḥalamka ḥĕlma ʷakamazĕ hĕlm-û* 'thou hast dreamed a dream, and thus (was) *the* dream.'
Ta. ይበጽሕ ፡ ጊዜኡ ፡ እንተ ፡ *ibaçĕḥ gîzê-'û ĕnta...* '*the* time will come when...'
Te. ሰበት ፡ መሰሉ ፡ ሰአለዎ ፡ *sabat masal-û sa'alaʷ-ô* 'about *the* parable they asked him.'

From this use doubtless originates the articular *-û*, *-îtû*, of Amharic.

The suffix in Assyrian expressions like *ina umi-šu-ma* 'on that day,' is to be classed here, tho the suffix has here a force more strongly demonstrative than that of an article.

[1] Brockelmann thinks the suffix here is simply possessive, cf. *Comp. Gr.* p. 472 (top).

In the case of a definite noun which is dependent on another word (noun, preposition, or verb) the definite state of this noun is often emphasized by a suffix attached to the governing word; the dependent noun, either alone or preceded by a preposition, standing as a sort of apposition to the suffix. The dependent noun usually stands after the suffix, but when it is governed by a verb it may stand before the verbal form. When the determination of the dependent noun is not indicated by a demonstrative adjective, or in some other way, the suffix may be regarded as taking the place of the article.

In Assyrian a noun depending on another noun is preceded by *ša*; a governing preposition is repeated; a noun depending on a verb stands without preposition: e. g.,

> *X aplu-šu ša Y* 'X son of Y.'
> *ana šâšuma ana Izdubar* 'to Izdubar.'
> *I šuši šarrâni... adi tâmdi elînîte lû ardi-šunûti*, 'sixty kings ... unto the upper sea verily I pursued (them).'

In Ethiopic the dependent noun is preceded by the preposition ለ, e. g.,

> ቀዳሚሃ ፡ ለጥበብ ፡ *qadâmî-hâ la-ṭĕbab* 'the beginning of wisdom (its beginning to wisdom).'
> ላዕሌሁ ፡ ለባዕለ ፡ ቤት ፡ *lă'lê-hû la-bâ'la bêt* 'against the lord of *the* house.'
> ስመዮ ፡ ለብርሃን ፡ ዕለት ፡ *samaḭ-ô la-bĕrhân 'ĕlat* 'he called *the* light day.'

In Tigriña the dependent noun is regularly preceded by the preposition ን, tho after another noun the genitive sign ናይ ፡ may be employed, e. g.,

> ልዲኡ ፡ ንየሱስ ፡ *lĕdê-'û nĕ-ḭasûs* 'the birth of Jesus.'
> መጀመርያኣ ፡ ናይ ፡ ፍጥረት ፡ *majamarḭâ-'â nâḭ fĕṭrat* 'the beginning of *the* creation.'
> ከማኡ ፡ ነት ፡ ሰብ ፡ *kamâ-'û n-at sab* 'like this man.'
> ወለደ ፡ ንይስሐቅ ፡ *ṵalad-ô nĕ-ḭesḥaq* 'he begot Isaac.'

In Amharic a noun depending on another noun is preceded by the sign of the genitive የ, and usually stands before the governing noun, tho it may stand after; a noun depending on a verb takes nothing besides the regular accusative suffix ን; the dependent noun is most commonly a proper noun: e. g.,

> የጠቢባን ፡ ዘውዳቸው ፡ *ḭa-ṭabîbân zaṵd-âčaṵ* 'the crown of *the* wise.'

ህልመ፡ንጉሡ፡ *hĕlm-aṯô-m i̯a-nĕgûš-û* 'and the dream of *the* king.'

ኢያሱን፡ጸራው፡ *'iṯâsû-n çarâ-ṯ̯* 'he called to Joshua.'

In Syriac the preposition ܠ is used after a verb; after a noun and a preposition ܕ being employed: e. g.,

ܒܪܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'the son of the king.'

ܥܠܝܗ ܕܟܐܦܐ 'over the stone.'

ܒܢܝܗܝ ܠܒܝܬܐ 'he built the house.'

After a preposition, instead of ܕ the same preposition may be repeated, and after a verb, instead of both suffix and ܠ either may be used alone with the same meaning, e. g.,

ܥܠܝܗ ܥܠ ܟܐܦܐ 'over the stone.'

ܒܢܝܗܝ ܒܝܬܐ } 'he built the house.'
ܒܢܐ ܠܒܝܬܐ }

Mandaic and the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud have the same constructions as Syriac, tho apparently the construction of suffix + noun without ل does not occur in the latter. In Modern Syriac the construct of a noun preceding a definite *nomen rectum* often has a special ending, viz., ܐ ـ̈ or ܕ ـ̈; this is perhaps a contraction for ܕ ـ̈ܐ, suffix of third person singular + sign of genitive (cf. prepositional forms below): e. g.,

ܦܪܩܢܝܬ ܕܝܢܝܐ *pirqânit diniê* 'Savior of *the* world.'

Occasionally, however, the construction occurs as in Classical Syriac,[1] e. g.,

ܡܢ ܐܝܕ ܕܣܛܢܐ *min îd-ê de-sâṭânâ* 'from the hand of Satan.'

ܒܪܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ *berôn-ê-de-'alâhâ* 'the son of God.'

The construction after a preposition (ܠ seems to be the only preposition that is thus used, tho the spoken forms *ullit, minnit, bârit* for ܠܠ, ܡܢ, ܒܪ are to be explained as contracted from preposition + suffix + ܕ, viz., ܕ ܠܗ; ܕ ܡܢܗ; ܕ ܒܪܗ) or verb, is suffix (or in the case of the verb the equivalent ܠ + suffix) followed immediately by the dependent noun without anything before it, e. g.,

ܠܗ ܢܘܢܐ *lâh nûnâ* 'to *the* fish.'

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[1] Nöldeke mentions only the first example, and here he thinks it is possible that ܐܝܕ was miswritten for ܐܝܕܝ *îdê*, the plural; but Maclean states that this construction is not uncommon. Cf. Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 148 f.; Macl. *Vern. Syr.* p. 56 (top).

ܦܘܠܛ ܐܘܝܬ ܣܘܣܐ *pulṭ-uh 'uit sûsê* 'have you brought out *the* horse.'

ܚܡܝ ܠܐܗ ܗܘ ܒܗܪܐ *ḥemî lêh hô bahrâ* 'hold fast that light.'

In those languages which have developed a special definite article, similar emphatic constructions occur. When the governing word is a noun, this construction is found only in those languages which have developed a special genitive sign. It is found in the Western Aramaic dialects and in Post-Biblical Hebrew (here probably borrowed from Aramaic), but does not seem to occur in the Modern Arabic dialects. In Hebrew the article is omitted with a dependent common noun, being in this respect at least independent of Aramaic. e. g.,

Bib. Aram. אֱלָהַּ דִּי־דָנִיאֵל 'the god of Daniel.'
שְׁמַהּ דִּי אֱלָהָא 'the name of God.'
Jew. Pal. אֲבוּהוֹן דִּי בְנֵי עַמּוֹן 'the father of the Ammonites.'
Sam. בניון דבעבריך 'the sons of thy servants.'
Mish. אוּרָן שֶׁל חֲכָמִים 'the fire of the wise.'
דַּעְתּוֹ לְשָׁמַיִם 'the knowledge of God.'

In Biblical Hebrew this construction occurs in one late passage, viz.,

מִטָּתוֹ שֶׁלִּשְׁלֹמֹה 'the couch of Solomon.' (Ct. 3,7).

When the governing word is a preposition or a verb, examples may occur in any language, but they are comparatively infrequent; when depending on a verb, the noun stands with the sign of the accusative; after a preposition, it stands either alone or with the preposition repeated; in Arabic the noun is in the case form corresponding to the case of the suffix; in Christian Palestinian after a verb the suffix stands after ית and the noun after ל: e. g.,

Arab. رأيتُه زيدا *ra'aiṭu-hu zaiḍa*ⁿ 'I saw Zaid.'
مررتُ به زيدٍ *marartu bi-hi zaiḍi*ⁿ 'I passed by Zaid.'
Heb. וַתִּרְאֵהוּ אֶת־הַיֶּלֶד 'and she saw the boy' (Ex. 2, 6).
אֵי לוֹ הָאֶחָד 'woe to him the one alone' (Ecc. 4, 10).
לָהֶם לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'to the children of Israel' (Jos. 1, 2).
Sam. ויתּ יפרתה קעימתה יסב יתה 'and the sparrow alive he took' (him).
אנש באחיו לא תפלע בה 'a man shall not rule over his brother.'
Ch. Pal. דיפרוק יתה לאסראיל 'that he might free Israel.'
סנא יתה לנהורא 'he hates the light.'

In Biblical Aramaic and Jewish Palestinian, and in Post-

Biblical Hebrew (here probably a borrowing from Aramaic) this construction after prepositions has come to be used to express the idea of 'same,' e. g.,

Bib. Aram. בַּהּ זִמְנָא 'at that same time' (Dan. 3, 7).
בַּהּ בְּלֵילְיָא 'on that very night' (Dan. 5, 30).
Jew. Pal. בה בשעתה 'in the same hour.'
Mish. בּוֹ בַיּוֹם 'on the same day.'

Under the same head as these emphatic constructions with pleonastic suffix, are to be classed the constructions in Post-Biblical Hebrew, Samaritan, and Christian and Jewish Palestinian, in which את or ית + suffix is placed before noun with article in the sense of 'that,' 'same,'[1] e. g.,

Mish. אוֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם 'the same day.'
אוֹתָהּ הָאָרֶץ 'the same land.'
Sam. ביתה ארעא 'in the same land.'
ביתה יומא 'on the same day.'
Ch. Pal. ביתה קירוסא 'at that same time.'
Jew. Pal. דיתה שבתא 'of that Sabbath.'

In some languages the demonstratives are at times used with a weakened force akin to that of a definite article. This is to be noted in Ethiopic and Tigriña, and also in Jewish Palestinian, in spite of its possessing a living definite form of the noun, e. g.,

Eth. ውእቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ *ṳĕ'ĕtû bĕ'ĕsî* 'the (that) man.'
Ta. ኦኑት ፡ እትነቢዩ ፡ ሕዩ፡እዚው ፡ *'ûnat 'ĕt-nabîîî 'îîû 'ĕzîṳ* 'truly this is the (that) prophet.'
Jew. Pal. הדין ספר אוריתא 'the book of the Law' (Sabb. 14. d).

The historical development of these various expressions for the determinate state of a noun is probably somewhat as follows. The parent Semitic speech was originally without article.[2] This status is best represented by some of the younger

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[1] The element ית seems to occur also in the common Mandaic more remote demonstrative האנאת which Nöldeke thinks is a combination of demonstrative elements הא, הין, ית: cf. *Man. Gr.* p. 91 f; also Geig. *Spr. Misch.* p. 36; Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.* pp. 31, 162, 163; Nöld. *Chr. Pal.* p. 471; Dalm. *Jüd. Pal.* p. 113.

[2] For relics of this original article-less condition in all the Semitic languages, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 466—469 (§ 246 A). There is no article in Old Egyptian, but one has been developed in later Egyptian and in Coptic from the demonstrative 'that,' cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 110; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 73 f. Originally also there was no article in Indo-European, as is shown by the fact that many of the older

members of the Semitic family, viz., Ethiopic, and its modern descendant Tigriña.[1] Assyrian, in many respects the most primitive of the family, had developed and lost a definite article centuries before the oldest monument of Ethiopic was written. In order to represent the determinate state of a noun, two means were employed a) pronominal elements, chiefly demonstrative, and b) the personal pronominal suffixes.

From pronominal elements in most of the languages, by a process of weakening, a real definite article was developed, viz., in Assyrian, and in the Arabic (North and South), Canaanitic, and Aramaic families of speech. In Phenician and archaic Hebrew, represented by the language of Hebrew poetry, the article is not yet absolutely necessary to denote determination. In Arabic (North and South), Aramaic, in Hebrew prose, and Moabite, the article is fully developed. In the Eastern Aramaic dialects its definite force has so faded out that these languages have practically returned to the article-less condition of the primitive language. In one of these, again, the dialect of Tur-Abdin, a new article has been developed from the demonstrative 'that.'

Parallel with this development of the demonstratives ran the determinative use of the pronominal suffixes. In some languages the suffix of the third person was used to determine the noun to which it was attached, at first with a force more demonstrative than articular, as in Assyrian, later with a real articular force. This later use is found chiefly in the Abyssinian group, tho it also occurs occasionally in Assyrian and Syriac. In Tigre the development of a regular article has checked the growth of the construction; in Amharic a regular article is developed from it, which has, however, a somewhat restricted use. A suffix was also used to emphasize the determination of a dependent noun by being placed with the governing word. This construction is found to a certain extent in all the languages, but is most fully developed in the Abyssinian and Aramaic groups. It occurs in Amharic in

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languages, viz., Sanskrit, Avestan, and Latin, have never developed an article; in Old Bulgarian and Lithuanian the article is used only with the adjective modifying a definite noun; cf. p. 165. n. 1.

[1] Whether the article-less condition of Mehri is a direct inheritance from primitive Semitic, or whether the language is to be regarded as having lost the article which appears in Mineo-Sabean, is not certain.

spite of the fact that the language has an article; it is found in both East and West Aramaic, but reaches a higher development in the Eastern dialects, since here the emphatic state has lost its definite meaning. In Western Aramaic and Post-Biblical Hebrew, where the growth of these constructions has been checked by the development of a regular article, some of them have been adapted to indicate the emphatic idea ‚same,' or 'the very same.'

In some languages the weakening of the force of the demonstrative pronouns, which process resulted in the development of the regular article, is still going on. So especially in article-less languages like Ethiopic and Tigriña, but also in those with a special definite form such as Jewish Palestinian.

Case Determination.

Leaving aside the primitive case endings, which are an integral part of the noun, under this head are to be classed the various prepositions and postpositions which have been developed to denote case.

The nominative has developed no special case sign.

The genitive in primitive Semitic is expressed by the construct chain (cf. below), but in the later development of many of the languages special prepositions have been adapted to denote this case.[1] They are as follows, viz.,

Ass. *ša*
Eth. ዘ-, እምነ፡, እም-; *za-, 'ĕmna, 'ĕm-*
Amh. የ-, *ya-*
Ta. ናይ፡, ን- *nâi; nĕ-*
Te. ናይ፡ *nâi*
Arab. -ل, من; *li-, min*
„ (Mod.) متاع, بتاع, شيت, مال, حق, دا, ديال; *metâʿ, betâʿ šêt, mâl, ḥaq, de, diâl*[2]
Min. ڎ ڎ
Meh. *da, de, di*
Heb. -לְ, אֲשֶׁר לְ-

[1] The same is true of Egyptian and Coptic; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* pp. 115—119; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 79—81.

[2] متاع in Syria and Algeria, بتاع in Egypt and Palestine, شيت in Jerusalem, مال in the region around Baghdad, حق in Yemen, دا in North Africa, ديال in Algeria: cf. Wahrm. *Prak. Handb.* pp. 44, 46, 68; Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 316 (§ 106 g).

Ph. אש, ש
Mish. שֶׁל, -לְ
Syr. -ו, -ב; -דְ, -לְ
Man.
Bab. Tal. } דְ־
Mod. Syr.
Bib. Aram. דִי, -לְ
Jew. Pal. די .
Ch. Pal. -ד
Sam. -ל, -ד, דל
Mal. *ti, il, ti-l*

These genitive determinants all stand before the noun in the genitive. They may be divided into the following classes according to their origin, viz.,

a) those derived from relative or demonstrative pronouns, Ass. *ša*, Min. ȝ, Meh. *da*, *de*, *di*, Eth. *za*, Amh. *ʿia*, Phen. אש, ש, Aram. *de*, *dî*, *ti*, Mod. Arab. *de*;[1]

b) those derived from nouns meaning 'possession,' Ta. and Te. *nâi̯*, Mod. Arab. *metâʿ*, *betâʿ*, *šêt*, *mâl*, *ḥaq*;

c[2]) prepositions meaning 'to, pertaining to, belonging to,' Ta. *nĕ*, Arab. *li*, Heb. *le*, Aram. *le*, Mal. *il*;

d[2]) prepositions meaning 'from, part of, of,' Eth. *'ĕmna*, *'ĕm-*, Arab. *min*;

e) combinations of class (a) with following preposition in Mod. Arab. *diâl* (a combination of a demonstrative element with *li*)[3] Heb. *ašer le*, *šel*, Sam. דל, Mal. *ti-l*.

Determinants belonging to classes (*a*) and (*b*) are in some of the languages varied for gender and number to agree with

[1] Closely connected with this class of determinants is the Arabic demonstrative ذو ذٰو (with its full series of case, gender and number forms) which stands before a genitive in the sense of 'owner, possessor,' cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. p. 265 f.; II. p. 203. With these genitive determinants are to be compared the Egyptian and Coptic genitive sign *n* (cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.*, §§ 217—219, 547; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.*, §§ 164—166), the Modern Persian Izafet (cf. Salemann and Shukovski, *Persische Gr.*, Berlin, 1899, p. 30 ff, § 16), and the ligatures in the Philippine languages (cf. my *Contribs. to Comp. Phil. Gram.*, JAOS, vol. XXVII, 1906, pp. 325 f., 338—340; also my article *The Tagalog Ligature and Analogies in other languages*, JAOS, vol. XXIX, 1908, pp. 227—231).

[2] In Coptic the preposition *ente* originally 'together with' is also used as genitive determinant, cf. Steind. *op. cit.* p. 80.

[3] The element *diâ* is identical with Ethiopic *ziâ*, which is used with suffixes to form possessives, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 315, § 106 f.

the preceding noun. Assyrian *ša* has a plural *šût*; Ethiopic ዘ has the feminine እንተ፡ *'ĕnta* and plural እለ፡ *'ĕlla*; Min. ذ, fem. ذت *ðt* and pl. الى *'lị*; Meh. *da, de, di,* a plural *la, le.* In Assyrian and Ethiopic, however, *ša* and ዘ are ordinarily employed without regard to the gender or number of the preceding noun. In Syria متاع, in Egypt بتاع, and in Jerusalem شيت may have the forms, fem. متاعة *metâ'et,* بتاعة *betâ'et*; pl. متوع *metû'*, بتوع *betû'*, شيوت, شووت *šiịût, šuụût* (cf. under Nominal Qualification below).[1]

The following determinants are proclitic, being written as one word with their noun, viz., Eth. *za, 'ĕm*; Amh. *ịa*; Ta. *nĕ*; Arab. *li*; Heb. *le*; Aram. *le, de.* The others stand as a separate word before their noun, tho some of these, e. g., Mod. Arab. *de*, are certainly proclitic. In Assyrian and Classical Arabic the noun has the genitive ending, in the other languages the form is the same as the nominative. e. g.,

Eth.	ዘ-በእሲ፡ *za-bĕ'ĕsî* 'of the man.'
Heb.	לַמֶּלֶךְ 'of the king.'
Ass.	*ša amêli* 'of the man.'
Arab.	للملك *li-l-maliki* 'of the king.'
Mod. Arab.	دا البنت *del-bint* 'of the girl.'

For the various uses of these genitive determinants see the discussion of the noun modified by prepositional phrases below under Nominal Qualification.

The accusative is in many languages without special determining sign. The signs that have been developed are as follows, viz.,

Amh.	-ን, *-n*[2]
Meh.	*ta, te*[3]
Heb.	אֵת
Ph.	את
Syr.	ל-
Man.	ל-
Bab. Tal.	ל-

[1] Similarly Egyptian *n* is varied for gender and case, viz., f. *nt*, pl. m. *nụ*, pl. f. *nt*; cf. Erman, *op. et loc. cit.*

[2] Praetorius considers this a development of a particle indicating direction, identical with the Ethiopic -ለ, -ሌ: cf. *Amh. Spr.* p. 197; Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 333 f.

[3] Cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 70; under just what circumstances it is employed does not appear.

Mod. Syr. Bib. Aram. Mal.	-ל
Ch. Jew.	Pal. -ל, ית
Sam.	ית, -ל

These are regularly employed only with a definite object, an indefinite regularly stands without them. They are of three sorts, viz.,

a) Amh. *-n*, which is enclitic and is written as one word with the noun; after a noun ending in a consonant it develops an *ĕ* before the *n*, or perhaps becomes an *n* vowel; e. g., ልጅን : *lĕjĕn* 'filium.' It stands after the definite article and possessive suffixes, but precedes all other enclitics, e. g.,

ልጁን : *lĕj-û-n* 'the son.'
ሴቲቱን : *sêt-îtû-n* 'the lady.'
ልጄን : *lĕj-ê-n* 'my son.'
ሴቲቱንም : *sêt-îtû-n-ĕm* 'and the lady.'

b) Aram. *le*; this is proclitic and is written as one word with its noun. It is of course simply the dative preposition; the dative has encroached here upon the domain of the accusative just as it has in Modern Spanish.[1]

c) Heb. אֵת, Phen. איתּ, Aram. ית, Meh. *ta*, *te*; these particles are all derived from a noun meaning 'essence, substance,'[2] and stand, in most cases probably as proclitics, before the noun; the Hebrew form אֶת is connected with the noun by Maqqeph. e. g.,

Heb.	אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם	'coelum.'
Sam.	ית שומיא	

In Biblical Hebrew there are a few late passages in which אֵת is used before a nominative, e. g.,

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[1] Here objects denoting persons or animals are placed after the preposition *á* 'to,' while those denoting things without life are governed directly, e. g., *edificó la casa* 'he built the house;' *conozco á este hombre* 'I know this man.' Cf. W. I. Knapp. *A Grammar of the Modern Spanish Language*, Boston, 1896, p. 374.

[2] For the various forms of this particle and its distribution in the various languages, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 313—315 (§ 106 a-e).

וְאֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה אַנְשֵׁי חָיִל 'and all of them were brave men (Jud. 20, 44, 46)'

and in Post-Biblical Hebrew, Christian and Jewish Palestinian, and Samaritan את, ית + suffix has become a regular demonstrative pronoun which may stand before a noun in any case (cf. pp. 148, 175).

The vocative has a special case determinant in a number of languages.

In Assyrian the noun without case ending is ordinarily employed as vocative, but an afformative particle *â* appears sometimes to be employed as a case determinant[1], e. g.,

igar 'oh wall'.

Bêl-â-ma 'oh Bel'.

In Ethiopic a few words take the ending ô, e. g., እግዚኦ፡ *egzî-'ô* 'oh God,' ብእሲተ፡ *bĕ'ĕsît-ô* 'oh woman,' እሞ፡ *'êmm-ô* 'oh mother.' The words for 'mother' and 'father' have the special vocative forms እሙ፡ *'ĕmmû*, አቦ፡ *'abâ*. The most usual vocative determinant is a prefixed interjection ኦ *'ô*, e. g., ኦብእሲ፡ *'ô-bĕ'ĕsî* 'oh man.' The prefixed *'ô-* and suffixed *-ô* are perhaps identical. Sometimes they occur together with the same word e. g., ኦብእሲተ፡ *'ô-bĕ'ĕsît-ô* 'oh woman.'

In Amharic an interjection ሆይ፡ is placed after the word, e. g., ልጅ፡ ሆይ፡ *lĕj hôi* 'oh son.'

In Tigriña a suffix ኪ, ኺ, *kê*, *kuê* is added to the noun, e. g., ሰበይትኺ፡ *sabait-kuê* 'oh woman,' ጋኔንኪ፡ *gânên-kê* 'oh demon.' This element may be ultimately connected with the ከ *ka* of the second person.[2]

In Tigre the interjection የሃ፡ *i̯ahâ* may be placed after the noun, or the interjection ዋ *u̯ô* may stand before it,[3] e. g.,

መምህር፡ የሃ፡ *mamĕhhĕr i̯ahâ* 'oh master.'

ዋ፡ መምባ፡ *u̯ô-mambâ* 'oh Lord.'

In Arabic the words اب 'father' and ام 'mother' have special vocative forms, e. g., ابت, امت *'abati* or *'abata*; *'ummati* or *ummata*; and several classes of words may make a special vocative form by a shortening at the end,[4] e. g., توب *Tau̯ba* from توبة *Tau̯batu* (man's name). Usually the vocative is preceded by an interjectional particle. The most common

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[1] Cf. Del. *Ass. Gr.* § 101.

[2] Cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 225

[3] Cf. Littm. *Te. Pron.* pp. 297, 226.

[4] Cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* II. pp. 87—89.

of these particles are ا, يا, ايا; ايها, ايها, يا: *'a, i̯â, 'ai̯â; 'ai̯i̯uhâ, i̯â 'ai̯i̯uhâ.* After all the vocative particles except يا ايها, ايها the noun stands without article. In Classical Arabic, aside from special vocative forms, the noun is in the nominative without nunnation unless it is indefinite and not addressed directly by the speaker, or unless it is modified by a following genitive, accusative, or prepositional phrase; in these cases it stands in the accusative, with nunnation, except when modified by a definite genitive. When no interjection is used these same rules apply. After يا ايها, ايها the noun stands in the nominative with article. e. g.,

يا ابت — *i̯â 'abati* 'oh father.'
يا رجل — *i̯â rajulu* 'oh man.'
يا رجلا — *i̯â rajulaⁿ* 'oh some man or other.'
يا سيد الوحوش — *i̯â sai̯i̯ida 'l-u̯uḥûši* 'oh lord of the wild beasts.'
يا طالعا جبلا — *i̯â ṭâli'aⁿ jabalaⁿ* 'oh thou that art ascending a hill.'
يا خيرا من زيد — *i̯â ḫai̯iraⁿ min zai̯idiⁿ* 'oh thou that art better than Zaid.'
ايها الملك — *'ai̯i̯uhâ 'l-maliku* } 'oh king.'
يا ايها الملك — *iâ 'ai̯i̯uhâ 'l-maliku* }

In Modern Egyptian Arabic, and probably also in all the modern dialects *i̯â* is the ordinary vocative particle, e. g.,

يا راجل — *i̯â râgil* 'oh man.'
يا سيدى — *i̯â sîdî* '(oh) sir.'
يا ابوى — *iâ 'abûi̯a* 'oh my father.'

The particle *i̯â* is used also before a vocative in Syriac, Mandaic, Modern Syriac, and Malulan. To what extent its use is due to Arabic influence is uncertain.

In Syriac the particles ܐܘ, ܐܢ; ܐܘܗ, ܐܘ; ܐܘ, ܐܢ, are also used before the noun as vocative determinants, e. g.,

ܐܘ ܥܠܡܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܐܘ ܚܕܐ ܕܥܠ 'oh evil world'.
ܐܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܐܘ ܐܢ 'oh men'.

In Hebrew and in Western Aramaic the definite state of the noun is used as a vocative, e. g.,

Heb. הַמֶּלֶךְ 'oh king.'
Bib. Aram. מַלְכָּא 'oh king.'
Jew. Pal. ארעא 'oh land.'
Sam. שומיא 'oh heavens.'

In Samaritan in later texts a special interjectional determinant אה is employed with the definite state, e. g.,

אה מלכה 'oh king.'

With the exception of the article in Hebrew (tho this is not strictly speaking a vocative determinant) and Tigriña *kê*, *kuê*, all the vocative determinants are of an interjectional character.

The other case relations are all represented by prepositions properly so-called,[1] and their combination with the noun depending on them offers little worthy of special remark.

In the case of certain compound prepositions in Amharic, the noun stands between the two parts of the preposition,[2] e. g.,

ከከተማው ፡ ፊት ፡ *ka-katamâ-ṵ fît* 'before the city.'

ባደንጊያ ፡ ላይ ፡ *ba-dangîiâ lâi* 'on a stone.'

ወደ ፡ ባሕሩ ፡ ውስጥ ፡ *ṵada bâḥr-û ṵĕsṭ* 'into the sea.'

Cases in which the preposition has become a postposition occur in Ethiopic and Amharic.[3]

Indetermination.

The indefinite state of a noun is indicated, a) by the absolute state of a noun, b) by the mimmation or nunnation, c) by a special word or indefinite article. The first method is the rule in all the languages except Arabic and Mineo-Sabean. Mimmation, the addition of a final *m*, and nunnation, the addition of a final *n*,[4] are used in Mineo-Sabean and Arabic respectively to indicate that a noun is indefinite, e. g.,

Arab. ملك *maliku*^{n}, *-i*^{n}, *-a*^{n}, 'king, a king.'

Min. بيت-م *bi̯t-m* 'house, a house.'

The nunnation is used in triptote proper names in Arabic, but without indefinite force, e. g., زيد *zai̯du*^{n} 'Zaid.'

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[1] For the most important of these prepositions cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 494—499.

[2] In this construction the noun is regarded as a genitive depending on the second part of the preposition, which functions as a noun, the genitive sign ፍ being omitted according to rule, after the element of the preposition which stands first: cf. under Nominal Qualification below, and Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 404—413.

[3] Cf. Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 469; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 413—415.

[4] The *-m* and *-n* are originally identical and are derived from the indefinite-interrogative particle *mâ* (cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 472, 473). This *mâ* is perhaps ultimately identical with emphatic *mâ* (cf. *op. cit.* p. 326).

In Modern Arabic the nunnation has been lost, the bare stem indicating the indefinite state, e. g.,

رجل *rajul* 'man, a man.'

In some of the languages the numeral 'one' may be used in the sense of an indefinite article.[1] This is common in certain dialects of the Aramaic and Abyssinian groups, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. אִגְּרָה חֲדָה 'a letter' (Ez. 4, 8).
Syr. גֻּבְרָא חַד ܓܘܒܪܐ ܚܕ 'a man, a certain man.'
Mod. Syr. ܚܕ ܢܫܐ *ḥâ 'nâšâ* 'a man, a certain man.'
Eth. አሐዱ ፡ በእሲ ፡ *'aḥadû bĕ'ĕsî* 'a man, a certain man.'
Ta. ሓዴ ፡ ሰብ ፡ *ḥâdê sab* 'a man, a certain man.'
Amh. አንዲት ፡ ባርያ ፡ *andît bârîâ* 'a certain maid.'

It is found also in Modern Arabic. So in Egypt, Tripoli, Tlemsen, and Morocco. The numeral precedes,[2] usually in the masculine form for both genders. In Tripoli, Tlemsen, and Morocco the definite article is used with the noun. Generally speaking واحد *ṯâḥid, uâḥad* is used, but in Tlemsen *ḥad* (<*'aḥad*) is also employed. e. g.,

Eg. واحد ملك *ṯâḥid melik* 'a king.'

Tl. واحد الراجل { *ṯâḥad er-râjel* / *ṯâḥderrâjel* } 'a man.'

واحد المرءة { *ṯâḥad el-mrâ* / *ṯâḥdelmrâ* } 'a woman.'

With this use of the definite in connection with the indefinite article is to be compared the use of Amharic አንድ ፡ with article when 'one' out of a number is meant,[3] e. g.,

አንዱ ፡ ሰው ፡ *'and-û saṯ* 'a man (one of a number mentioned).'

In Biblical Hebrew this use of the numeral is rare; it may stand before its noun: e. g.,

רֹתֶם אֶחָת 'a broom-plant' (1 Ki. 19, 4).
אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ 'a holy one' (Dan. 8, 13).

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[1] So in Coptic (cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 75 f), and in general in those Indo-European languages which have developed an indefinite article, e. g., Eng. *a, an*, Fr. *un, une*, etc.

[2] As a cardinal numeral it follows its noun (cf. p. 201).

[3] Cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 302. The same rule holds good of the other cardinals and the indefinite ብዙ ፡ *bĕzû* 'much, many,' cf. *op. cit.* pp. 301—303. In Hebrew, Syriac, and Mandaic this same definite character of the numeral 'one' is evidenced by the fact that it may stand after the accusative determinants (cf. p. 153) את, ל: cf. Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 392, espec. n.

It is more common in the later language; the numeral regularly follows its noun: e. g.,

פִּילוֹסוֹפוֹס אֶחָד 'a philosopher.'

גֻּלְגֹּלֶת אַחַת 'a skull.'

In the Arabic dialect of Tangier in Morocco, the word *šî* (<*šaị* 'thing') is used as well as *ụâḥad* for the indefinite article; it stands before the noun, which is without article, e. g.,

شى دار *šî dâr* 'a house.'

شى حاجه *šî ḥâja* 'a matter.'

In Mesopotamian Arabic the indefinite article is expressed by the adjective *fârid*, *fard* derived from a stem فرد 'to be separated (cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 473; Weissbach, ZDMG, 58, p. 938).

The Ethiopic demonstrative ዝኩ፡ is sometimes used with the force of an indefinite article,[1] e. g.,

ዝኩ፡ ኩዋኵሕ፡ *zĕkû kuakuĕḥ* 'a rock, a certain rock (Enoch. 88, 47 [Laurence]; 89, 29 [Martin]).'

Some of these indefinite articles, e. g., Mesopotamian *fard* and Tangier *šî*, may be employed with the plural in the sense of 'some' (cf. p. 188).

Simple Qualification.

Position.

The regular position of the descriptive adjective in primitive Semitic was probably after its substantive,[2] as is shown by the fact that this is the normal position in nearly all of the Semitic languages; e. g.,

Ass.	*šarru dannu* 'mighty king.'
Arab.	ملك عظيم *maliku*ⁿ *aẓîmu*ⁿ 'mighty king.'
Min.	اولد-م هنا-م *'ụld-m hn'-m* 'healthy children.'
Meh.	*ǵajên reheịm* 'handsome youth.'

[1] Cf. Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 295.

[2] In Egyptian the adjective likewise stands after its substantive; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 119. In Coptic it has the same position but is usually connected with its noun in a sort of genitive relation, the noun standing in the construct, or the two being connected by the genitive sign *ĕn*; cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 82, 83. In Indo-European the original position of the descriptive adjective, as of the demonstratives, cardinals, and attributive genitives, seems to have been before the noun: cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 89, 91, 93, 94, 102. In the later development of many of the languages, however, postposition is frequent.

Heb. מֶלֶךְ טוֹב 'good king.'
Ph. אלנם ה-קדשם '(the) holy gods.'
Bib. Aram. מֶלֶךְ רַב 'great king.'
Sam. לעם רב 'great people.'
Mal. *ḥamrâ kaiîês* 'good wine.'
Syr. ܡܠܟܐ ܛܒܐ 'good king.'
Bab. Tal. גברא רבה 'great man.'
Man. גברא כשיטא 'righteous man.'
Mod. Syr. ܒܝܬܐ ܓܘܪܐ *baitâ gûrâ* 'large house.'

Postposition of the adjective is practically without exception in Classical Arabic, Mineo-Sabean, Mehri, Hebrew, Phenician, and the Western Aramaic dialects, except Malulan.

In Assyrian, Modern Egyptian Arabic, Christian Palestinian, Malulan, and the Eastern Aramaic dialects, adjectives are sometimes placed before their noun. In Assyrian the adjective in this position has a stronger stress; in Egyptian Arabic the street-hawkers usually place first, as the most important thing, the adjective describing their wares, the interjection *iâ* standing between the two, or before the combination; in Aramaic, preposition is especially common in adjectives of praise and blame, which form a sort of title: e. g.,

Ass. *šaqûti Ištar* 'exalted Ishtar.'
Eg. Arab. تبونى يا عيش *tabûnî iâ 'êš* 'oh oven-baked bread.'
يا رومى حلاوه *ia rûmî ḥalâue* "oh Greek pastry.'
Syr. ܕܡܪܝܩܬܐ ܢܦܫܐ 'of the polished soul.'
ܛܘܒܢܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܡ 'the holy Mary.'
ܪܫܝܥܐ ܝܘܠܝܢܘܣ 'the godless Julian.'
Man. דאכיא רושומא 'the pure sign.'
ראבתיא עוראיתא 'oh great Torah.'
Mod. Syr. ܨܦܐ ܐܝܠܢܐ *çepâîî 'îlânâ* 'a good tree.'
ܡܣܟܢܬܐ ܚܢܐ *miskantâ ḥannâ* 'poor Hannah.'
Mal. *yâ qattêsta marṭmaryâ* 'oh saint Mary.'

In Ethiopic and Tigre the position of the adjective has become almost entirely free, tho in Ethiopic in ordinary discourse the original postposition is more common, e. g.,

Eth. ምድር : ሠናይ : *mĕdr šanâi* } 'good land.'
ሠናይ : ምድር : *šanâi mĕdr* }
Te. እናስ : ሸይብ : *'ĕnâs šaiâb* } 'old man.'
ሸይብ : እናስ : *šaiâb ĕnâs* }

In Tigriña, while the position of the adjective is free as in

Ethiopic and Tigre, preposition is considerably more common than postposition, e. g.,

ዓቢይ ፡ ገደል ፡ *'âbîi̯î gadal* 'a great abyss.'

ሰብ ፡ ኃጥእ ፡ *sab ḫâṭĕ'* 'a sinful man.'

In Amharic preposition has become the rule, tho postposition is not infrequent when the noun has other modifiers besides the adjective, e. g.,

ታላቅ ፡ መናወጥ ፡ *tâlâq manâu̯aṭ* 'a great trembling.'

የወይን ፡ ጉንድ ፡ እውነተኛ ፡ *i̯a-u̯ai̯n guĕnd 'ĕu̯natañâ* 'a true vine (stalk of wine).'

አንድ ፡ ሰው ፡ ሌላ ፡ *'and sau̯ lêlâ* 'an (one) other man.'

Concord in Case.

An adjective regularly agrees with its noun in case, gender, number, and determination.[1]

The concord of case is of course confined to those languages which have developed special case forms. Leaving aside those languages which are preserved only in purely consonantal texts, such as Mineo-Sabean, Moabite, etc., in which the existence or non-existence of case endings cannot be determined, these languages are Assyrian, Arabic, Ethiopic: e. g.,

Assyr. *šarru dannu, šarri danni, šarra danna.*

Arab. ملك عظيم *malikuⁿ 'aẓîmuⁿ, -iⁿ-iⁿ, -aⁿ-aⁿ.*

Eth. ምድር ፡ ሠናይ ፡ *mĕdr šanâi̯,* ምድረ ፡ ሠናየ ፡ *mĕdra šanâi̯a*

In Assyrian there are many instances of lack of concord in case,[2] e. g.,

malki išaru 'a just king (acc.).'

šadâ marçu 'the inaccessible mountain.'

In Arabic an adjective modifying a vocative expressed by the nominative may stand in either nominative or accusative, e. g.,

يا زيد العاقل *i̯â zai̯du* { *'l-'âqilu* / *'l-'âqila* } 'oh Zaid, the intelligent.'

Concord in Gender.

The concord of gender is practically without exception save in South Semitic. In many cases, however, a feminine noun has masculine forms, and in some cases a masculine noun has

[1] The adjectives in Egyptian have concord of gender and number (cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 119). In Coptic the adjectives are usually invariable (cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 82, 84).

[2] Cf. Del. *Ass. Gr.* §§165, 92. Some of these at any rate are probably due to the fact that the final vowels were not pronounced; cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 114 (§ 43 r, δ), p. 466 (§ 245 k)

feminine forms, so that while there is concord in gender itself, there is not concord in the gender forms. In Modern Egyptian and Tunisian Arabic and in Modern Syriac, the masculine is the only form of the plural, and is used as a common form for both genders. e. g.,

Assyr. *nâru marratu* 'bitter river (Persian Gulf).'
Arab. يد عظيمة *i̯adu*" '*aẓîmatu*" 'mighty hand.'
Syr. ܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܪܝܟܬܐ 'long road.'
Heb. עִיר גְּדוֹלָה 'great city.'
בֵּצִים עֲזֻבוֹת 'forsaken eggs.'
Mod. Syr. ܚܝܢܬܐ ܫܠܝܢܐ '*ai̯nâtâ šeḷînê* 'hot springs'.
Eg. Arab. شجرات عاليين *šagarât* '*âliiẓîn* 'high trees.'

In Arabic, the broken plurals are regularly treated as feminine, but sometimes when the noun denotes male persons it may take a strong masculine plural, e. g.,

اباء ماضون *âbâ'u mâḍûna* 'ancestors of old.'

In Mehri an adjective agreeing with a masculine plural denoting things may stand in the feminine singular (cf. below), e. g.,

taḥât (sg. *taḥt* m.) *ẓalmet* 'dark rooms.'

In Ethiopic the concord of gender, except in the case of nouns denoting persons has practically been given up, e. g.,

ምድር ፡ ሠናይ ፡ or ሠናይት ፡ *mĕdr šanâi̯* or *šanâi̯t* 'good land'.

In Tigriña the rule for the concord of gender is about the same as in Ethiopic. In Amharic there is no distinction of gender in the plural, and in the singular, unless the noun takes the definite article, the masculine is regularly employed with nouns of both genders; in the case of those few adjectives which have a special feminine form, this feminine may be used, but it has an archaic and biblical flavor[1]; when a feminine noun is determined it takes the special feminine article *-îtû*. e. g.,

Ta. ዓመት ፡ ጽቡቅ ፡ or ጽብቅት ፡ '*âmat çĕbûq* or *cĕbĕqt* 'good year.'
Amh. ክፉ ፡ ሴት ፡ *kĕfû sêt* 'a bad woman.'
ቅድስት ፡ አገር ፡ *qĕdĕst 'agar* 'the holy city.'
ታናሺቱ ፡ ልጄ ፡ *tânâš-îtû lĕj-ê* 'my little daughter.'

Concord in Number.

In general noun and adjective agree in number, but there are numerous exceptions[2].

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[1] Cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 161, § 126 c.

[2] For a more complete statement of the rules of concord in Arabic cf. Reck. *Syn. Verh.* p. 89.

Nouns with a collective meaning often take a plural adjective in Assyrian, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Hebrew, e. g.,

Ass. *iççur šamê muttapriśûti* 'winged birds (of heaven)'.
Arab. قوم ظالمون *qauᵐu*ⁿ *ẓâlimûna* 'violent people.'
Eth. ብዙኃን ፡ ሰብእ ፡ *bĕzûḫân sab'* 'many people.'
Heb. הָעָם הַהֹלְכִים בַּחֹשֶׁךְ 'the people that walk in darkness' (Is. 9. 1).

In Hebrew the amplificative plural regularly takes a singular attribute, e. g.,

אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק 'a just God.'

In Arabic the broken plurals, being originally collectives of the feminine gender, regularly take the adjective in the feminine singular, in Modern Arabic sometimes the strong feminine plural:[1] e. g.,

مدن كبيرة *mudunu*ⁿ *kabîratu*ⁿ 'great cities.'
جبال عاليات *jebâl 'âliiᵃât* 'high mountains.'

Sometimes, however, an adjective agreeing with a broken plural takes itself a broken plural form, or, when the noun denotes persons, stands in the strong plural, e. g.,

رجال كبار *rijâlu*ⁿ *kibâru*ⁿ 'great men.'
اباء ماضون *âbâ'u mâḍûna* 'ancestors of old.'

In Modern Egyptian Arabic when a broken plural or a strong feminine plural denotes persons, an adjective agreeing with them is put in the masculine plural in *în*, e. g.,

شجرات عاليين *šagarât âliiᵃîn* 'high trees.'
النسوان المعزومين *en-nisuᵃân el-ma'zûmîn* 'the invited ladies'.

In Mehri the plural of nouns indicating objects may take its adjective in the plural with concord of gender, but, except in case of masculine plurals in *-n*, and feminine plurals in *-t* and *-ten*, the adjective may also stand in the feminine singular, e. g.,

taḥât (sg. *taḥt*) *ẓalmet* (f. sg.) 'dark rooms.'
hajuᵃâl (sg. *jôl*) *ḥaurôt* (f. sg.) 'black clouds.'

In Ethiopic the concord of number has to a large extent been given up, except in the case of nouns denoting persons; even here instances occur of a singular adjective agreeing with a plural noun: e. g.,

ኃጥዕን ፡ ብዙኃ ፡ *ḫâṭĕ'ân bĕzûḫ* 'many sinners.'

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[1] Cf. Perc. *Gr. Arab. Vul.* p. 142.

Plurals of nouns which do not denote persons (including broken plurals) may be treated either as singular or plural, as masculine or feminine, though a singular adjective agreeing with a plural noun has usually masculine form; e. g.,

ቃላት : ዐቢያት : *qâlât 'abîiât* 'loud voices.'
ተአምራት : ዐቢያን : *ta'âmrât 'abîiân* 'great signs.'
ማያት : ብዙኃ : *mâiât bězûḫ* 'many waters.'
አሕዛብ : ብዙኃን : *'aḥzâb bězûḫân* 'many people.'
አውግር : ነዋኃት : *'auger nauâḫât* 'long walls.'
አልባስ : ሠናይት : *'albâs šanâit* 'good clothes.'
ብዙኃ : አሕዛብ : *bězûḫ 'aḥzâb* 'many people.'

Broken plurals of adjectives, as in Arabic, are most usually, though not always, found in connection with broken plurals of nouns, e. g.,

ተአምር : ዐበይት : *ta'âmĕr 'abait* 'great signs.'

but also,

ብርሃናት : ዐበይት : *bĕrhânât 'abait* 'great lights'.

In Amharic an adjective modifying a plural noun may stand either in the singular or plural, though the plural is more common, e. g.,

ታላቅ : ሰዎች : *tâlâq sauôč* 'great men.'
ኃያላን : ሰዎች : *ḫâiâlân sauôč* 'strong men.'
ሽማግሌት : ሴቶች : *šĕmâglît sêtôč* 'old women.'
ብርቶች : አሕዛብ : *bĕrtôč 'aḥzâb* 'strong nations.'
ጠንካሮች : ዓምዶች : *ṭankârôč 'âmĕdôč* 'firm pillars.'

In Tigriña such an adjective stands regularly in the plural, though the singular is also sometimes found, e. g.,

ብዙኃት : አምሳል : *bezûhât 'amsâl* 'many parables.'
ቀጠንቲ : ክዳውንቲ : *qaṭantî* (pl.) *kĕdâuntî* 'fine clothing.'
ጻዕዳ : ክዳውንቲ : *ça'dâ* (sg.) *kĕdâuntî* 'white clothing.'

An adjective modifying a noun which is at the same time modified by a cardinal (above 'one') regularly stands in the plural, even when the noun is singular, in Ethiopic and Modern Egyptian Arabic. In Classical Arabic, with any numeral between 11 and 99, the adjective may agree either grammatically with the noun or logically with the cardinal. e. g.,

Eth. ሰብዐቱ : ሠዊት : ቀጢናን : ወዕቡራን : *sab'atû šauît qaṭînân ua-'ĕbûrân* 'seven ears thin and blasted.'

Eg. Arab. اربعة عشر كتاب طيبين *arbaḥtâšer kitâb ṭaiibîn* 'fourteen good books.'

Cl. Arab. ناصريا / ناصرية[1] } عشرون دينارا *'išrûna dînâra*^{n} { *nâçiriiia*^{n} / *nâçiriiiata*^{n} }
'twenty dinars of el-Melek, en-Naçir.'

A dual, if we except certain isolated forms in Ethiopic and Aramaic, is found only in Arabic, Classical and Modern, Mineo-Sabean[2], Mehri[3], and Hebrew. In Classical Arabic an adjective modifying a dual stands also in the dual form; in Hebrew and in Modern Arabic the adjective, having no dual, is put in the plural: e. g.,

Cl. Arab. رجلان صالحان *rajulâni çâliḥâni* 'two good men.'
Eg. Arab. البابين البرانيين *el-bâbên el-barrâniiîn* 'the two outer doors.'
البيتين الكبار *el-bêtên el-kubâr* 'the two large houses.'
Heb. עֵינַיִם רָמוּת 'haughty eyes.'

Determination.

In those languages that have developed a definite or indefinite form of the noun, the modifying adjective has in general the same form as the noun; so regularly in Arabic, Hebrew, and Western Aramaic except Malulan[4]: e. g.,

Arab. ملك عظيم *maliku*^{n} *'aẓîmu*^{n} 'mighty king.'
الملك العظيم *al-maliku al-'aẓîmu* 'the mighty king.'
Heb. מֶלֶךְ טוֹב, הַמֶּלֶךְ הַטּוֹב 'good king', 'the good king.'
Bib. Aram. מֶלֶךְ רַב, מַלְכָּא רַבָּא 'great king', 'the great king.'
Sam. לעם רב, לעמה רבה 'great people', 'the great people.'

In Eastern Aramaic and Malulan, tho the ending *â* has lost its definite force, noun and adjective with few exceptions agree in state; in Modern Syriac and Malulan the absolute state is

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[1] The feminine ناصرية agrees according to rule with broken plural دنانير *danânîru* implied in عشرون (cf. p. 162).

[2] Hommel does not definitely state whether the adjective in Mineo-Sabean has a dual form or not; cf. *Süd.-arab. Chr.* pp. 42 f, 47: the dual of the noun occurs sometimes in connection with 'two' (cf. following footnote and p. 202 f.).

[3] The Mehri dual is found only in connection with the numeral 'two' (cf. p. 203).

[4] In Greek the article is used with both noun and adjective when the adjective follows the noun, e. g., ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφός 'the wise man', tho the construction with one article before the combination of adjective + noun, viz., ὁ σοφὸς ἀνήρ is the rule (cf. W. W. Goodwin, *A Greek Grammar*, Boston, 1893, p. 208, § 959).

comparatively rare, and all distinction between the states has been lost: e. g.,

Syr. ܓܒܪ ܥܬܝܪ } 'rich man, the rich man.'
ܓܒܪܐ ܥܬܝܪܐ }

Bab. Tal. אגר רם 'a high roof.'
גברא רבה 'a great man.'

Man. גבר כשיט, גברא כשיטא 'a righteous man, the righteous man.'

Mod. Syr. ܟܦܐ ܪܒܐ *kêpâ râbâ* 'great stone.'

Mal. *šimšâ ḥômyâ* 'brillant sun.'

Instances occur, however, in which there is lack of concord in state, e. g.,

Syr. ܠܗܠܝܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܣܗܕܝܢ ܫܪܝܪܐ
'these three true witnesses.'
ܫܒܥ ܬܘܪܬܐ ܫܡܝܢܐ 'the seven fat cows.'

Bab. Tal. איניש גוצא 'a small man.'

Man. עניש בישא 'an evil man.'

Mod. Syr. ܪܘܙ ܢܐܫܐ *rûz 'nâšâ* 'honest people.'

Mal. *ḥamrâ kaiîês* 'good wine.'

In Phenician the article may stand with both, or only with the attribute, e. g.,

האלנם הקדשם } 'the holy gods.'
אלנם הקדשם }

In some languages the article is used only once with the combination of noun and adjective[1].

This is found as an exceptional usage in Hebrew both Biblical and Post Biblical, tho more frequent in the latter; in Biblical Hebrew cases occur in which the adjective (in most cases a participle) alone takes the article[2]; in Post-Biblical Hebrew instances occur in which the article stands only with the adjective or only with the noun: e. g.,

Bib. שַׁעַר הָעֶלְיוֹן 'the higher gate' (Ezek. 9, 2).
חֶרֶב הַיּוֹנָה 'the sword that oppresses.'

[1] In Coptic the article stands only with the noun, e. g., *p-rôme n-sabe* 'the wise man' (cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 84). In Indo-European, the article generally stands first before adjective and noun. In Old Bulgarian and Lithuanian the article stands after the adjective, e. g., Old Bul. *dobro-to vino* 'the good wine', Lith. *geràs-is ĕmogùs* 'the good man'; cf. above p. 148, n. 2. In Greek the article may stand with the adjective only, when this follows the noun, e. g., ανὴρ ὁ σοφός 'the wise man', cf. Goodwin, *Greek Gram.* p. 208, § 959.

[2] Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 428, 429 (§ 126 *w*, *x*).

Mish. כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה 'the great synagogue.'
הַיָּרָק חַי 'the raw herbs.'

In Arabic, both Classical and Modern, an adjective modifying a definite vocative without article takes the article itself, e. g.,

Cl. يا فاسق الردى *i̯â fâsiqu 'r-riddii̯u* 'oh thou unrighteous man, the apostate.'

Eg. يا بنت البيضا *i̯â bint el-bêḍa* 'oh white maiden.'

In Egyptian Arabic, however, the article may be omitted, and the vocative particle *i̯â* used before the adjective in its stead, e. g.,

يا بنت يا بيضا *i̯â bint i̯â bêḍa* 'oh white maiden.'

In Egyptian Arabic a definite noun at the beginning of a sentence modified by an adjective, stands without article,[1] e. g.,

جبل الاحمر *gebel el-aḥmar* 'the red mountain,'

but,

نروح الجبل الاحمر *neruḥ el-gebel el-aḥmar* 'we went to the red mountain.'

In the dialect of Tunis the article may be used only once before the combination of noun and adjective,[2] tho this construction is rare, e. g.,

الراجل مشحاح *er-râžel myšḥâḥ* 'the avaricious man.'

In Tigre, this last construction is the regular one; e. g.,

ላእናስ ፡ ሽያብ ፡ *lâ-'ĕnâs šai̯âb* } 'the old man.'
ላሽያብ ፡ እናስ ፡ *lâ-šai̯âb 'ĕnâs* }

In Amharic the defining suffix is regularly used only with the adjective,[3] e. g.,

ታላቁ ፡ ወንዝ ፡ *tâlâq-û u̯anz* 'the great river.'
ታላቂቱ ፡ ከተማ ፡ *tâlâq-ûtû katamâ* 'the great city.'

When noun and adjective are both indeterminate the accusative -ን may be omitted; it is, however, usually employed, in case the combination is singular, standing ordinarily with the noun, in case it is plural, standing ordinarily with the adjective: if one or the other is specially determined, the adjective by the ar-

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[1] The example given by Caussin de Perceval (*Gr. Arab. Vul.* p. 84). مركب الكبير 'the large vehicle' probably comes under this head. According to the same anthority an adjective without article may stand before a noun with suffix cf. *op. cit.* p. 139.

[2] This is the usual construction in Indo-European, cf. p. 165, n. 1.

[3] Cf. the use of the article in Old Bulgarian and Lithuanian (cf. p. 165, n. 1); in these languages, however, the use of the article is confined to the adjective.

ticle, the noun by virtue of being a proper noun, or by a suffix, this element takes the ን: if both are specially determined, both take ን. These rules apply generally speaking to the combination of the noun with pronominal and numeral adjectives as well. e. g.,

ብርቱ ፡ መቅሠፍትን ፡ *bĕrtû maqšaft-ĕn* 'a severe plague'.
አዲስ ፡ ቅኔን ፡ *'adîs qĕnê-n* 'a new song.'
እንግዶችን ፡ አማልክት ፡ *'ĕngĕdôč-ĕn 'amâlĕkt* 'strange gods.'
ሕያው ፡ አምላኩን ፡ *ḥĕîâu 'amlâk-ĕn* 'the living God.'
ሴቶች ፡ ልጆችሽን ፡ *sêtôč lĕjôč-ĕš-ĕn* 'thy female children.'
አዲሱን ፡ ፀጅ ፡ *'adîs-û-n ḍaj* 'the new wine.'
ታላቁን ፡ ቤት ፡ *tâlâq-û-n bêt* 'the great house.'
ረጅሙን ፡ ልብስዋን ፡ *rajm-û-n lĕbs-u̯â-n* 'her long dress.'
አዲሱን ፡ ስሜን ፡ *'adîs-û-n sĕm-ê-n* 'my new name.'

In Hebrew and less frequently in Syriac, an adjective modifying a proper name is sometimes without article. This is a relic of the primitive period of Semitic when there was no article.[1] e. g.,

Heb. צִידוֹן רַבָּה 'Great Sidon.'
תְּהוֹם רַבָּה 'The Great Deep.'
בֵּית חֹרוֹן עֶלְיוֹן 'Upper Bethhoron.'
אֵל עֶלְיוֹן 'The Highest God.'
Syr. ܬܫܪܝܢ ܩܕܡ 'First Tishri.'
ܟܢܘܢ ܐܚܪܝ 'Second Kanon.'

Double Qualification.

When the noun is modified by two adjectives,[2] the adjectives are joined by the conjunction 'and' in Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, and Ethiopic. In Amharic the conjunction seems to be used when the two adjectives stand in juxtaposition, otherwise not. In Hebrew, if the noun is feminine, only the first adjective agrees with it, the other being masculine; in Ethiopic and Amharic, the two adjectives are often separated by the noun they modify or some other word; in Amharic, when the noun is determinate, the sign of determination may stand with both adjectives or only with the first. e. g.,

[1] Cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 469 (§ 246 d β); Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 429 (§ 126 y); Nöldeke, *Beitr. zur Semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 48, n. 2.

[2] Sanskrit, like Arabic, employs no conjunction in this case; in Greek and Latin, cases both with and without conjunction occur; cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 215, 216.

Heb. הָאֵל הַטּוֹב וְהַגָּדוֹל 'the great, good God.'
רוּחַ גְּדֹלָה וְחָזָק 'a great strong wind.'

Bib. Aram. קִרְיָתָא מָרְדְּתָא וּבְאִישְׁתָּא 'the rebellious evil city.'

Syr. ܓܒܪܐ ܙܕܝܩ ܘܬܡܝܡ 'a good, upright man.'

Eth. ዐቢያ : ሥቃየ : ወእኩየ : *'abîia šĕqâia ua-'ekûia* (acc.) 'great evil plague.'
ብእሲ : ጻድቅ : ውእቱ : ወፍጹም : *bĕ'ĕsî çâdĕq uĕ'ĕtû ua-fĕçûm* 'he is a righteous and perfect man.'

Amh. ብርቱዉቱም : እንስት : አንበሳ : *bĕrtûi-îtû-m 'ĕnĕst 'anbasâ* 'and the strong female lion.'
ኩሩይቱ : ቀላጫዉቱም : ሴት : *kûrâ-itû qalâçâi-îtû-m sêt* 'the proud and delicate woman.'

In Arabic and Tigriña no conjunction is used; in Tigriña the noun often stands between the two adjectives as in Ethiopic and Amharic: e. g.,

Arab. الكوكب النير الاحمر *al-kaukabu an-naiiiru al-'aḥmaru* 'the bright red star.'
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم *bi-smi 'allâhi 'r-raḥmâni 'r-raḥîmi* 'in the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.'

Ta. ክፉእ : ባርያ : ሀካይ : *kĕfû' bâriâ hakâi* 'wicked, slothful servant.'
ብዙኃ : ግብሪ : ጽቡቅ : *bĕzûḫ gĕbrî çĕbûq* 'much good work.'

In Assyrian, at least in elevated style, the noun is repeated with each adjective, e. g.,

šarru rabû, šarru dannu 'great, mighty king.'

Construct Chain.

Sometimes a noun and its adjective are joined together in a construct chain.

In Arabic and Hebrew the adjective may govern the noun, e. g.,

Arab. جميل فعلك *jamîlu fi'lika* 'thy handsome behavior.'

Heb. חַלּוּקֵי אֲבָנִים 'smooth stones' (1 Sam. 17,40).

In all the principal languages except Aramaic, viz., Assyrian, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Hebrew, the noun may govern the adjective[1]; in Hebrew the adjective always stands in the masculine: e. g.,

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[1] With this is to be compared the Coptic construction of noun in construct + adjective. The more usual construction with *n* is perhaps a development of this, inasmuch as *n* is also the sign of the genitive. Cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 82, 83.

Ass. *ašar rûqi* 'distant place.'
arrat limuttiᵐ 'the evil curse.'
Arab. بيت المقدس *baiṭu'l-muqaddasi* 'the holy house, temple.'
Eth. መየ : ጥዑም : *maia ṭĕûm* 'sweet water.'
Heb. אֵשֶׁת רַע 'an evil woman.'

To be compared with this last case is the Amharic construction according to which certain adjectives are connected with the noun they modify by the genitive sign,[1] e. g.,

የኩሺን : ዔብድሜልክ : *ia-kûši-n 'êbĕdmêlĕk* (acc.) 'the Cushite Ebedmelek.'
ዳርዮስም : የሜዲው : *dâriôs-ĕm ia-mêdî-u* 'and Darius the Mede.'
የፊተኛው : ሰው : *ia-fîtañâ-u sau* 'the first man.'
የመንፈሳዊት : ጨላማ : *ia-manfasâuît çalâmâ* 'the spiritual darkness.'

Demonstrative[2] Qualification.

Position.

In Assyrian, Hebrew, Moabite, Phenician, Lihyanic, and Mehri, the demonstrative adjective stands regularly after the noun, e. g.,

Ass. *šarru annû* 'this king.'
Heb. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה 'this man.'
Mo. הבמה זאת 'this high place.'
Ph. אבן ז 'this stone.'
Lih. הבת דה 'this house.'
Meh. *ǵaij dôm* 'this man.'

In Post-Biblical Hebrew, however, the demonstratively used את + suffix precedes the noun, e. g.,

אותו הַיּוֹם 'that day.'

In the various Aramaic dialects its position varies. In the inscription of Zinjirli and in Samaritan it is postpositive, e. g.,

Zinj. ביתא זנה 'this house.'
Sam. ארעא הדה 'this land.'

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[1] For the adjectives that take this construction cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 317-320, § 249.

[2] For the forms of the demonstratives, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 316-323, and the various Semitic grammars under the head of demonstratives. The personal pronoun of the third person is used for the more remote demonstrative adjective in Ethiopic, Hebrew, and Phenician; in Mineo-Sabean the singular of this pronoun is apparently used for the nearer demonstrative: cf. Dill.-Bez, *Äth. Gr.* p. 299; Praet. *Äth. Gr.* p. 23; Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 112, 115, 463; Schröd. *Phön. Spr.* p. 144; Homm. *Süd.-arab. Chr.* p. 11.

In Biblical Aramaic it regularly follows, though in some passages, it also precedes, e. g.,

קַרְיְתָא דָּךְ 'that city.'

דְּנָה בִנְיָנָה 'this building' (Ez. 5, 4.).

In Syriac, Christian and Jewish Palestinian, and the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud, it may be indifferently either prepositive or postpositive, e. g.,

Syr. ܗܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ / ܡܠܟܐ ܗܢܐ 'this king.'

Jew. Pal. הדין עובדא 'this occurrence.'

עלמא הדין 'this world.'

Bab. Tal. הדין ביתא 'this house.'

עמא הדין 'this people.'

In Mandaic the rule is about the same as in Syriac, though preposition is more common; in Malulan usually, in Modern Syriac, always in the spoken language, and usually in the written, the demonstrative precedes its noun; postposition in the modern dialects is due to the influence of the Classical Syriac: e. g.,

Man. האהו מאלכא 'that king.'

אלמא האהו 'that world.'

Mal. *hôḏ šunîṯâ* 'this woman.'

ḥun-aḥ hannâ 'thy brother this.'

Mod. Syr. ܠܗܘ ܓܒܐ *lĕ-hô gêbâ* 'on that side.'

In all the South Semitic languages, except Lihyanic and Mehri, the demonstrative is regularly prepositive, e. g.,

Arab. هذا الرجل *hâḏâ 'r-rajulu* 'this man.'

Min. ذن سطر-ن *ḏn sṭr-n* 'this inscription.'

Eth. ዝንቱ : ብእሲ : *zĕnṯû bĕ'ĕsî* 'this man.'

Amh. ያች : ሴት : *ïâč sêt* 'that woman.'

Ta. እትኮኾብ : *'ĕt-kôkhôb* 'that star.'

Te. እላ : በሃል : *'ĕllâ bahâl* 'this commandment.'

In Amharic preposition is apparently without exception. In Tigre it is without exception as far as the most common demonstrative እሲ : is concerned, but the less frequent ለሃ : 'that' stands after the noun[1], e. g.,

ለእናስ : ለኃይ : *la-'ĕnâs lahâï* 'that man.'

ለጸሎት : ለሃ : *la-çalôt lahâ* 'that prayer.'

In Arabic and Ethiopic the demonstrative may follow the noun in the sense of an apposition or a locative adverb. In

[1] This is true at least of the texts examined by Littmann, cf. *Te. Pron.* pp. 297-299.

Arabic a demonstrative modifying a proper noun has always this position. Postposition of a demonstrative sometimes also occurs in Mineo-Sabean, perhaps with a similar meaning. e. g.,

Arab. الرجل هذا *ar-rajulu hâðâ* 'the man here'.
زيد هذا *zaiḏuⁿ hâðâ* 'this Zaid.'

Eth. ሀገረ : ኢያቡሴዎን : ዛቲ : *hagara 'ïïâbûsêuôn zâtî* 'the city of the Jebusites here.'

Min. محفد-ن ذن *mḥfd-n ðn* 'this (?)'

In Modern Arabic, preposition of the demonstrative is regular except in the case of the monosyllabic forms without -ه *ha*, which regularly follow the noun; the demonstrative هذا *hâðâ* may follow a noun already modified by preceding هل *hal*: e. g.,

البيت داك *el-bêt dâk* 'that house.'
المدينة دى *el-medîne dî* 'this city.'
هل كتاب هذا *hal kitâb hâðâ* 'this book here.'

In the dialect of the Egyptian Fellahin and in some provincial cities the monosyllabic demonstratives regularly precede the noun with article, except *dôl*, which always follows, e. g.,

د الولد *da'l-ualäd* 'this boy.'
دى المراه *di'l-mar'a* 'this woman.'
دول الناس *en-nâs dôl* 'these people.'

In the standard dialect this construction is preserved in the expression,

دى الوقت *di'l-uaqt* 'this time, now.'

In the dialect of Tlemsen all the demonstratives, including the short forms, seem regularly to precede the noun, e. g.,

دا الراجل *der-râjel* 'this man.'
داك الراجل *dâker-râjel* 'that man.'
هدا الراجل *hâder-râjel* 'this man.'

In Tigriña the longer demonstratives may stand after a noun already modified by a preceding short demonstrative, e. g.,

 እዝነገርዚሁ : *'ĕz-nagar-ĕzîu* } 'this speech.'
እዝነገር : እዚሁ : *'ĕz-nagar 'ĕzîu* }

It is difficult to say what was the position of the demonstrative in primitive Semitic[1]. It seems most likely that both positions were allowable originally, and that after the separation of North and South Semitic, the former for the most part adopt-

[1] In Egyptian the older demonstratives follow, the later ones precede, as the demonstratives do in Coptic; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* pp. 86-92; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 45 f. For the position of the demonstratives in Indo-European cf. p. 158, n. 2.

ed postposition, while preposition, in the main, prevailed in the latter. If this is true, the older Aramaic dialects represent most closely the status of the primitive language. When the demonstrative follows in Arabic and Ethiopic, it has a special meaning. In some of the modern dialects the law of the more ancient languages of the same group is reversed. The modern Aramaic dialects prefer preposition, while in Modern Arabic postposition of certain demonstratives is the regular rule. Modern Arabic and Tigriña have developed an emphatic demonstrative construction in which a noun may be modified by two demonstratives, one before and one after.[1]

Concord.

A demonstrative adjective regularly agrees with its noun in case, number, and gender.

Concord of case is confined to those languages which have case forms of the demonstratives, viz., Assyrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic, e. g.,

Ass. *šarru annû* 'this king.'
šarri annî 'of this king.'
Arab. هذان الرجلان *hâδâni 'r-rajulâni* 'these two men.'
هذين الرجلين *hâδaiṇi 'r-rajulaiṇi* (gen. and acc.)
Eth. ዝንቱ ፡ ግብር ፡ *zĕntû gĕbr* 'this thing.'
ዘንተ ፡ ግብረ ፡ *zanta gĕbra* (acc.)

The concords of gender and number are practically without exception in all the languages except Arabic, Ethiopic, and Tigriña, e. g.,

Ass. *šarrâni annûti* 'these kings.'
šarrâti annâti 'these queens.'
Heb. הָאִשָּׁה הַזֹּאת 'this woman.'
הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה 'these men.'
Bib. Aram. קִרְיְתָא דָךְ 'that city.'
גֻּבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ 'those men.'
Syr. מַלְכֵא הָלֵין ܡܠܟܐ ܗܠܝܢ 'these kings.'
Min. الن ابضعـن *'ln 'bḍ'-n* 'these regions.'
Meh. *qanett dîme* 'this little girl.'
biiûṭ liêk 'those houses.'

In Arabic the plural of a demonstrative may stand with a strong masculine plural, or a strong feminine plural, a collec-

[1] A similar construction is common in Tagalog, the most important of the languages of the Philippine Islands, viz., *itó-ng tâwo-ng itó* 'this man.'

tive, or a broken plural that denotes persons; a strong feminine plural and a broken plural that denote things, regularly take the demonstrative in the feminine singular: e. g.,

هولاء القصابون *hâ'ulâ'i 'l-qaççâbûna* 'these butchers.'
الرجال „ „ *'r-rijâlu* 'these men.'
الناس „ „ *'n-nâsu* 'these people.'
البنات „ „ *'l-banâtu* 'these girls.'
هذه المدن *hâðihi 'l-mudunu* 'these cities.'
الفلوات „ „ *'l-falaṵâtu* 'these deserts.'

In Modern Arabic the demonstrative is sometimes construed according to the sense; for example in Egyptian Arabic,

الناس دول *en-nâs dôl* 'these people.'
الحاجات دى *el-ḥâgât dî* 'these matters.'

In Ethiopic the demonstrative follows the same rules of agreement as the descriptive adjective, e. g.,

a) with nouns denoting persons,

ዝንቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ *zĕntû bĕ'ĕsî* 'this man.'
ዛቲ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ *zâtî bĕ'ĕsît* 'this woman.'

b) with nouns denoting things,

ዝንቱ ፡ ፍርሀት ፡ *zĕntû fĕrhat* 'this fear.'
ውእቱ ፡ ቃላት ፡ *ṵĕ'ĕtû qâlât* 'these voices.'
በውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ *ba-ṵĕ'ĕtû maṵâ'ĕl* 'in those days.'
እሙንቱ ፡ ማያት ፡ *'ĕmûntû mâi̯ât* 'those waters.'
እላ ፡ ራእያት ፡ *'ĕllâ râ'ĕi̯ât* 'these visions.'

Tigriña seems to follow in general the same rules of concord as Ethiopic.[1]

Determination.

In parent Semitic, in all probability, a noun modified by a demonstrative adjective was determinate by that very fact, and needed no definite article. Assyrian, Ethiopic, and Tigriña, which have not developed any definite article, represent this status, e. g.,

Ass. *šarru annû* 'this king.'
âlâni šunûti 'those cities.'
Eth. ዝንቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ *zĕntû bĕ'ĕsî* 'this man.'
Ta. እዚው ፡ ሰብ ፡ *'ĕzîṵ sab* 'this man.'

In those languages which possess a definite article, the combination of noun and demonstrative usually takes this article as an additional indication of definiteness.[2]

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[1] Cf. Schreib. *Man. Tig.* p. 28.

[2] In Egyptian and Coptic the demonstrative excludes the article (cf.

In Phenician the combination may stand without article as above, or the article may be used with the noun, e. g.,

אבן ז 'this stone.'

השער ז 'this gate.'

In Amharic the combination may stand without further determination, or either the noun or the demonstrative may take the definite article, e. g.,

ይህ ፡ አሽከር ፡ *ïĕh 'aškar* 'this boy.'

ያ ፡ ወራሹ ፡ *ïâ ïarâš-û* 'that inheritance.'

በዚሁ ፡ ፈረስ ፡ *ba-zîh-û faras* 'on this horse.'

The accusative -ን seems to be used either with the demonstrative alone or with both demonstrative and noun, e. g.,

እሊኽን ፡ ብላቴኖች ፡ *'ĕlêkh-ĕn bĕlâtênôč* 'these boys.'

ይኽን ፡ ነገር ፡ *ïĕkh-ĕn nagar* 'this thing.'

ይኽን ፡ ዮርዳኖስን ፡ *ïĕkh-ĕn ïôrdânôs-ĕn* 'this Jordan.'

In Tigre the noun modified by the nearer demonstrative እሊ ፡ stands without article, but with the more remote demonstrative ለሃ ፡ the noun takes the article,[1] e. g.,

እሊ ፡ ፈራዕ ፡ *'ĕllî farâ'* 'this people.'

ለጸሎት ፡ ለሃ ፡ *la-çalôt lahâ* 'that prayer.'

In Arabic, Mineo-Sabean, Moabite, and Western Aramaic the noun stands regularly in the definite state, e. g.,

Arab. هذا الرجل *hâðâ 'r-rajulu*
Mod. Arab. هل رجل *hal rajul* } 'this man.'
الرجل دا *ar-rajul dâ*

Min. ذن سطر-ن *ðn sṭr-n* 'this inscription.'

Mo. הבמת זאה 'this high place.'

Bib. Aram. מַלְכָּא דְנָה 'this king.'

Jew. Pal. הדין עובדא 'this occurrence.'

In Eastern Aramaic and Malulan, altho the sign of determination has lost its definite force, the emphatic state, as the most common form, in Modern Syriac and Malulan as practically the only form, of the noun, is regularly employed in connection with a demonstrative, e. g.,

Syr. ܗܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ 'this king.'

Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 110 f.; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 45, 46); so usually in Indo-European except in Greek, where the article stands before the noun whatever the position of the demonstrative may be, e. g., *οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ* or *ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος* 'this man' (cf. Goodwin, *Greek Gr.* p. 211, § 974).

[1] This is true at least of the texts examined by Littmann, cf. *Te. Pron.* pp. 297-299.

Sometimes, however, in Syriac and Babylonian Talmudic especially, when the noun is also modified by a numeral, it may stand in the absolute state, e. g.,

Syr. ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܝܪܚܝܢ 'these four months.'
Bab. Tal. בהלין עשרה יומין 'in these ten days.'
האי אינש 'this man.'

The construction of the demonstrative without article with the definite noun, is found in a few cases in Biblical Hebrew chiefly with הוא and היא,[1] e. g.,

בַּלַּיְלָה הוּא 'on that night.'
הַקְּדֵשָׁה הִיא 'that sacred prostitute.'
הַדּוֹר זֶה 'this generation.'

The regular construction, however, has the article with both noun and demonstrative, the demonstrative having been attracted to the construction of the descriptive adjective, e. g.,

הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה 'this man.'

In Post-Biblical Hebrew when a noun is modified by the nearer demonstrative זה, the article is omitted with both; instead of the more remote demonstrative הוא, the accusative sign את is used with the proper suffix before the noun with article: e. g.,

יָרָק זֶה 'this plant.'
אותו הַיּוֹם 'that day.'

This construction of זה is perhaps a survival of the primitive demonstrative usage as we have it in Assyrian, the Abyssinian languages, and Phenician, preserved by popular speech, just as the regular Mishnic relative שׁ, which is practically unknown in Classical Hebrew, is to be regarded as a survival of the שׁ which appears in the Hebrew of the Song of Deborah.

In Samaritan the noun stands in the emphatic state, and the demonstrative has in addition a prefixed demonstrative ה,[2] e. g.,

יומא הדן 'this day.'
ארעא הדה 'this land.'
ממלליה האלין 'these words.'

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[1] Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 428, 429 (§ 126 *y*).

[2] This ה is not the Hebrew article tho it is ultimately identical with it (cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 316, § 107*a*). It is a demonstrative particle identical with the ה of Jewish Palestinian הדן, הדא and the *hâ*, of Arabic هذا *hâδâ*, which was employed in this and other cases in imitation of the Hebrew article. Cf. Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.* p. 116 f.

Demonstrative and Adjective.

When a demonstrative modifies a combination of noun and adjective it regularly stands outside of the combination,[1] either before it or after it according to the rules of the various languages, e. g.,

Ass.	*šarru rabû annû*	'this great king.'
Arab.	هذا الملك العظيم *hâδâ 'l-maliku 'l-'aẓîmu*	
Eth.	ዝንቱ : ንጉሥ : ዐቢይ : *zĕntû nĕgûš 'abîi̯*	
Heb.	הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה	
Syr.	ܗܢܐ ܕܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܗܢܐ	

In Amharic in this case only the adjective takes the determinate article, tho even this may dispense with it. The accusative -ን may stand with both demonstrative and adjective, e. g.,

ይኽ : ታላቁ : ኃይልኽ : *i̯ĕkh tâlâq-û ḫâi̯l-ĕkh* 'this great power of thine.'

እዘህ : ሶስቱ : ነገር : *'ĕnazîh sôst-û nagar* 'these three things.'

ያችን : ዝንጉሪቱን : ቀሚስ : *i̯âč-ĕn zĕnguĕr-îtû-n qamîs* (acc.) 'that variegated garment.'

ይኽች : ድኃ : ባልቴት : *i̯ĕkhĕč dĕḫâ bâltêt* 'this poor widow.'

Interrogative Qualification.

Adjectival.

A noun may be modified by the interrogative ideas expressed by 'which?' 'what?' 'whose?' 'how much?' 'how many?'

'Which?' is expressed in most of the Semitic languages by the particle አ *ai̯* or some of its derivatives, viz.,

Ass. sg. *âu*, pl. *âûti*

Arab. masc. اى *'ai̯i̯u*^{n}, fem. ايّة *'ai̯i̯atu*^{n}

Eg. Arab.[2] „ انهو *'enhû* „ انهى *'enhî*. pl. انهم *'enhum* and اى *'ai̯i̯*, *'ai̯i̯*^{t}

Tun. Arab. sg. and pl. *'êna*

Tl. Arab. اشمن *âšmen*

Eth. sg. አይ : *'ai̯*, pl. አያት : *'ai̯ât*

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[1] In cases like Heb. עַמְּךָ הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה (2 Ch. 1, 10) the adjective modifies not simply the noun but the combination of noun and demonstrative 'this people of thine, the great people.' Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 427, n. 1.

[2] In Palestinian Arabic the forms are in general the same as in Egyptian, but with numerous variations, cf. Bauer, *Pal. Arab.* p. 73.

Ta. sg. and pl. ኣይን : *'aiṇ*, ኣየን : *'aiṇan*, እየን : *'ĕiṇan*, ኣይን : *'aiṇân*, ኢይን : *'ĕiṇân*
Te. masc. ኣዩ : *'aiṇî*, fem. ኣይ : *'aiṇâ*
Heb. masc. and fem. אֵיזֶה
Syr. masc. ܐܝܢܐ, fem. ܐܝܕܐ, pl. ܐܝܠܝܢ
Bab. Tal. אידין, הי
Jew. Pal. masc. היידין, fem. היידא, pl. היילין
Ch. Pal. masc. הידין, fem. הידא
Mod. Syr. sg. and pl. ܐܝܢܝ *'aiṇî*

In Classical Arabic the feminine is little used, the masculine being the regular form before all nouns singular and plural. In Ethiopic the forms given are used only of things. The interrogative word regularly stands before its noun, and is treated as an adjective, except in Classical Arabic, and in the case of Egyptian Arabic اى, where it takes the modified noun in the genitive. Egyptian Arabic *enhû*, *enhî* may follow their noun. The concords of gender and number are as indicated; Ethiopic has also concord of case. In those languages which distinguish definite and indefinite states, the noun is indefinite: in Christian Palestinian apparently either the emphatic or the absolute state may be used; in Eastern Aramaic the emphatic state as the most common form of the noun is regularly employed, tho occasionally the absolute state is found in Syriac. e. g.,

Ass. *âu ilu* 'which god?'
Eth. ኣይ : ሰዓት : *'aiṇ sa'ât* 'which hour?'
ኣየ : ሰዓተ : *'aiṇa sa'âta* (acc.)?
ኣይት : ትእዛዛት : *aiṇât tĕ'zâzât* 'which commands?'
Ta. በይን : ጊዜ : *baiṇân gîzê* 'at what time?'
Te. ኣዩ : ባህለት : *'aiṇî bâhlat* 'which saying?'
ኣይ : በሃል : *'aiṇâ bahâl* 'which commandment?'
Syr. ܐܝܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ 'which king?'
ܐܝܕܐ ܕܗܠܬܐ 'which religion?'
ܐܝܠܝܢ ܣܦܪܐ 'which scribes?'
ܐܝܢܐ ܬܫܢܝܩ 'which torment?'
Mod. Syr. ܐܝܢܝ ܪܘܚܐ *'aiṇî rûḥâ* 'which spirit?'
Chr. Pal. הידין פקוד 'which commandment?'
בהידא מטרא 'in which watch?'
הידין עובדא (*emph. state*) 'which deed?'
Heb. אֵיזֶה דֶּרֶךְ 'which way?'
Cl. Arab. اى شىء *'aiiu šai'i'* 'which thing?'

ای رجال *'aiiu rijâli*ⁿ 'which men?'
ای عین *'aiiu ʿainiⁿ* (fem.) 'which eye?'

Eg. Arab. من انهى بلد *min 'enhî beled* } 'from which village?'
من ای بلد *min 'aiiʿ beled* }
من انهو جنس *min 'enhû gins* 'of what character?'
شيخ انهو *šêḫ 'enhû* 'which sheik?'
ورقه انهى *ṯaraqa 'enhî* 'which leaf?'

Tl. Arab. اشمن راجل *âšmen râjel* 'which man?'

In Classical Arabic the noun may stand with the article, but the meaning is somewhat different, e. g.,

ای الرجال *'aiiu 'r-rijâli* 'which of the men?'
ای النساء *'aiiu 'n-nisâ'i* 'which of the women?'

In Mandaic 'which?' as adjective occurs in only one passage, being there expressed by האמנו, viz.,

בהאמנו אתרא 'in which place?'

In Hebrew when the modified noun depends on the preposition מן, the preposition stands between the two elements of the interrogative, e. g.,

אֵי מִזֶּה עִיר 'from which city?'

In Ethiopic 'which?' referring to persons, must be expressed by the circumlocution 'who is the — that,' e. g.,

መኑ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ዘመጽአ ፡ *mannû ṯëʾëtû sabʾë za-maçʿa*
'who is the man that came, which man came?'

In Amharic 'which?' is expressed in a few passages by the adverb የት ፡ *ïat* 'where?' used as an adjective before the noun, e. g.,

የየት ፡ አገር ፡ *ïa-ïat 'agar* 'of which land?'

In some languages 'which?' referring to persons is expressed by the personal interrogative pronoun,[1] used as an adjective. A few instances are found in Samaritan, Syriac, and the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud; in Tigriña the construction is quite common; and in Amharic, where the adjectival interrogative *aï* has been lost, it is the invariable rule. In Tigriña this interrogative is also used of things. The interrogative precedes the noun. e. g.,

Sam. מן גברא 'which man?'
Syr. לְמַן עַתִּירָא 'to which rich man?'
Bab. Tal. מאן גברא רבא 'what great man?'

[1] The personal interrogatives are derived from a stem *man*, except in Hebrew and certain Modern Arabic dialects where they are formed from a stem *mî* cf. Brock. *Comp.Gr.* p. 326 f. (§110 c, d).

Amh. ማን : ሰው : *mân sau* 'which man?'
Ta. መን : መንፈስ : *man manfas* 'which spirit?'
ብመን : ትጋህ : *bĕ-man tĕyâh* 'in which watch?'

The neuter interrogative pronoun is used adjectively in most of the languages to express 'what, what sort of?' and sometimes also 'which?' The forms are, viz.,

Eth. ምንት : *mĕnt*
Amh. ምን : *mĕn*
Ta. ምንታይ : *mĕntâi*
Meh. *hâśan*
Te. ሚ-, -ሚ : *mî*
Heb. מָה
Syr. מָנָא מנא, מון מנו
Bab. Tal. מאי
Jew. Pal. מה
Man. מאהו
Mod. Syr. ܡܘܕܝ *mûdî*

In Amharic the same idea is also expressed by adjectives derived from the personal interrogative, which are, however, used with both persons and things. They agree with their noun in gender, viz.,

masc. ማናቸው : *mânâčau*
fem. ማናቸዉቱ : *mânâčaitû*
ማናቸይቱ : *mânâčaitû*

These interrogatives regularly precede the noun. In Ethiopic there is concord of case. e. g.,

Eth. ምንት : ዐስብ : *mĕnt 'asb* 'what reward?'
ምንት : ሠናየ : *mĕnta šanâia* 'what good (acc.)?'
Amh. ምን : ትእዛዝ : *mĕn tĕ'zâz* 'which order?'
ምን : ፍጥረት : *mĕn fĕṭrat* 'what sort of a creature?'
ማናቸው : ንጉሥ : *mânâčau nĕgûš* 'which king?'
ምናቸዉቱ : ትእዛዝ : *mânâčaitû tĕ'zâz* 'which commandment?'
Ta. ብምንታይ : ሥልጣን : *bĕ-mĕntâi šĕlṭân* 'by what power?'
Te. እብሚ : መስል : *'ĕb-mî masl* } 'with what parable?'
እብ : ሚመስል : *'ĕb mî-masl* }
Heb. מַה־יִּתְרוֹן 'what advantage?'
Syr. מָנָא פּוּרְעָנָא מנא פורענא 'what punishment?'
Man. מאהו האילא 'what power?'
Mod. Syr. ܠܡܘܕܝ ܡܕܝܬܐ *le-mûdî medittâ* 'to what city?'
Jew. Pal. מה חובא 'what sin?'

Meh. *da*[1] *hâśan çâḥan dâ* 'what dish is this?'
da[1] *hâśan jambiiiet dî* 'what dagger is this?'
da[1] *hâśan miiêr liê* 'what mirrors are these?'

Possessive.

'Whose?' is expressed by treating the personal interrogative like a noun indicating the possessor.

In Arabic, both Classical and Modern, Ethiopic, Tigriña, Hebrew, Samaritan, and Mandaic the interrogative may form the *nomen rectum* of a construct chain, standing in the nominative form, e. g.,

Arab. بيت من *baitu man*
Eth. ቤት : ማኑ : *bêta mannû* } 'whose house?'
Heb. בֵּית־מִי
Mod. Pal. Arab. فنجان مين *finjên mîn* 'whose cup?'

Man. בר מאן
Ta. ወዱ : ማን : *ṵad man* } 'whose son?'

Sam. ברת מן
Jew. Pal. בת מן } 'whose daughter?'

In those languages which have developed a special preposition to indicate the genitive, the interrogative may stand after this preposition. The prepositional phrase usually follows the modified noun in all the languages except Amharic, where it regularly precedes. e. g.,

Eth. ቤት : ዘማኑ : *bêt za-mannû* 'whose house?'
Amh. የማን : ልጅ : *ỵa-mân lĕj* 'whose son?'
Jew. Pal. ברתא דמן 'whose daughter?'
Syr. בַּיְתָא־דְמַנּוּ 'whose house?'
Mod. Syr. ܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܢܝ *taṵrâ de-mânî* 'whose ox?'
Meh. (*da*[2]) *habrît da mon* (*dime reheimet*) 'whose daughter (is this pretty girl)?'

Quantitative.

The ideas 'how much,[3] how many?' are expressed in Arabic,

[1] For this *da* compare following n.

[2] Just what this *da* is which occurs at the beginning of interrogative sentences (cf. above) is uncertain. Jahn thinks it is a demonstrative (cf. *Meh. Gr.* p. 29). In this case this sentence would be literally 'this one, daughter of whom this pretty one.' So in the sentences above 'this, what sort of a dish is this?' etc.

[3] With regard to the material available for the study of the expression of this idea, the same statement may be made as in the case of the indefinites; cf. p. 182, n. 2.

Classical and Modern, Hebrew, Syriac, and Mehri by the neuter interrogative combined with *ka* 'like.' To express 'how many' this combination is placed directly before the noun, which stands in the plural in Hebrew and Syriac, in Arabic, Classical and Modern, in the singular, which singular is accusative in the Classical language. In Syriac the noun stands sometimes in the absolute, sometimes in the emphatic state, without difference of meaning. e. g.,

Heb. כַּמָּה פְעָמִים } 'how many times?'
Syr. כְּמָא זַבְנִין ܟܡܐ ܙܒܢܝܢ

כְּמָא זְלִיאָא ܟܡܐ ܙܠܝܐ 'how many wanton men?'

Arab. كم رجلا *kam rajula*[n] 'how many men?'[1]

Eg. Arab. كم بيت *kam bêt* 'how many houses?'

Pal. „ اكم بيضا *'akam bêḍa* 'how many eggs?'

Meh. *kâm hâbû* (pl.[2]) 'how many men?'

In the languages of the Abyssinian branch, Tigriña and Tigre form similar words for this idea by prefixing a word meaning 'as, how' to interrogative elements, while Ethiopic and Amharic express this idea by words meaning 'measure' or the like, either with or without an interrogative element: viz.,

Eth. ሚመጠን : *mîmaṭan*
ስፍን : *sĕfn*, እስፍንቱ : *ĕsfĕntû*
Amh. ስንት : *sĕnt*, እስንት : *ĕsent*
Ta. ክንይይ : *kĕndaị*
Te. አክልአዩ : *'akĕl'aị̂*, አክልሚ : *'akĕlmî*

These words are used as adjectives before the noun, e. g.,[3]

Eth. ሚመጠን : አንቅዕት : *mîmaṭan 'anqĕ't* 'how many springs?'
ሚመጠነ : መዛርዐ : *mîmaṭana mazâr'a* (acc.) 'how many baskets?'

Amh. ስንት : ሰው : *sĕnt sau̯* } 'how many men?'
ስንት : ሰዎች : *sĕnt sau̯ôč*
ስንት : አመት : *sĕnt 'amat* 'how many years?'

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[1] In exclamations the genitive of the singular or broken plural is used after كم, e. g., *kam rajuli*[n] 'how many men!' cf. Wright-DeG. *Ar. Gr.* II. p. 126.

[2] Usually with the singular, cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 30.

[3] Except in Amharic no statement as to the concord of these words is given by the grammars. In Amharic the noun stands in the singular; the only case in which it stands in the plural is the one here, given by Abbad. *Dict. Lang. Amar.* p. 187: in Ethiopic the noun seems to stand in the plural; in Tigriña, in either singular or plural; in Tigre in the example given it stands in the singular.

Ta. ክንደይ ፡ ገበርቲ ፡ *kĕndaị gabartê* (pl.) 'how many workers?'
ክንደይ ፡ አካላት ፡ *kĕndaị 'akâlât* (pl.) 'how many persons?'
ክንደይ ፡ ማዕልቲ ፡ *kĕndaị mâ'ĕltî* (sg.) 'how many days?'
Te. አክልኦ ፡ እንጐ ፡ *'akĕl'aị̂ 'engêrâ* 'how much bread?'

Sometimes these expressions for 'how many?' are used also for 'how much?'

The idea of 'how much?' may also be expressed in some of the languages by the words just given followed by the noun governed by a preposition having a partitive force, e. g.,

Arab. كم من الخبز *kam mina 'l-ḫubzi* 'how much bread.'
Heb. (Mod.[1]) כַּמָּה מִן־הַלֶּחֶם 'how much bread?'

Indefinite Qualification.

A noun may be modified by various indefinite pronominal ideas indicating quantity, number, or sort. The principal ideas are, viz., all, every, each, no, some, any, a little, few, much, many, a certain, same, self, other, various, both, such, enough.[2]

All, Every.

'All, every' is expressed in all the Semitic languages by pronouns derived from a root כל[3]. In general the pronoun may stand in the construct state before the noun, or it may take a possessive suffix referring to the noun, and be placed either before or after the noun[4].

The first construction is found in Assyrian, Arabic, Classical and Modern, Mineo-Sabean, Tigriña, Hebrew, Moabite, and in all the dialects of Aramaic. It is rare in Tigriña; in Moabite, Phenician (?), and Biblical Aramaic it is the only construction found. In Modern Syriac, where the construct chain has been lost, the pronoun is rather to be considered an adjective than a *nomen regens*; here כל always means 'every.' In Syriac and Mandaic either absolute or emphatic state may be used after the pronoun without difference of meaning. In those langua-

[1] No example occurs in Biblical Hebrew.

[2] The material for the discussion of these important modifying ideas is exceedingly meager; in no Semitic grammar are they fully and satisfactorily treated.

[3] Just what the constructions of Mehri *kall*, Malulan *ḫul* are is not certain; cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 30; Parisot, *Dial. Mal.* p. 312.

[4] In Egyptian *nb* 'all, every' stands after the noun like an ordinary adjective. In Coptic *nim* has the same construction; *têr* + suffix stands after the noun like כל + suffix; cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 84.

ges which distinguish between definite and indefinite nouns, the pronoun followed by singular noun denotes 'every' when the noun is indefinite, 'all, whole', when it is definite; on the Moabite stone it occurs only with a definite noun (ll. 4 (bis), 11,20, 24,28); in Syriac when the noun is not specially determined by a possessive suffix, following genitive, etc. the pronoun denotes 'every.' e. g.,

Ass. *kal malkê* 'all princes.'
Arab. كل مدينة *kullu madînati*ⁿ 'every city.'
كل المدينة *kullu 'l-madînati* 'all the city, the whole city.'
كل المدن *kullu 'l-muduni* 'all the cities.'
Ta. ዘሉ : ደዋይ : *kuĕllê dĕuĕi* 'every sick man.'
Heb. כָּל־עִיר 'every city.'
כָּל־הָעִיר 'all the city.'
כָּל־הָאֲנָשִׁים 'all the men.'
Mo. כל העם 'all the people.'
כל השלכן 'all the attackers.'
Ph. כל זבח 'every offering.'
כל אדמם 'all people.'
Syr. ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܐ כָּל מְדִינָא 'every city.'
ܟܠ ܩܢܝܢܐ כָּל קְנִינִין 'all possessions.'
ܟܠ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ כָּל מְהֵימְנֵא 'all believers.'
Bib. Aram. כָּל־מַלְכָּ 'every king.'
כָּל־מַלְכוּתָא 'the whole kingdom.'
Bab. Tal. כל עבדא 'every slave.'
כל מילי 'all things.'
Mod. Syr. ܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ *kul 'nâšâ* 'every man.'

The second construction is found in Assyrian, Arabic, Ethiopic, Amharic, Tigriña, Hebrew, Syriac, Mandaic, Babylonian Talmudic, and Modern Syriac. In Ethiopic and Amharic[1] it is the only, in Tigriña, the usual construction. In Assyrian, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Mandaic the pronoun may stand either before or after the noun. In Tigriña, Babylonian Talmudic, and Modern Syriac it regularly precedes, though some instances of postposition are found in Tigriña and Talmudic[2]. In Arabic and Hebrew it always, in Amharic it almost always follows. The suffix of the pronoun usually agrees in gender and num-

[1] Cf., however, Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 193 b.
[2] Cf. Marg. *Man. Bab. Tal.* p. 67.

ber with the noun, but in Ethiopic and Amharic the suffix of the masculine singular is most frequently used for both genders and numbers. In Arabic and Hebrew the noun is always definite, in Syriac and Mandaic, always in the emphatic state; in Amharic the noun may take the definite article. When the combination stands in the accusative, the modifier in Ethiopic has a special accusative form in the masculine singular; in Amharic, -ን is regularly used only with the noun, tho occasionally it is found with both. e. g.,

Ass. *matâti kalîšina* } 'all lands.'
kalîšina matâti }

Arab. المدينة كلها *al-madînatu kulluhâ* 'all the city.'
المدن كلها *al-mudunu kulluhâ* 'all the cities.'
البيت كله *al-baitu kulluhu* 'the whole house.'
الناس كلهم *an-nâsu kulluhum* 'all mankind.'

Eth. ኩሉ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ *kuĕllû bĕ'ĕsî* } 'every man, all men.'
ብእሲ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ *bĕ'ĕsî kuĕllû* }

ኩላ ፡ ምድር ፡ *kuĕllâ mĕdr* } 'all the earth.'
ምድር ፡ ኩላ ፡ *mĕdr kuĕllâ* }

ኩሎሙ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ *kuĕllômû nagašt* } 'all (the) kings.'
ነገሥት ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ *nagašt kuĕllômû* }

ኩሉ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ *kuĕllû mangĕšt* 'every kingdom.'
ኩሉ ፡ ጽጌያት ፡ *kuĕllû çĕgêi̯ât* 'all (the) flowers.'

Ta. ኩሊአ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ *kuĕllî'â* 'âdî 'every city.'
ኩሎም ፡ ሕፃናት ፡ *kuĕllôm ḥĕḍânât* 'all children.'
ኩሉን ፡ አሕምልቲ ፡ *kuĕllan 'aḥmĕltî* 'all plants.'
ኩሌው ፡ ድውያት ፡ *kuĕllêu̯ dĕu̯i̯ât* 'all the sick.'
ናብዛ ፡ ምድሪ ፡ ኩሊአ ፡ *nâbzâ mĕdrî kuĕllî'â* 'in this whole land' (Matt. 9, 27).

Amh. ነገር ፡ ሁሉ ፡ *nagar hûlû* 'every thing.'
መንግሥት ፡ ሁልዋ ፡ *mangešt hûlu̯â* 'every kingdom.'
ሴቶች ፡ ሁሉ ፡ *sêtôč hûlû* 'all the women,'
አገሪቱ ፡ ሁልዋ ፡ *'agar-îtû hûlu̯â* 'the whole city.'
ነገርን ፡ ሁሉ ፡ *nagar-n hûlû* (acc.) 'every thing.'
ዓለምን ፡ ሁሉን ፡ *'âlam-en hûlû-n* (acc.) 'the whole world.'

Heb. יִשְׂרָאֵל כֻּלָּה 'all Israel.'
הָעִיר כֻּלָּהּ 'all the city.'
הָאֲנָשִׁים כֻּלָּם 'all the men.'

Syr. ܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܠܗ } 'all the city.'
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܟܠܗ }

ܟܠܗܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܡܕܡܐ ܟܠܗ
ܓܒܪܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܕܡܐ } 'all the men.'

Mod. Syr. ܟܠܗ ܠܠܝܐ *kullêh laiḷâ* 'the whole night.'
ܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ *kullâh 'ar'â* 'the whole earth.'

Bab. Tal. כולי עלמא 'all the world.'
כולה מתא 'the entire city.'

In the Modern Arabic of Tlemsen and Tunis the article may be used with *kull* after a noun instead of a suffix[1], e. g.,

الناس الكل *en-nâs el-kull* 'all the people.'
البلاد الكل *el-blâd el-kull* 'all the land.'

In Post-Biblical Hebrew the two constructions of כל are sometimes combined, e. g.,

כָּל הַיּוֹם כֻּלּוֹ 'the whole day.'
כָּל הַשָּׂדֶה כֻּלָּהּ 'the whole field.'

Sometimes other words are employed with the same meaning and in the same constructions as כל; the most important of these are Assyrian *gimru*, *gabbu*, Arabic جميع *jamî'u*^{n}. In Assyrian *gimru* is most commonly employed with a suffix after its noun, tho it may stand before the noun in the construct; *gabbu* regularly stands after, but rarely takes a suffix: e. g.,

ilâni gimrašun
gimir ilâni } 'all gods.'
mâtâti gabbu 'all lands.'
mâtu gabbiša 'the whole land.'

In Arabic, both Classical and Modern, جميع (Eg. Arab. *gamî'*) has the same constructions as كل, e. g.,

جميع العالم { Cl. *jamî'u 'l'âlami*
Mod. *jamî' el'âlam* } 'all the world.'
العالم جميعه { Cl. *al'âlamu jamî'uhu*
Mod. *el'âlam jamî'ôh* }

The distributive idea of 'each, every, one by one, one after another' is expressed in many of the Semitic languages by repetition of the indefinite noun; in the Abyssinian languages this is comparatively rare, except in Amharic. In Syriac and Mandaic the noun most frequently stands in the absolute state. e. g.,

Cl. Arab. كتاب كتاب *kitâbu*^{n} *kitâbu*^{n} 'every book, one book after another.'
Eg. Arab. ريال ريال *riiâl riiâl* 'dollar by dollar.'

[1] Said by Marçais to be common to all the dialects and not unknown in the classical language, cf. *Arab. Tl.* p. 178.

Heb. יום יום 'every day.'
Syr. שְׁבַע שְׁבַע ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ 'every seven.'
בַּזְבַן זְבַן ܙܒܢ ܙܒܢ 'from time to time.'
Man. מאלכא מאלכא 'every king.'
במדין מדין 'city by city.'
Sam. גבר גבר 'each man.'
Amh. } ዕለት ፡ ዕለት ፡ *'ĕlat 'ĕlat* 'every day.'
Ta. }

Sometimes the two nouns are connected by a conjunction or a preposition. The most usual preposition is ב; the conjunction ו appears to be used only in Hebrew: e. g.,

Heb. יום בְּיוֹם 'every day.'
דּוֹר וָדוֹר 'all generations.'
Syr. כָּל שְׁנָא בַּשְׁנָא ܟܠ ܫܢܐ ܒܫܢܐ 'every year.'
יום מִן יום ܝܘܡ ܡܢ ܝܘܡ 'from day to day.'
Man. יום ביום 'day by day.'
לבוש על לבוש 'dress after dress.'

In Ethiopic and Tigriña this idea is most commonly expressed by doubling the preposition on which the noun depends; in Ethiopic the prepositions that are chiefly so employed are በ *ba-*, ለ *la-*, and ዘ *za-*; in Tigriña the chief reduplicated forms are በብ *babĕ-* or ብብ *bĕbĕ*, ንነ *nĕnĕ-*, ነናይ *nanâi*; ናበብ ፡ *nâbab*; in Amharic when the noun depends on the preposition በ, the whole combination is doubled: e. g.,

Eth. ሲሳየነ ፡ ዘለለ ፡ ዕለትነ ፡ *sîsâia-na za-lala 'ĕlatĕ-na* 'our food for every day.'
በበዘመዱ ፡ *baba-zamad-û* 'each according to its kind.'
Ta. ሲሳይና ፡ ነናይዕለትና ፡ *sîsâi-nâ nanâi-'ĕlat-nâ* 'our food for every day.'
ንንዕለት ፡ *nĕnĕ-'ĕlat* 'for every day.'
Amh. ባመት ፡ ባመት ፡ *bâmat bâmat* 'every year.'
በነግህ ፡ በነግህ ፡ *ba-nagh ba-nagh* 'every morning.'

Some, Any.

The indefinite idea of 'some, any' in many of the languages, probably in all, may be expressed simply by the indefinite noun, singular or plural, in certain constructions, e. g.,

Heb. יַיִן יֶשׁ־לִי 'I have some wine' (Jud. 19, 19).
וַיּוֹתִרוּ אֲנָשִׁים מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר 'and some men left some of it till the morning' (Ex. 16, 20).
הֲיֵשׁ־בִּלְשׁוֹנִי עַוְלָה 'is there any iniquity in my tongue?' (Job. 6, 30).

Arab. هل عندك دراهم *hal ʿinda-ka darâhimu*ⁿ 'have you any money?'

Eth. እምድኅረ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ *'ĕmdĕḫra maṵâʿĕl* 'after some days.'

In Assyrian and the Abyssinian languages (very rarely in Ethiopic), this idea may be expressed by pronominal adjectives identical with or derived from the interrogatives, viz.,

Ass. *manman* / *manma* } (in their various forms)
aumma, ḭaumma

Eth. መኑ ፡, ምንት ፡ *mannû, mĕnt* (usually with -ሂ, -ኑ, *-hî, -nî* added; *mannû* ordinarily takes *hî*, and *mĕnt, nî*, viz., *mannûhî, mĕntnî*)[1]

Amh. ማናቸው ፡ *mânâčaṵ* (and its feminine forms)

Ta. መን ፡, ምንታይ ፡ *man, mentâḭ*

Te. መንማ ፡ *manmâ*

E. g.:—

Ass. *šarru aumma* 'some king or other.'

Amh. ማናቸው ፡ መቅሠፍትና *mânâčaṵ maqšaftĕnâ* 'any plague.'
ማናቸዉቸ ፡ ነፍስ ፡ *mânâčaḭtû nafs* 'any soul.'

Ta. ኃይል ፡ መን ፡ *ḫâḭâl man* 'any strong man.'

Te. ዲብ ፡ መንማ ፡ ቤት ፡ *dîb manmâ bêt* 'in any house.'

In Syriac the interrogative adjective + ܕ + personal pronoun of the 3. sg. is used as an adjective before or after the noun in the sense of 'any, any at all'; both the interrogative and the personal pronoun agree with the noun: e. g.,

ܡܛܠ ܨܒܘܬܐ ܐܝܕܐ ܕܗܝ ܡܕܡ 'about any matter at all.'

ܐܝܕܐ ܕܗܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ 'any city at all.'

ܘܡܘܬܐ ܐܝܢܐ ܕܗܘ 'and any death.'

Special words for the idea of 'some, any' outside of the class just considered have been developed in some of the languages.

In Amharic አንዳች ፡ *'andâč*, አንዳኑድ ፡ *'andând* or አንዳድ ፡ *'andâd*, and ኣይሌ ፡ *'aḭâlê*; in Tigriña ኣይሌ ፡ and ክንይይ ፡ *kĕndaḭ*, in Tigre ገሌ ፡ *galê*, are used as adjectives in this sense; all the Amharic words except አንዳች ፡ have a plural meaning and are employed with nouns in the plural, tho the singular may also be used; in Tigriña and Tigre the singular is apparently employed. e. g.,

Amh. አንዳች ፡ ነገር ፡ *'andâč nagar* 'any opportunity.'

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[1] Very rare in affirmative sentences.

	አንዳድ : እቃ :	*'andâd 'eqâ* 'some vessels.'
	አደሌ : ሰው :	*'aiâlê sauu* } 'some people.'
	„ ሰዎች :	*'aiâlê sauôč* }
Ta.	አደሌ : ክንደይ : } ማዕልቲ :	{ *'aiâlê* / *kěndaị* } *mâ'ěltî* 'some days.'
Te.	ገሌ : ሰብ :	*galê sab* 'some people'.

In Arabic the noun بعض *ba'ḍu*ⁿ may stand in the construct before a genitive in this sense of 'some', in Classical Arabic only in connection with another بعض meaning 'other', but in Modern Arabic often without correlative[1]; e. g.,

Cl. بعض الشر اهون من بعض *ba'ḍu 'š-širri 'ahuanu min ba'ḍi*ⁿ 'some evils are easier to bear than others.'

Mod. بعض الناس *ba'ḍ en-nâs* 'some people.'

In Hebrew the plural of the numeral אחד 'one' is sometimes used with a plural noun to express 'some',[2] e. g.,

יָמִים אֲחָדִים 'some days' (Gen 27,44; 29,20).

In some Modern Arabic dialects the indefinite article may be used with a plural or collective in the sense of 'some' (cf. p. 158), e. g.,

Mesopotamian فرد اولاد *fard ulâd* 'some children.'

Tangier شى قوم *šî qaum* 'some people.'

In Syriac ܡܶܕܡ is used as an adjective with either singular or plural nouns in the sense of 'some'; it may stand either before or after the noun, e. g.,

ܐܢܫܐ ܡܶܕܡ 'some men.'

ܡܶܕܡ ܝܬܪܢ ܡܶܕܡ 'some advantage.'

ܒܝܬ ܦܓܪܐ ܡܶܕܡ ܕ— ܕܥܠ ܦܓܪܐ ܡܶܕܡ ܕ— 'among some corpses that —'.

Words meaning 'some' may in many cases be connected with the noun they modify by a partitive preposition, e. g.,

Amh. አንዳንድ : ካገር : ሰዎች : *'andând kâgar* (*ka-ag-* for *ka-ia-ag-*) *sauôč* 'some of the people of the city.'

Ta. አደሌ : እንካብ : ፈሪሳውያን : *'aiâlê 'ěnkâb farîsâuěiân* 'some of the Pharisees.'

Arab. بعض من الناس *ba'ḍu*ⁿ *mina'n-nâsi* 'some of the people.'

Syr. ܒܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܠ ܒܡܕܡ 'in some of the books.'

The partitive idea 'some of' with a definite noun may be

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[1] In Mehri *baḏ* is said to be used in this sense with a following plural, cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 30.

[2] Compare with this the use of the plural of 'uno' in Spanish, e. g., *unos bollos* 'some cakes'; cf. Knapp, *Gram. of Mod. Span.* p. 159.

expressed by the preposition מן 'from' used before the definite noun, rarely the indefinite, as a sort of partitive article like the French *de*. So in Arabic, Ethiopic, Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, Syriac, and Mandaic, e. g.,

Arab. من الدنانير *mina 'd-danânîri* 'some of the denars.'
من الخبز *mina 'l-ḫubzi* 'some of the bread.'

Eth. እምነ ፡ እንሰሳ ፡ *'ĕmna 'ĕnsĕsâ* 'some of the beasts.'
እምዕፀ-ብ ፡ *'em-'ĕḏûb* 'something difficult.'

Heb. מִזִּקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'some of the elders of Israel' (Ex. 17,5).
מִדַּם הַחַטָּאת 'some of the blood of the sin-offering' (Lev. 5,9).

Bib. Aram. מִן־נִצְבְּתָא דִי־פַרְזְלָא 'some of the firmness of iron.'

Sam. מן אדם 'some blood.'

Syr. מִן תַּלְמִידוֹהִי 'some of his disciples.'
מִן רוּחָךְ 'some of thy spirit.'

Man. מן מאלאכיא דנורא 'some of the fire angels.'
מן בירכתאן 'some of our blessing.'

No.

The adjectival idea 'no' is expressed in general by an indeterminate noun in connection with a negative, most usually with the negative meaning 'there is not,' e. g.,

Arab. ليس له مخلص *laiṣa la-hu maḫlaçu*" 'he had no way of escape.'

Heb. אֵין לֶחֶם בַּבַּיִת 'there is no bread in the house.'

Bib. Ar. לָא אִתַּי לָךְ חֵלֶק 'you will have no part.'

Syr. לַו אַלָהָא הוֹ 'he is no god.'
אִי לַיִת כַּאנָא 'if there are no righteous ones.'

Man. אסותא לית לה 'there is no cure for him.'

Bab. Tal. באתר דלית גברא 'in a place where there is no man.'

Eth. አልብየ ፡ ምት ፡ *'albĕiya mĕta* 'I have no husband.'

Amh. በገራችን ፡ ወግ ፡ የለም *b-agar-âčĕn ṳag ḭallam* 'in our land there is no law.'

Ta. ብርሃንማ ፡ የለን ፡ አባሁ ፡ *bĕrhân-mâ ḭallan 'abâ'û* 'for there is no light there.'

In Assyrian and the Abyssinian dialects the idea of 'no' is emphasized by the indefinite adjectives (cf. p. 187 above) in connection with a negative. In Ethiopic they usually have ወኢ— before them in addition to the other negative; in Tigriña they may be preceded by ወይ—: e. g.,[1]

[1] No examples are available in Amharic and Tigriña; cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 426 (§ 325a); Praet. *Tig. Spr.* pp. 342, 344.

Ass. *ilu manuman ul* . . . 'no god.'
šarru iaumma ul . . . 'no king.'

Eth. ኢትንሥኡ ፡ ምንተኒ ፡ ጸረ ፡ *'î-tânšĕ'û mĕntanî çôra* 'ye shall not bear any burden.'
ከመ ፡ ኢይንሣእ ፡ ምንተኒ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ *kama 'î-iĕnšâ' mĕnta-nî bĕ'ĕsîta* 'that he should take no wife.'
ኢትግበሩ ፡ ወኢምንተኒ ፡ ዐመፃ ፡ *'î-tĕgbarû ua'î-mĕntanî 'amaḍâ* 'do no harm.'

The negative idea is sometimes emphasized by some other modifier of the noun. In Hebrew, the Western Aramaic[1] dialects, and Ethiopic, such a modifier is כל, e. g.,

Heb. לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכֹּל עֵץ הַגָּן 'ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden.'
כָּל־מְלָאכָה לֹא יֵעָשֶׂה 'no work shall be done.'

Bib. Aram. וְכָל־אֲתַר לָא הִשְׁתְּכַח לְהוֹן 'and no place was found for them.'

Jew. Pal. לא תיכלון מכל אילן 'ye shall not eat of any tree.'

Sam. ולא אתותר כל ירק 'and no green thing was left.'

Eth. ወኵሎ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ሐሪስ ፡ ኢትግበሩ ፡ *ua-kuĕllô gĕbra ḥarîs 'î-tĕgbarû* 'and no heavy work (work of ploughing) shall ye do.'

In Syriac מִדָּם 'some' is used in a similar manner, e. g.,

ܡܕܡ ܠܝܬ ܒܗܝܢ
מִדָּם יוּתְרָן לַיִת בְּהַיִן } 'no advantage is in them.'

ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܒܗܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܛܡܐܘܬܐ
לָא מֶלְקָא עַל לִבְּהוֹן מִדָּם טַמָּאוּתָא } 'no unclean thing comes into their mind.'

In Modern Syriac the idea of 'no' is regularly expressed by *hič* and *čû* used as adjectives, in connection with a negative, e. g.,

ܗܝܟ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܠܐ ܡܨܝܐ ܗܘܐ *hič 'urḫâ la maçiâ 'uâ* 'no road was found.'

ܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܘ ܩܢܘܡܐ *lâ min čû qenûmâ* 'from no person.'

A certain.

In a number of the languages the idea of 'a certain' as distinct from the simple indefinite idea 'a', has special forms of expression.

In Arabic it may be expressed by the particle ما after the indefinite noun, e. g.,

[1] Probably this statement is true with regard to Christian Palestinian, and perhaps also with regard to Malulan, but the construction is not mentioned by the authorities.

رجل ما *rajula-mmâ* 'a certain man.'

To be compared with this are the groups,

Ph. אדם ם[1] 'a certain man.'

Heb. וּדְבַר מַה־יַּרְאֵנִי וְהִגַּדְתִּי לָךְ (דבר מה) 'if he shows me anything I will tell you' (Nu. 23, 3).

In Arabic the noun بعض *baʿḍu*ⁿ 'part' followed by the genitive of a plural or a collective may also be used in this sense, e.g.,

بعض التلاميذ *baʿḍu 't-talâmîδi* 'a certain one of the pupils.'

في بعض الايام *fî baʿḍi 'l-'aiiâmi* 'one day, a certain day.'

In Ethiopic it is expressed by the word for 'man' or 'woman' in apposition to the noun, by the numeral 'one,' or by the adjective አገሌ፡ *'ĕgalê*, e. g.,

ብእሲት ፡ ዕብራዊት ፡ *bĕ'ĕsît ʿebrâuît* 'a certain Hebrew woman.'

አሐዱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ *'aḥadû bĕ'ĕsî* 'a certain man.'

አገሌ ፡ ወሬዛ ፡ *'ĕgalê uarêzâ* 'a certain youth.'

The word አገሌ፡ is used also in this meaning in Amharic and Tigriña.[2] In Tigriña ሓዴ ፡ *ḥâdê* 'one' may be employed in this sense, e. g.,

Ta. ሓዴ ፡ ሳምራዊ ፡ *ḥâdê sâmĕrâuî* 'a certain Samaritan.'

In Syriac it is expressed by ܡܶܕܡ after the noun, e. g.,

ܒܥܠܕܒܝܬܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܕܐ ܡܕܡ 'a certain enmity.'

In the Babylonian Talmud it is expressed by the demonstrative ההוא before the noun,[3] e. g.,

ההוא גברא 'a certain man.'

ההיא איתתא 'a certain woman.'

In Modern Syriac it is expressed by ܦܠܢ *pelân* before the noun, e. g.,

ܒܦܠܢ ܙܒܢܐ *be-pelân zavnâ* 'at a certain time.'

ܒܦܠܢ ܕܘܟܬܐ *be-pelân duktâ* 'in a certain place.'

A Little, Few,

The ideas 'a little,' 'few' are expressed by the following words, viz.,

Ass. *içu*

Arab. قليل *qalîluⁿ*, Mod. *qalîl*

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[1] Some prefer to read אדמם 'men' in the only passage in which this occurs, cf. Schroed., *Phön. Spr.* p. 166.

[2] Cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 130; *Tig. Spr.* p. 304 (n. 2); in the examples given it appears only as substantive; in Tigriña texts it occurs only once.

[3] With this indefinite use of the demonstrative ההוא is to be compared the use of the Ethiopic ዝኩ ፡ as indefinite article (cf. p. 158).

Meh. *ḫaraun* (with sg. and pl.)[1]
Eth. ጎዳጥ : *ḫĕdâṭ*
Amh. ጥቂት : *ṭĕqît*, ቅሉ : *qĕlû*
Ta. ቍሩብ : *quĕrûb*, ንእሽተይ : *nĕ'štaị*
Heb. מְעַט
Syr. ܩܠܺܝܠ ܡܢܝܢ
Mod. Syr. ܚܰܨܳܐ *ḫačâ*
Ch. Pal. ציבחד
Jew. Pal. צבחד, זעיר, קליל
Sam. ציבעד, ציבעת, זעור

The Assyrian, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac words may be inflected, tho the Syriac is usually employed without variation. The plurals of the Assyrian, Arabic and Hebrew words used as adjectives denote 'few:' 'a little' is denoted by the singular of these adjectives; in Hebrew, however, most frequently by מעט in the construct before the noun. In those languages in which the word is employed without variation, it is used with both meanings. Ordinarily these words take the same position and construction as descriptive adjectives. The Aramaic words, however, have a tendency to precede the noun, and in Ethiopic and Tigriña preposition is the rule. The Samaritan forms stand before the noun and are probably in the construct like Hebrew מעט. In some of the languages the words may be followed by the definite noun after a partitive preposition. e. g.,

Ass. *itti uqu içi* 'with few people.'
çâbê içûti 'few warriors.'
Arab. مال قليل *mâlu*ⁿ *qalîlu*ⁿ 'a little property.'
رجال قليلون *rijâlu*ⁿ *qalîlûna* 'a few men.'
قليل من الناس *qalîlu*ⁿ *mina 'n-nâsi* 'a few people.'
Eth. ጎዳጥ : መዋዕል : *ḫĕdâṭ maụâ'l* 'a few days.'
Amh. ጥቂት : { ሰው : / ሰዎች : } *ṭĕqît* { *saụ* / *saụôč* } 'few men.'
Ta. ንእሽተይ : ዓሣ : *nĕ'štaị 'âšâ* 'a few fishes.'
ቍሩብ : ማዕልቲ : *quĕrûb mâ'ĕltî* 'a few days.'
Heb. מְעַט מַיִם 'a little water.'
עֵזֶר מְעַט 'a little help.'
אֲנָשִׁים מְעַטִּים 'a few men.'
Syr. ܩܠܺܝܠ ܫܡܫܳܐ ܡܢܝܢ 'a little sun.'
ܠܘܺܕܒܳܐ ܩܠܺܝܠ ܡܢܝܢ 'a little comfort.'

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[1] Cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 31.

ܩܠܺܝܠ ܡܶܠܶܝ ܫܠܺܝܢܳܐ ‘a few words of peace.
ܩܠܺܝܠ ܡܶܢ ܣܳܛܳܢܳܐ ‘a little of Satan.’

Mod. Syr. ܒܚܲܨܳܐ ܙܒܢܳܐ *bĕ-ḥačâ zavnâ* ‘in a little time.’

Jew. Pal. זעיר כסות ‘a little clothing.’
צבחד גוברין ‘few men.’

Sam. ציבעד מיא ‘a little water.’
ציבעת מזון ‘a little food.’

Much, Many.

The ideas ‘much,’ ‘many’ are expressed by the following words, viz.,

Ass. *mâdu*
Arab. كثير *kathîru*ⁿ; Mod. *katîr*
Meh. *mâken* (with sg. and pl.)[1]
Eth. / Ta. { ብዙኅ : *bĕzûḥ*
Amh. ብዙ : *bĕzû*, እጅግ : *'ĕjĕg*
Heb. רַב
Bib. Aram. שַׂגִּיא
Ch. Pal. סגי
Jew. Pal. סגי, סגין
Syr. ܣܰܓܺܝ
Mod. Syr. ܪܒܳܐ *râbâ*
Man. נאפשא

In Amharic, Christian Palestinian, Modern Syriac, and usually in Mandaic, the words are invariable, and in Syriac it may remain without inflexion. Where singular and plural forms are distinguished, the singular denote ‘much’, the plural ‘many.’ These words have in most cases the position and construction of the descriptive adjective, but occasionally the Hebrew word precedes its noun, while in Aramaic there is a strong predilection for this position, and in Tigriña preposition is the rule. In some languages the words may be followed by a definite noun after a partitive preposition. e. g.,

Ass. *šarrâni mâdûtu* ‘many kings.’
Arab. مال كثير *mâluⁿ kathîruⁿ* ‘much property.’
كلاب كثيرون *kilâbiⁿ kathîrûna* } ‘many dogs.’
كثير من الكلاب *kathîruⁿ mina 'l-kilâbi* }
Eth. ኃጥኣን : ብዙኃን : *ḫâṭĕ'ân bĕzûhân* ‘many sinners.’
ብዙኅ : ሰብእ : *bĕzûḥ sab'ĕ* ‘much people.’

[1] Cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 31.

Ta. ብዙኅ ፡ ሰብ ፡ *bĕzûḫ sab* 'many people.'
ብዙኅ ፡ ግብሪ ፡ *bĕzûḫ gĕbrî* 'much work.'

Amh. ብዙ ፡ ሰው ፡ *bĕzû saṵ* } 'many men.'
እጅግ ፡ ሰዎች ፡ *'ĕjĕg saṵôč*

Heb. מִקְנֶה רַב 'much cattle.'
אֲנָשִׁים רַבִּים 'many men.'
רַבִּים מַכְאוֹבִים 'many pains' (Ps. 32, 10).

Syr. בִּסְרָא סַגִּיאָא ܒܣܪܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ 'much flesh.'
גֻּבְרֵא סַגִּיאֵא ܓܘܒܪܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ 'many men.'
סַגִּיאֵא זַבְנִין ܣܓܝܐܐ ܙܒܢܝܢ 'many times.'

Bib. Aram. מַתְּנָן רַבְרְבָן שַׁגִּיאָן 'many great gifts' (Dan. 2, 48).

Jew. Pal. כסף סגין 'much silver.'
סגין דבש 'much honeyy.'

Man. בישותא נאפשא 'much evil.'
שניא נאפשאתא 'many years.'
נאפשא נישמאתא 'many souls.'
נאפשא עקארא 'much honor.'

Mod. Syr. ܪܒܐ ܐܩܪܐ *râbâ îqârâ* 'much splendor.'
ܪܒܐ ܣܘܣܘܬܐ *râbâ sûsâṵâtê* } 'many horses.'
ܣܘܣܘܬܐ ܪܒܐ *sûsâṵâtê râbâ*

In Arabic the idea of 'many a' is expressed by رب *rubba* followed by an indefinite substantive in the genitive, or followed by a suffix and the noun in the accusative; this suffix is usually *-hu,* but it may agree with the following noun: e. g.,

رب رجل كريم *rubba rajuliⁿ karîmiⁿ* 'many a noble man.'
رب ورقاء هتوف *rubba ṵarqâ'a hatûfiⁿ* 'many a cooing dove.'
ربه امراة *rubba-hu 'mra'ataⁿ* } 'many a woman.'
ربها امراة *rubba-hâ 'mra'ataⁿ*
ربهم رجالا *rubba-hum rijâlaⁿ* 'many men.'

Other.

'Other' is expressed by various adjectives, many from the stem אחר, which in Arabic and Hebrew have the sense of 'another' in the indefinite state, and that of 'the other' in the definite state, e. g.,

Ass. *šanû*
Arab. اخر *'aḫaruⁿ*
Meh. *ǵâher*
Eth. ካልእ ፡ *kâlĕ'*, ባዕድ ፡ *bâ'ĕd*
Amh. ሌላ ፡ *lêlâ*
Heb. אַחֵר

Bib. Aram. אֲחָרָן
Ch. Pal. חורין
Jew. Pal. אוחרן
Syr. ܐܲܚܪܝܢ
Man. הורינא

These adjectives follow the construction of ordinary adjectives except in the case of Syriac, where it regularly precedes the noun, e. g.,

Arab. ملك اخر *maliku*ⁿ *'aḥaru*ⁿ 'another king.'
الملك الاخر *al-maliku 'l-'aharu* 'the other king.'
Heb. אִישׁ אַחֵר 'another man.'
הָאִישׁ הָאַחֵר 'the other man.'
אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים 'other gods.'
Eth. ካልእ : ብእሲ : *kâlĕ' bĕ'ĕsî* 'another man.'
እምባዕድ : ዘመድ : *'ĕm-bâ'ĕd zamad* 'of another tribe.'
Amh. ሌላ : ሰው : *lêlâ saṵ* 'another man.'
ሌሎች : አማልክት : *lêlôč 'amâlĕkt* 'other gods.
Syr. ܐܲܚܪܝܢ ܡܲܬܠܳܐ ܐܲܚܪܝܢ ܡܲܬܠܳܐ 'another parable.'

Various.

The idea of 'various, different kinds of' is sometimes expressed simply by repetition of the noun. So in Hebrew and some of the Aramaic dialects. In Hebrew and Samaritan the two nouns are connected by ו, in Syriac, Mandaic and Modern Syriac no connective is used; in Syriac and Mandaic the noun stands most frequently in the absolute state. e. g.,

Heb. אֶבֶן וָאָבֶן 'different weights' (Deut. 25, 13).
Sam. מכלה ומכלה 'different ephas.'
Syr. ܒܠܫܢ ܠܫܢ ܒܠܫܢ ܠܫܢ 'with various tongues.'
Mod. Syr. ܪܓܐ ܪܓܐ *rangâ rangâ* 'various colors.'
Man. דגאוניא גאוניא 'of various colors.'
זאן זאן 'various kinds.'

In Amharic this idea is usually expressed by the repetition of the adjectives ሌላ : and ልዩ :; a preposition is repeated before the second ሌላ : but stands only once before doubled ልዩ :. The noun seems to stand usually in the singular, tho the plural also occurs. e. g.,

ሌላ : ሌላ : / ልዩ : ልዩ : } አምላክ : { *lêla lêla* / *lĕiṵ lĕiṵ* } *'amlâk* 'various, different gods.
በሌላ : በሌላ : ደዌ : *ba-lêlâ ba-lêlâ daṵê* 'with various kinds of disease.'

በልዩ : ልዩ : ምት : *ba-lĕiû lĕiû môt* 'in different deaths.'
ልዩ : ልዩ : አራዊት : *lĕiû lĕiû 'arâuît* 'different kinds of animals.'

Similarly in Syriac repeated ܡܢܡ (מִדָּם), either with or without preceding preposition ܒ (בְּ), may be used in this sense as an attribute of a plural noun, which it regularly follows, e. g.,

ܥܠܠܬܐ ܕܡܕܡ ܡܕܡ ܡܕܡ 'various causes.'
ܡܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܕܡ ܡܕܡ 'various words.'

In Arabic and Syriac special adjectives have been developed for this idea, viz.,

Arab. مختلف *muḥtalifu*" متغاير *mutaǵâiiru*" مباين *mubâiinu*"
Syr. ܡܫܚܠܦ (מְשַׁחְלֵף); ܙܢܝܐ (זְנָנְיָא):

the noun stands in the plural, e. g.,

كتب متغايرة *kutubu*" *mutaǵâiiratu*" 'various books.'
من اصناف مختلفة *min 'açnâfi*" *muḥtalifati*" 'of various kinds.'
ܙܒܢܐ ܡܫܚܠܦܐ ܙܒܢܐ 'various times.'

In Arabic the idea may be expressed by انواع 'kinds' + the genitive, e. g.,

انواع الفواكه *'anuâ'u 'l-fauâkihi* '(various) kinds of fruit.'

Both.

'Both' is expressed in various ways. In Assyrian it is indicated by *kilallân, kilallên, kilallê* used as an adjective after the noun, e. g.,

ina çêlê kilallân 'on both sides.'
narâti kilallê 'both rivers.'

In Arabic it is expressed by the dual كلان *kilâni* in the construct before the dual of the noun with article, or it may stand after with the dual suffix, e. g.,

كلا الرجلين *kilâ 'r-rajulaini*
الرجلان كلاهما *ar-rajulâni kilâ-humâ* } 'both men.'

In a number of languages, perhaps in all, it may be expressed by the numeral 'two' + suffix in apposition either before or after the noun; in those languages which have a special definite form, as Hebrew, the noun takes the article: e. g.,

Eth. ክልኤሆን : እደዊሁ : *kĕlĕ'ê-hôn 'ĕdauî-hû* 'both his hands.'
Ta. እዙም : ደቀይ : ኸልቴኦም : *'ezôm daq-ai khĕltê-'ôm* 'both these children of mine.'
Syr. ܬܪܝܗܘܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܬܪܝܗܘܢ 'both the worlds.'
Heb. שְׁנֵיהֶם הַמְּלָכִים 'both the kings' (Dan. 11, 27).

Same, Self.

In many of the Semitic languages there is no special word for 'same', the simple demonstratives having this meaning.

In those languages which have special emphatic particles, at least[1] in Assyrian and Ethiopic[2] (cf. Adverbial Qualification below), these particles may be used with the demonstratives or a pronominal suffix or its equivalent, to express this meaning; in Ethiopic this is especially frequent with ከ.ዐ, which may also stand alone in this sense (cf. below): e. g.,

Ass. *ina šatti-ma šiâti* 'in that very, same year.'
ina ûmi-šu-ma 'on that same day.'

Eth. ከ.ዐ፯ መ : ፍኖተ : ፃሕውሩ : *kîi̯â-hâ-ma fĕnôta i̯aḥau̯ĕrû* 'they go the same way.'
ከ.ዐሃ : ክመ : መሥዋዕተ : *kîi̯â-hâ kĕma mašu̯â'ta* (acc.) 'the same sacrifice.'

In some of the languages special constructions have been developed to express this idea, tho they often express rather 'self' than 'same'.

In Ethiopic the emphatic pronouns formed by adding the suffixes to ለለ. and ከ.ዐ may stand before a noun in the sense of 'self, same,' ለለ. is used with a nominative, ከ.ዐ with an accusative: e. g.,

ለለ.ሃ : ፍኖትሙ : *lalî-hâ fĕnôt-ômû* 'their path itself.'
ከ.ዐሃ : ምድረ : *kîi̯â-hâ mĕdra* 'the land itself.'
ከ.ዐሁ : መንፈስ : *kîi̯â-hû manfasa* 'the same spirit.'

In Arabic these ideas may be expressed by ذات 'substance,' نفس 'soul,' or a similar word + suffix, standing as an appositive, or in a prepositional phrase introduced by ب after a definite noun, e. g.,

الكتاب بذاته *al-kitâbu bi-ðâti-hi* 'the book itself, the same book.'
جاء الرجل بنفسه (نفسه) *jâ'a 'r-rajulu bi-nafsi-hi* (or *nafsu-hu*) 'the man himself came.'

The idea of 'same' is sometimes expressed by ذات or a similar word as *nomen regens* before the noun, or by the pronoun of the 3. sg. standing in apposition to a noun modified by a demonstrative, e. g.,

ذات الرجل *ðâtu 'r-rajuli* 'the same man.'
على ذلك القدر هو *'alâ ðâlika 'l-qadri huu̯a* 'at the same [distance.']

In Biblical Hebrew in a few passages the noun עצם 'bone' occurs in the construct before a definite noun in the sense of 'same, self,' e. g.,

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[1] *Hû* is apparently not used in this way in Syriac (cf. below).
[2] Cf. Dill. *Lex. Aeth.* cols. 142, 722, 830, 869, 918, 919, 967.

בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה 'on this same day.'

כְּעֶצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם 'like the heaven itself.'

In one passage the plural of אחד is used for 'same,' viz.,

דְּבָרִים אֲחָדִים 'the same words' (Gen. 11, 1).

In Post-Biblical Hebrew עצם + suffix may stand as an appositive after a noun in the sense of 'self,' e. g.,

הַפְּרִי עַצְמוֹ 'the fruit itself.'

In Post-Biblical Hebrew, Samaritan, and Christian and Jewish Palestinian, את or ית + suffix is used before a definite noun in the sense of 'same' (cf. above p. 148).

In Western Aramaic, and in Post-Biblical Hebrew (here probably borrowed from Aramaic) a noun depending on a preposition may be given the added meaning of 'same' by the construction described p. 148 above.

In Syriac the idea of 'same' may be expressed by a repeated personal pronoun, independent or suffix, with ܒܝܕ between, used in apposition before the modified noun, e. g.,

ܗܘ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܟܝܢܐ 'the same nature.'

ܠܗ ܟܕ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܗ 'to his same disciple.'

ܒܗ ܟܕ ܒܗ ܒܪܟܒܬܐ 'in that same wagon.'

The idea of 'self'[1] in apposition to a noun is expressed by ܢܦܫ 'soul' or ܦܓܪܐ 'person' with suffix, e. g.,

ܡܠܟܐ ܢܦܫܗ 'the king himself.'

ܚܠܩܐ ܩܢܘܡܗ 'Fate itself.'

In Amharic[2] ባለቤት : 'master of the house' and ራስ : 'head,' in Tigre ዋስ : 'soul,' + suffix, are used as appositives in the sense of 'self,' e. g.,

Amh. ንጉሣቸው : ባለቤቱ : *nĕgûš-âčau bâlabêt-û* 'their king, himself.'

የሱስ : ራሱ : *i̯asûs râs-û* 'Jesus himself.'

Te. ዳዊት : ዋሱ : *dau̯ît nôs-û* 'David himself.'

Such.

'Such' is ordinarily expressed by some combination of the particle *ki*, *ka* 'as, like,' and a demonstrative pronoun; the Ethiopic form is sometimes preceded by the relative, the Syriac

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[1] נפש is also thus employed in other Aramaic dialects; in Jewish Palestinian גרם 'bone' also seems to occur in this construction.

[2] In Tigriña ባዕል : *bâ'l* 'lord' is apparently used in the same way, cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 160.

form is regularly so preceded; in Amharic the idea may be expressed by a relative clause consisting of the adverb 'thus' + relative + verb 'to be'; generally speaking the word for 'such' may precede or follow: e. g.,

Arab. رجل كهذا *rajulu*^{n} *ka-hâδâ*
Eth. ብእሲ : ከመዝ : *bĕ'ĕsî kama-zĕ*
ብእሲ : ዘከመዝ : *bĕ'ĕsî za-kama-zĕ*
Ta. ሰብ : ከምዚዉ : *sab kamzîu*
} 'such a man.'

Amh. እንዴህ : ያለውን : ማመን : *'ĕndêh i̯âlla-u̯-n*[1] *mâman* (acc.) 'such faith.'

Te. እብ : አክልእሊ : ገዓር : *'ĕb 'akĕl'ĕllî ga'âr* 'with such shrieks.'

Heb. כָּזֶה אִישׁ 'such a man' (Gen. 41, 38).

Bib. Aram. מִלָּה כִּדְנָה 'such a thing' (Dan. 2, 10).

Syr. דְּאַיְּךָ הָלֵין חַשָּׁא 'such pains.'
בַּדְּאַיְּךָ הָן סוּעֲרָנָא 'in such a deed.'
אַיְּךָ הָנָא פִּתְגָמָא 'such a thing.'
אוּלְצָנָא דְּאַיְּךָ הָלֵין 'such oppressions.'

In Modern Syriac the old demonstratives ܗܳܕܳܐ *hâdâ* ܗܳܕܳܐܟ *hâdâkh* and ܗܰܬܟܳܐ *hatkhâ* (prob. ܗܳܕܳܐ + ܬܟ = כֹּה) are used as adjectives before the noun in this meaning, e. g.,

ܗܳܕܳܐ ܢܳܫܳܐ *hâdâ 'nâšâ*
ܗܰܬܟܳܐ ܢܳܫܳܐ *hatkhâ 'nâšâ*
} 'such people.'

In Christian Palestinian the phrase דגנס הלין 'of the kind (γένος) of these' is used as an adjective in this sense; is seems usually to precede its noun: e. g.,

דגנס הלין אתיא 'such signs.'

Enough.

'Enough' is expressed in various ways.'[2]

In Arabic it is rendered by بالكفاية *bi'l-kifâi̯ati* 'in the sufficiency,' e. g.,

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[1] Cf. under Sentence Qualification below.

[2] In Modern Syriac it is expressed by ܒܰܣܳܐ *bassâ* used as an adjective after the noun (cf. Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 159); in Mehri by the verbal expression *i̯esedûd* 'it is enough' used attributively with the noun (cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 121): in Syriac ܟܰܕܽܘ ܡܶܢ and ܣܦܩ (סָפֵק) mean 'enough', but they do not seem to be used attributively: in Ethiopic the idea may be expressed by a relative clause with the verb አከለ : *'akkala* 'to suffice;' መጠን : *mai̯an* 'measure' + genitive also seems sometimes to have this meaning (cf. Dill. *Lex. Aeth.* col. 222): in Amharic the idea is expressed by የሚበቃ : *iamîbaqâ* 'which suffices' used as an adjective (cf. Isenb. *Amh. Dict.* I, 89; II, 75.)

مال بالكفاية *mâluⁿ bi'l-kifâiati* 'property enough.'

In Hebrew it is expressed by the noun דַּי 'sufficiency' in the construct before its noun, tho most of the examples that occur in Biblical Hebrew mean 'enough for,' e. g.,

דַּי שֶׂה 'enough for one sheep.'

דַּי חֲלַב עִזִּים 'enough goat's milk.'

(To be continued.)

Comparative Syntax of the Combinations formed by the Noun and its Modifiers in Semitic (Conclusion). — By

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Numeral Qualification.

Construction of Cardinals.

The Semitic numerals from 'three' to 'ten' possessed originally the peculiarity that feminine forms were used with masculine nouns, and masculine forms with feminine nouns. This reversed concord is preserved in most of the Semitic languages,[1] but in some either the feminine or the masculine forms have become the prevailing type. In Ethiopic, although the comparatively rare masculine forms are regularly used with feminine nouns, the feminine has become the usual form with all nouns, whatever the gender. In Tigriña and Amharic these cardinals (including 'two') have only one form, which is in Tigriña always feminine, in Amharic, feminine from 'two' to 'eight', 'nine' and 'ten' being masculine.[2] In Modern Syriac as spoken in the lowlands, the masculine form has been entirely lost, though the two sets of forms are still preserved in the dialect of Kurdistan. In Modern Palestinian Arabic the feminine forms are giving way to the masculine. In Modern Egyptian Arabic the masculine and feminine forms are used without distinction of gender. In the dialect of Tlemsen there seems to be only one series of forms, which are feminine, except 'one' 'two' and 'nine' which are masculine.[3]

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[1] So in Classical Arabic, Mineo-Sabean, Mehri (for exceptions cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 75), Hebrew, (for exceptions cf. Herner, *Synt. der Zahlwörter*, p. 7), Phenician, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, Christian and Jewish Palestinian, Malulan, Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic, and Mandaic; apparently also in Assyrian (cf. below). This peculiarity is not found in Egyptian and Coptic, where the numerals agree in gender with the noun; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 130 f.; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 86—89.

[2] Cf. Praet. *Äth. Gr.* p. 126; Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 216; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 202, 203.

[3] Cf. Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* pp. 150, 151; Bauer, *Pal. Arab.* p. 80; Spitta, *Arab. Vul. Aeg.* pp. 157, 158; Març. *Arab. Tl.* p. 155.

In Arabic the constructions of the cardinals may be divided into four classes.

a) واحد 'one' is an adjective and follows the rules of position and agreement of other adjectives, e. g.,

رجل واحد *rajulu*ⁿ *u̯âḥidu*ⁿ 'one man.'

اثنان 'two' is also sometimes rarely used as an adjective with the dual, e. g.,

رجلان اثنان *rajulâni 'ithnâni* 'two men,'

but usually the dual alone is sufficient.

b) The numerals 'three' to 'ten' take the modified noun in the plural; they may stand after it like adjectives, or before it in the construct state. The plural is regularly a broken plural if there is one, and in preference a *pluralis paucitatis.* The numeral agrees with the gender of the singular, and not with the feminine gender of the broken plural. e. g.,

بنون ثلاثة *banûna thalâthatu*ⁿ 'three sons.'

بنات اربع *banâtu*ⁿ *'arba'u*ⁿ 'four daughters.'

ثلاثة بنين *thalâthatu banîna* 'three sons.'

اربع بنات *'arba'u banâti*ⁿ 'four daughters.'

ثلاثة رجال *thalâthatu rijâli*ⁿ 'three men.'

Contrary to the regular rule these numerals are followed by the genitive singular (in poetry sometimes by the genitive plural) of the word for 'hundred,' e. g.,

ثلاث مائة *thalâthu mi'ati*ⁿ 'three hundred.'

c) The numbers from 'eleven' to 'ninety-nine' are followed by the noun in the accusative singular, e. g.,

ثلاثون رجلا *thalâthûna rajula*ⁿ 'thirty men.'

d) The 'hundreds' and 'thousands' are followed by the genitive singular, e. g.,

اربع مائة رجل *'arba'u mi'ati rajuli*ⁿ 'four hundred men.'

الف رجل *'alfu rajuli*ⁿ 'a thousand men.'

In compound numerals the construction of the modified noun is that demanded by the preceding adjacent numeral; the noun, however, may be repeated with each numeral. The intermediate numbers above 'one hundred' may stand after the noun like the numerals from 'three' to 'ten.' e. g.,

اربعة آلاف وسبع مائة واحدى واربعون سنة *'arba'atu âlâfi*ⁿ *u̯a-sab'u mi'ati*ⁿ *u̯a-'iḥdâ u̯a-'arba'ûna sanata*ⁿ '4741 years.'

ثلاثة آلاف وثلاثمائة واربع سنين *thalâthatu 'âlâfi*ⁿ *u̯a-thalâthu-mi'ati*ⁿ *u̯a-'arba'u sinîna* '3304 years.'

الفا الف دينار ومائة الف دينار واربعة واربعون الف دينار وثمانون دينارا *'alfâ 'alfi dînâri*ⁿ *ua-mi'atu 'alfi dînâri*ⁿ *ua-'arba'atu*ⁿ *ua-'arba'ûna 'alfa dînâri*ⁿ *ua-thamânûna dînâra*ⁿ '2,144,080 dinars.'

سمك كبير مائة وثلاثة وخمسون *samaku*ⁿ *kabîru*ⁿ *mi'atu*ⁿ *ua-thalâthatu*ⁿ *ua-ḫamsûna* 'large fishes, a hundred and fifty-three.'

In rare instances we find an accusative plural for a genitive after the numerals 'three' to 'ten'; an accusative plural for an accusative singular after the numerals 'eleven' to 'ninty-nine;' an accusative singular or genitive plural after the 'hundreds' and 'thousands:' e. g.,

خمسة اثوابا *ḫamsatu*ⁿ *'athuâba*ⁿ 'five pieces of cloth.'

اثنتى عشرة اسباطا *ithnataị ʿašrata 'asbâṭa*ⁿ 'twelve tribes.'

مائتين عاما *mi'ataịni* (acc.) *ʿâma*ⁿ 'two hundred years.'

ثلاث مائة سنين *thalâtha* (acc.) *mi'ati sinîna* 'three hundred years.'

In Modern Arabic the constructions of the numerals are the same as in the Classical language except in the following cases.

When the numeral 'two' is employed with a noun the latter regularly stands in the plural, rarely in the dual, e. g.,

Eg. Arab. اثنين اولاد *êtnên ûlâd* 'two children.'

اثنين بيوت *êtnên biịût* 'two houses.'

With the numerals from 2—10 the singular is sometimes found, e. g.,

Eg. Arab. ثلاثه قرش *telâte qirš* 'three piastres.'

اربعه جنيه *arbaʿa ginêh* 'four pounds.'

Any numeral may be placed after the noun in apposition, when the meaning is definite, the noun in this case standing in the plural. For examples cf. p. 212 below.

In Mineo-Sabean the numerals seem regularly to precede their noun. After 'two' the noun seems to stand in the dual; after the numbers from 3—100 (exclusive), in either singular or plural; after '100,' in the singular: the noun has in many cases the indefinite *-m* affixed. The numeral is probably sometimes in the construct, certainly so in the case of the forms of the 'tens' other than 'twenty' in ـى. e. g.,

احد ثور *'ḥd thur* 'one bull.'

ثنى معلينى *thnị mʿlịnị* (du.) 'two watch posts.'

ثنى نمرن *thnị nmrn* (du.) 'two panthers.'
شلث احلى *šlth 'ḥlị* (pl.) 'three ornaments.'
شلثة اذبحم *šltht 'ðbḥ-m* (pl.) 'three offerings.'
اربعة خسف *'rbʿt ḫsf* (sg.?) four *hasf*'s (a measure).'
خمسة الفم *ḫmst 'lf-m* (sg.) 'four thousands.'
سبع عشر امه *sbʿ ʿšr 'mh* (pl.) 'seventeen cubits.'
اربعة عشر امم *'rbʿt ʿšr 'm-m* (sg.) 'fourteen cubits.'
عشرى االفم *ʿšrị "lf-m* (pl.) 'twenty thousands.'
اربعى الفم *'rbʿị 'lf-m* (sg.) 'forty thousands.'
عشرى وماة اسدم *ʿšrị ụ-m't 'sd-m* (sg.) 'one hundred and twenty soldiers.'
ماتن اسدم *m'tn 'sd-m* 'two hundred soldiers.'

In Mehri the numerals from 'two' to 'ten' stand before the noun, which is regularly in the plural, tho the singular also occurs. The numerals from 'eleven' up take the noun after them in the singular. e. g.,

rbôt ụaịûten (m. sg. *ụaịâ*) 'four baskets.'
hôba aịenten (f. sg. *ạịn*) 'seven eyes.'
arba' šama' (sg.) 'four candles.'
ṯemantâšar haịbbît 'eighteen female-camels.'
aśrîn qarš 'twenty dollars.'

The numeral 'two', however, ordinarily stands after the dual in *-i*, e. g.,

qarši ṯru 'two dollars.'
jûnîti ṯrît 'two sacks.'

In Hebrew 'one' is an adjective, e. g.,

אִישׁ אֶחָד 'one man.'
אִשָּׁה אַחַת 'one woman.'

'Two' has been attracted to the construction of the numerals 'three' to 'ten' without, however, conforming to the reversed concord of gender. The numbers 'two' to 'ten' regularly take the object numbered in the plural;[1] they may stand either before or after it as adjectives, or before it in the construct. e. g.,

שְׁנֵי אֲנָשִׁים
שְׁנַיִם אֲנָשִׁים } 'two men.'
אֲנָשִׁים שְׁנַיִם

שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים
שְׁתַּיִם נָשִׁים } 'two women.'
נָשִׁים שְׁתַּיִם

[1] For the few cases in which the noun stands in the singular, cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 454 (§ 134 *e*).

שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים 'three days.'
שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים 'three sons.'
שְׁלֹשׁ עָרִים 'three cities.'
בָּנוֹת שָׁלֹשׁ 'three daughters.'

The numbers[1] from 'eleven' to 'nine-teen' usually take the plural, except with certain frequently counted nouns;[2] the numeral regularly precedes, but sometimes also follows, especially in later texts: e. g.,

אַחַד עָשָׂר בָּנִים 'eleven sons.'
שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר פָּרִים 'twelve bullocks.'
אֵילִם שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר 'twelve rams' (Nu. 7, 87).
אַחַד עָשָׂר יוֹם 'eleven days.'

The 'tens' may stand before or after the noun, which is regularly plural except in the case of certain frequently counted nouns[3] after the numeral, e. g.,

אַרְבָּעִים עָרִים 'forty cities.'
אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים 'twenty cubits.'
אֵילִם שִׁשִּׁים 'sixty rams.'
שְׁלֹשִׁים אִישׁ 'thirty men.'

Numbers intermediate between the 'tens' take the noun after them in the singular, even when the unit immediately precedes the noun, or before them in the plural, e. g.,

שִׁתִּים וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה 'sixty two years' (Gen. 5, 20).
שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁמֹנֶה שָׁנָה 'thirty-eight years' (Deut. 2, 14).
שָׁבֻעִים שִׁשִּׁים וּשְׁנַיִם 'sixty-two weeks' (Dan. 9, 26).

The various forms of the numerals 'hundred' and 'thousand' take the noun after them,[4] sometimes in the singular,[5] sometimes in the plural; all forms may stand in the absolute state,

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[1] For the use of singular and plural with the numbers above 'ten' cf. Hern. *Syn. Zahlw.* p. 90 ff.

[2] These are יוֹם *day*, שָׁנָה *year*, אִישׁ *man*, נֶפֶשׁ *person*, שֵׁבֶט *tribe*, מַצֵּבָה *pillar*, and less regularly in the singular, אַמָּה *cubit*, חֹדֶשׁ *month*, עִיר *city*, שֶׁקֶל *shekel*.

[3] These nouns are in most cases the same as those mentioned in the case of the 'teens,' viz., אִישׁ, יוֹם, נֶפֶשׁ, שֶׁקֶל, and אֶלֶף *thousand*, כֹּר (a certain measure).

[4] The noun, however, sometimes precedes as, e. g., צֹאן שְׁלֹשֶׁת־אֲלָפִים 3000 sheep' (I Sam. 25, 2).

[5] The nouns which stand in the singular are in general the same as those which are placed in the singular with the 'teens' and 'the tens', viz., אִישׁ, אֶלֶף, אַמָּה, יוֹם, שָׁנָה, כֹּר, שֶׁקֶל, and רַגְלִי *foot soldier*, צֶמֶד *yoke*, כִּכָּר *talent*; cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 454 (§ 134 *g*).

and some forms of both 'hundred' and 'thousand' may stand in the construct:[1] e. g.,

מֵאָה שָׁנָה מְאַת שָׁנָה	'a hundred years.'
אֶלֶף אִישׁ	'a thousand men.'
שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת אִישׁ	'six hundred men.'
מָאתַיִם לָחֶם	'two hundred (loaves of) bread.'
מֵאָה צִמּוּקִים	'a hundred bunches of raisins.'
שְׁלֹשׁ־מֵאוֹת שׁוּעָלִים	'three hundred foxes.'
אֶלֶף עִזִּים	'a thousand goats.'
שֵׁשֶׁת אֲלָפִים גְּמַלִּים	'six thousand camels.'

Numerals intermediate between the 'hundreds' and 'thousands,' when they follow the noun take it in the plural, when they precede the noun, it takes the form required by the immediately preceding numeral, e. g.,

יָמִים אֶלֶף מָאתַיִם וְתִשְׁעִים '1290 days.'

שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת וְשִׁשִּׁים וָשֵׁשׁ כִּכְּרֵי זָהָב '666 talents of gold.'

In the compound numerals made by addition, excepting the 'teens' the noun is often repeated with each numeral in the required form, as in Arabic, e. g.,

חָמֵשׁ שָׁנִים וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה '75 years.'

מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשָׁבַע שָׁנִים '127 years.'

In Phenician the noun modified by the numeral usually stands before it in the plural, tho some cases occur in which it is found after it in the singular, e. g.,

שענת עשר וארבע (pl.) 'fourteen years.'

לטים מאת (pl.) 'one hundred pounds.'

ששם שת (sg.) 'sixty years.'

In Jewish Palestinian and Samaritan 'one' is an adjective and follows the noun. The numerals 2—10 rarely stand before the noun in the construct, usually before or after the noun in apposition;[2] the noun stands in the plural. In Pal-

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[1] The forms that may stand in the construct are the singular of 'hundred' and the plural of 'thousand,' viz., מְאַת and אַלְפֵי: the form of the singular of 'thousand,' viz., אֶלֶף is indecisive, it may be either absolute or construct; probably one form was meant in some cases and the other in other cases. The other forms are always in the absolute, viz., מֵאוֹת, מָאתַיִם, אַלְפַּיִם. The form אַלְפֵי, however, is not used as a regular numeral, but only in the indefinite sense of 'thousands.'

[2] This statement is made by Winer, *Gram. Chal.*, but all his examples in which the numeral follows are taken from Biblical Aramaic, cf. p. 111.

estinian the higher numerals stand before the plural of the noun, tho they may be placed after in lists. In Samaritan the higher numerals stand before the noun, which is plural except in the case of certain nouns (about the same as those which stand in the singular with the 'teens' in Hebrew).[1] In Samaritan the 'hundreds' and 'thousands' take the singular. e. g.,

Jew. Pal. שבעה יומין 'seven days.'
חמשת עסר בנין 'fifteen sons.'
ארבעין סמכין 'forty sockets.'
עזי מאתן ותישיא עסרין ודכרי עסרין '200 she-goats, 20 he-goats, and 20 rams' (Gen. 32, 14).

Sam. שבעה יומין 'seven days.'
עסר שנין 'ten years.'
תורין תרין 'two bulls.'
תרי ברין 'two sons.'
תריעסר איש 'twelve men.'
שבעים תמרים 'seventy palm trees.'
ארבע מואן גבר 'four hundred men.'

In Biblical Aramaic 'one' is an adjective and follows the noun, which stands in the singular,[2] e. g.,

שְׁטַר חַד 'one side.'

The numerals from 'three' to 'ten' take the noun in the plural, except, as in Arabic, in the case of מְאָה 'hundred;' as in Arabic and Hebrew they may stand before or after the noun, before it usually in the construct state: e. g.,

שִׁבְעַת יֶעֲטֹהִי 'his seven councillors.'
אַרְבַּע רוּחֵי שְׁמַיָּא 'the four winds of heaven.'
גְּבְרִין תְּלָתָה 'three men.'
אַרְבַּע מְאָה 'four hundred.'
עַשְׂרָה מַלְכִין 'ten kings.'

The higher numerals also take the noun in the plural, but stand without exception as adjectives after the noun, e. g.,

יַרְחִין תְּרֵי עֲשַׂר 'twelve months.'
יוֹמִין תְּלָתִין 'thirty days.'
אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא מְאָה וְעֶשְׂרִין 'a hundred and twenty princes.'

The numerals are regularly used as adjectives in Syriac, Mandaic, Modern Syriac, and Malulan. In Syriac and Mandaic the numeral stands either before or after the noun, preposition being more common; in Modern Syriac and Malulan (apparently)

[1] Cf. p. 205, n. 2.

[2] There are no examples of 'two' modifying a noun.

it always precedes. Except with 'one' the noun stands generally speaking in the plural; in Mandaic, however, some instances of the singular are found, and in Malulan the singular is perhaps as common as the plural. In Malulan the original absolute form of the noun seems to be regularly used; in Syriac the absolute state is often found, but the emphatic is just as common; in Mandaic, the emphatic state is the usual form; in Modern Syriac it is the only form used. e. g.,

Syr. ܬܡܢܬܥܣܪ ܡܠܟܐ / ܬܡܢܬܥܣܪ ܡܠܟܝܢ } 'eighteen kings.'

Man. תרין מאלאכיא 'the two angels.'

שיתין ושאבא בנאתא '67 daughters.'

שובא דמי 'seven figures.'

Mal. *ṯlôṯâ gabrûn* 'three men.'

ṯlôṯâ yûm 'three days.'

Mod. Syr. ܐܝܡܐ ܐܢܫܐ *'imâ 'nâšâ* 'a hundred people.'

After compound numbers ending with 'one' in Syriac and Mandaic the singular may be used as well as the plural; e. g.,

Syr. (ܝܘܡܐ) ܚܕ ܝܘܡ (ܥܣܪܝܢ) ܥܣܪܝܢ וְחַד יום (יומא) עֶסְרִין 'twenty-one days.'

Man. (שידתא) בשובין וחדא שיתא 'in seventy-one years.'

The numeral 'thousand' is regularly followed in Mandaic by a genitive construction; in Syriac also it sometimes takes its noun after ܪܒܘ[1] e. g.,

Man. אלפא דשניא / אליף שניא } 'a thousand years.'

Syr. ܫܬܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܕܫܢܝܐ שְׁתָּא אַלְפִין דִּשְׁנַיָּא 'six thousand years'.

In Syriac the construct of the numeral is preserved in a few standing expressions, e. g.,

ܥܣܪܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ עֶסְרַת מְדִינָתָא 'the ten cities, Dekapolis.'

ܐܪܒܥܬ ܪܘܚܐ אַרְבַּעַת רוּחֵא 'the four winds.'

In the languages of the Abyssinian group also the adjectival construction has become the regular one. It is the only construction in Amharic and Tigriña, and the usual one in Ethiopic. The numeral regularly precedes the noun in all three languages. The reversed concord of gender, as we have seen, has been given up, except in comparatively rare instances in Ethiopic. With the numerals from 'two' upwards the rules for the concord of number are as follows. In Ethiopic

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[1] According to Maclean, in Modern Syriac ܪܒܘ *ribbû* '10,000', and sometimes ܐܠܦ take ܕ before their noun, cf. *Vern. Syr.* p. 67.

the noun stands most frequently in the singular tho the plural may also be used; in Tigriña either singular or plural may be used without distinction; Amharic follows in general the rule of Tigriña, but with the numerals from 'hundred' upwards the singular is more common, and with the lower numerals, living beings stand somewhat more frequently in the plural, things somewhat more frequently in the singular. e. g.,

Eth. ዐሠርቱ ፡ ወሠለስቱ ፡ አህጉር ፡ *'ašartû ṯa-šalastû 'ahgûr* 'thirteen cities.'
ምእት ፡ አባግዕ ፡ *mĕ'ĕt 'abâgĕ'* '100 sheep.'
ስድስቱ ፡ ምእት ፡ ብእሲ ፡ *sĕdĕstû mĕ'ĕt bĕ'ĕsî* '600 men.'
እልፍ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ *'ĕlf bĕ'ĕsî* '1000 men.'
ሠላስ ፡ አህጉር ፡ *šalâs 'ahgûr* 'three cities.'

Amh. ሁለት ፡ ዓይን ፡ *hûlat 'âiṇ* 'two eyes.'
ሁለት ፡ ሰይፎች ፡ *hûlat saiḟôč* 'two swords.'
ሶስት ፡ ሴቶች ፡ *sôst sêtôč* 'three women.'
መቶ ፡ ልጅ ፡ *matô lĕj* 'a hundred boys.'

Ta. ኃምሽቴ ፡ ቦቋል ፡ *ḫâmĕštê bôquâl* 'five sparrows.'
" አዕዋፍ ፡ *ḫâmĕštê 'a'ṯâf* 'five birds.'

In Ethiopic and Amharic the numeral may stand after the noun in the enumeration of chapters, &c., e. g.,

Eth. በዓመት ፡ ፮፻ ፡ *ba-'âmat 500* 'in the year five hundred.'
Amh. ምዕራፍ ፡ አንድ ፡ *mĕ'râf 'and* 'chapter one.'

Some relics of the ancient construction with numeral as nomen regens of a construct chain are found in Ethiopic in the case of those numerals which are without the suffix *û*, e. g.,

ኃምስተ ፡ ዕደው ፡ *ḫamĕsta 'ĕdaṯ* 'five men.'
ሰቡዐ ፡ ዕለት ፡ *sabû'a 'ĕlat* 'seven days.'

In Assyrian *êdu* may precede or follow its noun, *ištên* regularly precedes; 'two' takes the plural: e. g.,

êdu amêlu 'one man.'
edlu êdu 'one hero.'
ina ištên ûmi 'in one day.'
šinâ ûmê 'two days.'

The constructions of the other numerals are not entirely clear, as they are usually not written out, but the following points seem to be certain.

a) The numerals may stand in the construct or as an adjective before a following plural, the reversed concord of gender being apparently observed, e. g.,

ana irbitti šârê 'to the four winds.'
irbit naçmade 'team of four.'
šelalti ûmê 'three days.'

b) The numerals may follow the noun in the plural, the relation being apparently either adjectival or that of a construct chain; the reversed concord of gender is apparently not always observed: e. g.,

kibrât irbitti^{m}
kibrâti "
kibrât arba'i
kibrâti^{m} *arba'i*^{m} (genitive)
} 'the four regions.'

c) The higher numerals seem to take the noun in the singular, e. g.,

10,000 qaštu '10,000 bows.'

In parent Semitic,[1] therefore, the cardinals had in all probability the following constructions.

The first two were originally adjectives as is shown by their regular concord of gender. The remaining numerals might stand before the noun, governing it in a dependent case, or they might stand, before it or after it as an appositive or adjective.

The plural was probably always used whenever the noun preceded the numerals 'three' and upwards, or when it stood after them in the partitive genitive. The singular of the noun seems to have been used when the numeral governed the noun in the accusative, indicating that with respect to which the enumeration was made. Parent Semitic may have possessed a living dual like Arabic, in which case 'two' was probably not employed as a nominal modifier; but it is more

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[1] In Old Egyptian the cardinal ordinarily stands after the noun, which is usually in the plural; in the Pyramid texts the cardinal may stand in apposition before the noun; in New Egyptian the cardinal usually stands before the noun, to which it is joined by the genitive *n*: similarly in Coptic; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 130; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 88, 89. In Coptic the noun stands usually in the singular, as a special plural form is ordinarily not made, cf. Steind. *op. cit.* pp. 68—72.

In Indo-European the usual position of the numeral was before the noun (cf. p. 158, n. 2). Originally the numerals from 1—19 had the construction of adjectives, those from 20 up the construction of substantives; the adjectival construction gains on the substantive construction in the development of the individual languages; cf. Delbrück, *Verg. Syn.* I. pp. 521—535, espec. 522.

likely that originally 'two of anything' was indicated by the numeral adjective following a noun in the plural.

In general the lower numbers seem to have preferred a plural noun, the higher numbers, a singular noun.

The original status of the numerals has been best preserved in Arabic and Hebrew, and many traces of it are found in the other languages, but in the Aramaic and Ethiopic branches the numerals have passed over more or less completely to an adjectival construction. The common use of the genitive singular after the higher numbers, and the rare use of an accusative plural after certain numbers which we find in Arabic, are probably due to the mixing of the original constructions with genitive plural and accusative singular.

Determination of Cardinals.

The combination of noun and cardinal is made definite in those languages which distinguish between the definite and indefinite states of a noun, by the use of the definite article.

In Classical Arabic when the article is applied to the 'teens' it is used ordinarily only with the unit, tho it may stand with both; when it is applied to the numbers intermediate between the 'tens' it stands with both parts; when it is applied to multiples of 'hundred', it stands before the unit: in Egyptian Arabic it is used only once with the first part of a compound numeral: e. g.,

Cl. الثلاثة عشر *ath-thalâthata ʿašara* } 'the thirteen.'
الثلاثة العشر *ath-thalâthata 'l-ʿašara* }

السبعة والسبعون *as-sabʿatu ṯa-'s-sabʿûna* 'the seventy-seven.'

الثلاثمائة *ath-thalâthu-mi'ati*[n] 'the three hundred.'

Eg. الخمسه عشر *el-ḫamastâšar* 'the fifteen.'

الواحد وعشرين *el-ṯâḥid ṯe-ʿašrîn* 'the twenty-one.'

In Classical Arabic when the relation between the two is adjectival, both take the article, e. g.,

الرجل الواحد *ar-rajulu al-ṯâḥidu* 'the one man.'

الرجال الخمسة *ar-rijâlu al-ḫamsatu* 'the five men.'

When the two are joined in a construct chain, the article stands usually only with the *nomen rectum*, tho cases occur in which it stands before the *regens*, in which case the combination has become practically a compound,[1] e. g.,

[1] cf. Reck. *Syn. Verh.* p. 284.

خمسة الرجال *ḫamsatu 'r-rijâli* 'the five men.'
الف الرجال *'alfu 'r-rijâli* 'the thousand men.'
الثلاث ساعات *ath-thalâthu-sâ'âti*ⁿ 'the three hours.'

When the noun follows the numeral in the accusative, the article is used only with the numeral, e. g.,

التسعون رجلا *'at-tis'ûna rajula*ⁿ 'the ninety men.'
السبعة والسبعون جملا *'as-sab'atu ṵa-'s-sab'ûna jamala*ⁿ 'the seventy-seven camels.'
الثلاثة عشر جملا *'ath-thalâthatu 'ašara jamala*ⁿ 'the thirteen camels.'

In Modern Arabic when the numeral precedes it alone takes the article; when the noun comes first the article is used with both; the first construction is the usual one: e. g.,

Eg. Arab. الكراسى العشره *el-kerâsî el-'ašara* 'the ten chairs.'
البيوت الثلاثة وعشرين *el-biịût et-telâte ṵe-'ašrîn* 'the thirty-three houses.'
القروش الخمسين *el-qurûš el-ḫamsîn* 'the fifty piastres.'
الثمانيه فضه *et-tamânîịe faḍḍa* 'the eight piastres.'
الخمسه وعشرين حمار *el-ḫamsa ṵe-'ašrîn ḥumâr* 'the twenty-five asses.'
الاربعين صندوق *el-'arba'în çandûq* 'the forty chests.'
الالفه دينار *el-'alfe dînâr* 'the thousand dinars.'

In Mineo-Sabean the definite *-n* seems to be used sometimes with the noun alone, sometimes with both noun and numeral, e. g.,

اربع امن *'rb' 'm-n* 'the four cubits.'[1]
اربعتن وعشرنهن اصلمن *'rb't-n ṵ-'šrn-hn 'çlm-n* 'the four and twenty images.'

In Hebrew the article is regularly used only with the noun, whatever the construction, e. g.,

חֲמִשָּׁת הָאֲנָשִׁים 'the five men' (Jud. 18, 7).
אַרְבָּעִים הַיּוֹם 'the forty days.'
שְׁלֹשָׁה בְנֵי הָעֲנָק 'the three sons of Anak.'
הַמְּכֹנוֹת עָשָׂר 'the ten shrines.'

The first cardinal usually takes the construction of a

[1] This expression is translated simply 'four cubits' by Hommel, but the *n* of امن seems to be the definite article.

descriptive adjective, tho in a number of cases it stands without article like the other cardinals,[1] e. g.,

הַיָּם הָאֶחָד 'the one sea.'

הַכֶּבֶשׂ אֶחָד 'the one lamb.'

In Jewish Palestinian the definite state of the noun may be employed with the numeral, e. g.,

תרין נהוריא 'the two rivers.'

In Amharic, as with the descriptive adjective, the cardinal alone takes the definite article; in the case of numerals compounded by multiplication the definite article stands only with the first. The accusative —ን is used according to the rule for descriptive adjectives (cf. p. 166 f.). e. g.,

ሰባቱ : ከዋክብት : *sabât-û kaṯâkĕbt* 'the seven stars.'

አስራ : ሁለት : ወታደር : *'asrâ hûlat-û ṯatâdar* 'the twelve soldiers.'

አራቱ : መቶ : ሰዎች : *'arât-û matô saṯôč* 'the four hundred men.'

ሁለቱን : ገዛቾች : *hûlat-û-n gazâčôč* (acc.) 'the two blasphemers.'

In Syriac and Ethiopic and apparently also in Assyrian the determination may be expressed by adding the suffix of the third person to the numeral. In Syriac the suffix is plural and agrees in gender with the noun; in Ethiopic the suffix may stand in the plural agreeing in gender with the noun, or in the masculine singular.[2] e. g.,

Syr. ܬܠܬܝܗܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܪܥܝܢܐ } 'these three views.'
תְּלָתֵיהֵין הָלֵין הִרְסִים

ܬܪܝܗܘܢ ܥܠܡܐ 'the two worlds.'
תְּרֵיהוֹן עָלְמָא

ܚܡܫܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ 'the five kings.'
חַמְשָׁתֵיהוֹן מַלְכָּא

Eth. ሠለስቲሆሙ : ዕደው : *šalastî-hômû 'ĕdaṯ* 'the three men.'

ክልኤሆን : እደዊሁ : *kĕlĕ'ê-hôn 'ĕdaṯî-hû* 'his two hands.'

ሰብዓቲሁ : ሰማያት : *sab'atî-hû samâṯât* 'the seven heavens.'

ተስዓቲሁ : ሕዝብ : *tas'âtî-hû ḥĕzb* 'the nine tribes.'

Ass. *sibitti-šunu ilâni limnûti* 'the seven evil spirits.'

This construction is found also in Biblical Aramaic in one passage, viz.,

גְּבָרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ תְּלָתַהוֹן 'these three men' (Dan. 3, 23).

Many of the Aramaic dialects have developed a special form of the numeral to indicate the determination;[3] so in

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[1] cf. Hern. *Syn. Zahlw.* pp. 13, 14.

[2] The numerals above 'two' take an *î* before the suffixes just like a plural noun.

[3] For these determinate forms cf. Nöld. *Chr. Pal.* p. 483 f.; Dalm. *Jüd. Pal.* p. 129; Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.* p. 133 f.; Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 190; Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 154 f.

Christian and Jewish Palestinian, Modern Syriac, and to some extent also in Samaritan; in Mandaic, only the numeral 'two' has such a form. In Western Aramaic the modified noun has the definite form. e. g.,

Mod. Syr. ܬܪܘܝܐ ܝܘܡܢܐ *tiruâi iômânê* 'the two days, both days.'
ܐܪܒܥܢܬܐ ܟܠܬܐ *'arba'ntâi kâlâtê* 'the four daughters in law.'

Ch. Pal. ארבעתי רוחיא 'the four winds.'
חמישתא לחמא 'the five loaves.'

Sam. שבעתי מדבחיא 'the seven altars.'
עסרתי מליא 'the ten commandments.'

Ordinals.

Special forms for the ordinals usually occur only for the first ten numerals, in Modern Syriac only for the first two.[1] They are treated in general like ordinary adjectives in all the languages;[2] in Assyrian they may stand either before or after the noun, and in the Abyssinian languages they regularly precede. In those languages which distinguish between the definite and indefinite state of nouns, the noun modified by the ordinal is regularly treated as definite. e. g.,

Ass. *ina šanîti šanûti* 'the second time.'
ina šalši ûmi 'on the third day.'

Arab. البيت الاول *al-baitu al-'auualu* 'the first house.'
المراة الاولى *al-mar'atu al-'ûlâ* 'the first woman.'

Meh. *gaiên śôlit* 'the third boy.'

Heb. הַיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי 'the third day.'

Eth. በሣልስት ፡ ዕለት ፡ *ba-šâlĕst ʿĕlat* 'on the third day.'

Amh. ባራተኛው ፡ ዓመት ፡ *bârâtañâ-u ʿâmat* 'in the fourth year.'

Ta. ፡ አሠርቱ ፡ ስዓት ፡ *'ašartê sĕʿât* 'the tenth hour.'

Bib. Aram. חַיְוָתָא רְבִיעָיְתָא 'the fourth beast.'

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[1] In Assyrian, Ethiopic, Amharic, Arabic, Jewish Palestian, Syriac, and Mandaic ordinals occur for some of the numbers above 'ten', cf. Del. *Ass. Gr.* p. 213; Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 328; Praet. *Äth. Gr.* p. 131; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 205, 206; Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. pp. 261, 262; Dalm. *Jew. Pal.* pp. 131, 132; Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* p. 95 (§ 153); Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 192.

[2] In Egyptian and Coptic the ordinals may stand either before or after the noun; in Coptic the two are joined by the genitive sign *n*; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 131; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 90.

Sam. בר חמישאי 'the fifth son.'
ביומה תליתאה 'on the third day.'
Syr. ܬܪܝܢܐ ܝܘܡܐ 'the second day.'
Mod. Syr. ܣܡܐ ܩܡܐ *sâmâ qâmâ* 'the first part.'

In Modern Arabic, the masculine form of the ordinals may be followed by the genitive of their noun. In Classical Arabic اول 'first' has the same construction.[1] No article is used with the combination in Classical Arabic, and usually none in the Modern language. In Egyptian Arabic when the article is employed it stands before the ordinal, the whole combination being treated as one idea.[2] e. g.,

Cl. اول بيت *'aụụalu baịtiⁿ* 'the first house.'
Eg. اول مرة *aụụal marra* 'the first time.'
ثاني نابه *tânî nôba* 'the second time.'
ثالث يوم *tâlit ịôm* 'the third day.'
الثالث يوم *et-tâlit ịôm* 'the third day.'

Sometimes in those languages which possess a special definite form of the noun, the article may be omitted either wholly or partly. So in Hebrew with the noun or with both noun and ordinal:[3] in Amharic with the ordinal; in Amharic the ordinal in this case stands very frequently after the noun. This omission is especially frequent in the enumeration of days, chapters, or the like. e. g.,

Heb. יום שֵׁנִי 'day second' (Gen. 1, 8).
יום הַשִּׁשִּׁי 'day the sixth' (Gen. 1, 31).
Amh. በሶስተኛ ፡ ቀን ፡ *ba-sôstañâ qan* 'on the third day.'
ምዕራፍ ፡ ዘጠኛ ፡ *mĕ'râf zaṭanañâ* 'chapter ninth.'

The cardinals are frequently used for the ordinals, not only when the corresponding ordinal does not exist, but also often when the corresponding ordinal is in use. The cardinal may be used as an adjective, or it may stand in the genitive.

The first construction is found in Arabic, the Abyssinian languages, Hebrew, Jewish Palestinian, Samaritan, and Mandaic. In Arabic the cardinal follows the noun; in Ethiopic and Hebrew it may precede or follow; in Samaritan the noun usually follows either in the absolute or the emphatic state;

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[1] In Coptic likewise the first ordinal may stand in the construct before its noun; cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 90.

[2] To be contrasted with this is the Amharic construction of the ordinal 'first' as genitive to its noun (cf. p. 217).

[3] Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 428 (§ 126 *w*).

in Amharic, Tigriña, and Mandaic the cardinal regularly precedes. The noun is usually in the singular, but in Mandaic and in a few cases in Amharic the plural is used. In Arabic the cardinal takes the article like an ordinal; in Hebrew the article appears to be used with the cardinal after the noun.[1] e. g.,

Arab. البيت العشرون *al-baitu 'l-'išrûna* 'the 20th house.'

Eg. Arab. البيت الخمسة عشر *el-bêt el-ḫamastâšar* 'the 15th house.'

Eth. በምእት ፡ ወዐሠርቱ ፡ ዓመት ፡ *ba-mĕ'ĕt ṵa-'ašartû 'âmat* 'in the 110th year.'

በዓመት ፡ ዐሠርቱ ፡ ምእት ፡ *ba-'âmat 'ašartû mĕ'ĕt* 'in the year 1000.'

Heb. בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם 'on the seventeenth day.'

בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה 'on the fortieth day.'

עַד יוֹם הָאֶחָד וְעֶשְׂרִים 'on the twenty-first day.'

Sam. בשבעה עסר יום 'on the seventeenth day.'

בערבעים שנה 'in the fortieth year.'

בערבע עסרה שתה 'in the fourteenth year.'

Man. ביומא חדא 'on the first day.'[2]

בארבא יומיה 'on the fourth day.'

Amh. ባሥራ ፡ አንድ ፡ አመት ፡ *bâšrâ 'and 'amat* 'in the eleventh year.'

በአስራ ፡ ሁለት ፡ ቀን ፡ *ba'asrâ hûlat qan* 'on the twelfth day.'

በ፯ሺ ፡ ከ፪፻ ፡ ፹፩ ፡ ዘመናት ፡ *ba-7-šî ka-200, 81 zamanât* (pl.) 'in the 7281st year.'

Ta. ብአሠርት ፡ ሓዴ ፡ ስዓት ፡ *bĕ'ašart ḥâdê sĕ'ât* 'at the eleventh hour.'

The construction with cardinal in the genitive is found in Arabic, Classical and Modern, Hebrew, Phenician, Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, and Modern Syriac; no article is employed except sometimes in Hebrew: e. g.,

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[1] Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 456 (§ 134*o*).

[2] In all the examples given by Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 348 f., except this one, the numeral precedes and the noun has the plural form as in the second example. With this plural is to be compared the plural which is occasionally found in Amharic; cf. last example here and Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 329 (top).

Arab. في سنة الف من الهجرة *fî sanati 'alfin mina 'l-hijrati* 'in the year 1000 of the Hejira.'

Eg. Arab. عربية ثلاثين *'arabîiet telâtîn* 'the 30th wagon, wagon No. 30.'

Heb.[1] בִּשְׁנַת שְׁלֹשׁ 'in the third year.'

שְׁנַת הַשָּׁבַע 'the seventh year.'

Ph. בשנת עשר וארבע 'in the 14th year.'

Bib. Aram. עַד שְׁנַת תַּרְתֵּין 'until the second year.'

Syr. ܝܘܡܐ ܕܬܪܝܢ 'the second day.'

ܥܕܡܐ ܠܫܢܬ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ 'until the 420th year.'

Mod. Syr. ܝܘܡܐ ܕܬܪܝܢ *iûmâ de-trâi* 'the second day.'

In Hebrew in a few passages an ordinal with article is used in the genitive after a noun, the ordinal agreeing with the noun in gender. Here we have a mixing of the regular construction of the ordinal with the construction just described, e. g.,

בִּשְׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית 'in the ninth year' (2 Ki. 17, 6).

Similar, tho not directly allied with this, is the Amharic construction by which the ordinal 'first' is placed in the genitive after its noun (cf. p. 169 above), e. g.,

የፊተኛው ፡ ሰው ፡ *ya-fîtañâ-ü saü* 'the first man.'

Nominal Qualification.

Construct Chain.

The representation of a genitive relation between two nouns by what is called a construct chain is one of the most characteristic and primitive features of Semitic speech.[2] It is found in all the branches of the family but not to the same extent

[1] In expressions in which the cardinals stand in the sense of ordinals after יום, e. g., יום אֶחָד Gen. 1, 5; בְּיום שְׁמוֹנֶה 2 Chr. 29, 17, it is not impossible to consider the cardinal a genitive as here: but it is also possible to consider it an adjective as in the preceding case.

[2] The construct chain is found also in Egyptian and Coptic. In Egyptian the relation between the two nouns is not so close as in Semitic, as they may be separated by other words; in Coptic this construction has in most cases given way to the one with genitive sign *n*: cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 115; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 79, 82, 83, 89, 90. It occurs moreover in Malay and Javanese; cf. A. Seidel, *Prakt. Gram. d. Malayischen Spr.* (Hartleben) p. 19; H. Bohatta, *Prakt. Gram d. Javanischen Spr.* (Hartleben) p. 32.

in all. It is the regular rule in Arabic, Mineo-Sabean, and Hebrew; in Assyrian, Ethiopic, Amharic, Tigriña, Tigre, Phenician, and Aramaic, and in Modern Arabic and Mishnic Hebrew, it is more or less completely replaced by other constructions; in the Eastern Aramaic dialects the use of the construct is more restricted than in the Western, and in Malulan, Modern Syriac, and Amharic it has been practically lost, occurring only in a few standing expressions.[1] The two words of the construct chain form one idea, and cannot be separated by another word except in certain special cases.[2] The first word loses its primary accent, and usually suffers a modification in form. The second word stands logically in the genitive, but it is only in Assyrian and Arabic that it is also genitive in form; in the other languages it is the same as the nominative. In those languages which have developed a determinate form of the noun, this combination is made definite by using the second noun in this form; the first noun can never take the determinate form, except in certain cases in Arabic.[3] In those languages which do not distinguish between definite and indefinite nouns (including the Eastern Aramaic dialects), the combination may be either definite or indefinite. When the combination is definite, both nouns are definite. It is not possible to combine an indefinite *regens* with a definite *rectum*

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[1] Cf. Parisot, *Dial. Mal.* p. 506; Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 117 ff.; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 195, 196.

[2] This is almost the only species of nominal compound known to Semitic, tho even here no real compound is formed save in exceptional cases (cf. pp. 211 f., 219, 220; also Phil. *Stat. Con.* pp. 44—54; Del. *Ass. Gr.* p. 202 f.) A second kind of compound is found in Assyrian, and consists of noun + adjective, e. g., *šêp arik* 'long foot (a bird)', *libbu rapšu* 'great-hearted.' These compounds are equivalent in meaning to adjective + noun in the genitive, such as *rapša uzni* 'far reaching of mind.' Delitzsch explains the noun before the adjective as an accusative dependent on the adjective, e. g., 'long with respect to foot' (cf. *Ass. Gr.* p. 203), but it is not impossible that these formations may be possessive compounds like the Sanskrit *bahuvrihis*, viz., 'having a long foot,' etc. (cf. W. D. Whitney, *A Sanskrit Grammar* 3rd ed, Leipzig and Boston, 1896, pp. 501—511). With the paucity of nominal compounds in Semitic is to be contrasted the exuberance of such formations in the Indo-European languages, particularly in Sanskrit; cf. Delb. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 200—215, 217—220; Whitney, *op. cit.*, pp. 485—515.

[3] For cases in Hebrew in which the article seems to stand with a construct cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 431, 432 (§ 127 f, g).

or vice versa, these combinations must be effected with the help of the prepositional phrases described below (p. 225 ff.). e. g.,

Ass. *bâb bîti* 'a house-door, the door of the house.'
bêl ilâni 'the lord of the gods.'

Arab. بنت ملك *bintu maliki*ⁿ 'a king's daughter, a princess.'
بنت الملك *bintu 'l-maliki* 'the king's daughter.'

Min. بيت ملكن *bi̯t mik-n* 'the king's house.'

Eth. ወልደ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ *u̯alda nĕgûš* 'a, the king's son.'

Ta. ቃል ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ *qâl 'ĕgzî'abḥêr* 'the word of God.'

Te. ወድ ፡ ረቢ ፡ *u̯ad rabbî* 'son of God.'
አብላ ፡ ወለት ፡ *'ab-lâ*[1] *u̯alat* 'the father of the girl.'

Heb. בַּת מֶלֶךְ 'a king's daughter.'
בַּת הַמֶּלֶךְ 'the king's daughter.'

Ph. מלך הארץ 'the king of the land.'

Bib. Aram. לְבַב אֱנָשׁ 'a man's heart.'
בֵּית מַלְכָּא 'the king's house.'

Syr. כְּסַף זַאפָא ܟܣܦ ܙܐܦܐ 'false money.'
רוּח קוּדְשָׁא ܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ 'the Holy Spirit.'

When the second noun of the chain is a proper name or a noun with a possessive suffix, the combination is necessarily definite, e. g.,

Heb. בֶּן־דָּוִד 'the son of David, David's son.'
אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתַי 'the gods of my fathers.'

The second noun may also be made definite by a following definite genitive, e. g.,

Heb. יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיֶּיךָ 'the days of the years of thy life.'

Arab. على قتل رسول الله *'alâ qatli rasûli 'llâhi* 'for killing the apostle of God.'

In Arabic an adjective[2] modifying a definite noun, and hence with article, may stand in the construct before a noun indicating with respect to what, e. g.,

الرجل الحسن الوجه *ar-rajulu 'l-ḥasanu 'l-u̯ajhi* 'the man of the beautiful countenance.'

Here, however, the combination حسن الوجه *ḥasanu 'l-u̯ajhi*

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[1] The article *la, lâ* is regularly written as one word with the construct, tho of course it belongs to the second noun; cf. Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 300.

[2] Strictly speaking the properties of adjectives and participles do not come under the head of the present discussion, but these points are added here for the sake of completeness.

is treated as if it were a simple adjective, taking the article according to rule after a definite noun.

An Arabic participle[1] followed by a genitive may also take the article, e. g.,

القاتل الناس *al-qâtilu 'n-nâsi* 'he who kills people.'

This, however, is probably due to a mixture of constructions. A participle may take its object in either genitive or accusative, and before the accusative object, of course, the article is admissible with the participle, viz.,

(a) *qâtilu 'n-nâsi* (gen.)
(b) *qâtilu^{n} 'n-nâsa* (acc.)
(c) *al-qâtilu 'n-nâsa* (acc.)

The anomalous construction *al-qâtilu 'n-nâsi* is due to a confusion of (a) and (c).

In Modern Arabic[2] and Tigre certain construct chains have come to be regarded as one word, and so may take the article before the first element,[3] e. g.,

Eg. Arab. الماورد *el-mâ-ward* 'the rose water.'

Te. ለበዓል ፡ ቤት ፡ *la-ba'âl-bêt* 'the master of the house.'

Under ordinary circumstances a proper name can not stand as the first member of a construct chain, but in Arabic and Hebrew a genitive is sometimes added to a proper name in order to distinguish between persons, places, etc. with the same name, the proper name becoming, for the time being, common;[4] e. g.,

Arab. ربيع الفرس *rabi'u 'l-farasi* 'Rabia of the horse.'

حيرة النعمن *ḥîratu 'n-nu'mâna* 'Hira (capital city) of Numan.'

Heb. בֵּית לֶחֶם יְהוּדָה 'Bethlehem in Judah.'

In Ethiopic and Syriac such expressions are regularly rendered by the cirumlocution with the relative (cf. pp. 226, 230 f.).

In certain cases the two nouns of the construct chain do not stand in immediate juxtaposition.

In Arabic, Syriac, and Tigriña certain particles or parenthetical expressions may intervene between them;[5] e. g.,

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[1] Cf. n. 2 of pag. 219.

[2] Cf. also article which compound numerals p. 211.

[3] For apparent cases in Hebrew cf. Phil. *Stat. Con.* p. 49.

[4] In this case Coptic employs the genitive case sign *ente*, cf. p. 151. n. 2.

[5] For cases in which the construct chain is apparently broken in Hebrew cf. Phil. *Stat. Con.* p. 9 f.; Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 435 (§ 128 e).

Arab. ان الشاة تسمع صوت والله ربه *'inna 'š-šâta tasma'u çauta, ua-'llâhi, rabbihi* 'the sheep hears the voice, by God, of its master.'

Syr. בְּנֵי דַּיִן בַּלְהָא 'the sons, indeed, of Bala.'
דִּבְנֵי אִנּוּן זַדִּיקָא 'that they are the sons of the righteous.'

Ta. ብመንፈስን ፡ ብኃይልን ፡ ኤልያስ ፡ *bĕ-manfas-ĕn bĕ-ḫâil-ĕn 'êlĕiâs* 'in the spirit and in the power of Elias.'

In Ethiopic certain modifiers of the genitive, particularly the demonstratives and ዘሁ ፡ may stand between genitive and construct, e. g.,

ኆኋተ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ቤት ፡ *ḫôḫta uĕ'ĕtû bêt* 'the door of that house.'
ንጉሠ ፡ ዘኀ ፡ ምድር ፡ *nĕgûša kuĕllâ mĕdr* 'the king of the whole land.'

When two nouns are modified by the same genitive it is possible to form a construct chain by placing the two nouns in the construct state connected by 'and' and following them with the genitive. In Ethiopic in this case only the second noun has the construct form, the first standing in the absolute: such a construction is, however, comparatively rare, a circumlocution being ordinarily employed. e. g.,

Arab. قطع الله يد ورجل من فعل هذا *qaṭa'a 'llâhu iada ua-rijla man fa'ala hâδâ* 'God cut off the hand and foot of him who did this.'

Eth. ነገድ ፡ ወሕዝበ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ *nagad ua-hĕzba 'ĕsrâ'êl* 'the tribes and people of Israel.'

Heb. מִבְחַר וְטוּב לְבָנוֹן 'the choicest and best of Lebanon.'

Syr. ܟܬܒܝ ܘܩܪܝܝ ܫܡܗܝܗܘܢ כְּתָבֵי וְקָרֵי שְׁמָהֵיהוֹן 'those who write and read their own names.'

The circumlocutions which are usually employed to express this combination are of several kinds, viz.:

a) the genitive may be used with both nouns;
b) the genitive may be used with the first noun and the second noun take a suffix representing the genitive;
c) one of the other means of expressing the genitive may be employed (cf. pp. 225—238). e. g.,

a) Eth. ነገደ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ወሕዝበ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ *nagada 'ĕsrâ'êl ua-ḫĕzba 'ĕsrâ'êl* 'the tribes and people of Israel.'

b) Arab. سيف زيد ورمحه *saifu zaidi ua-rumḥu-hu* 'Zaid's sword and spear.'

Eth. ነገደ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ወሕዝቡ ፡ } 'the tribes and people of
nagada 'ĕsrâ'êl ṵa-ḥĕzb-û } Israel.'

Heb. אֶל־תְּפִלַּת עַבְדְּךָ וְאֶל־תְּחִנָּתוֹ 'to the prayer and supplication of thy servant.' (1 Ki. 8, 28)

When one noun is modified by two genitives, the combination is quite frequently expressed by a construct chain, the modified noun standing in the construct state and the two other nouns following the genitive connected by 'and'; e. g.,

Ass. *êkal šamê u erçiti*^{m} 'the temple of heaven and earth.'

Arab. سلطان البر والبحر *sulṭânu 'l-barri ṵa-'l-baḥri* } 'Sultan of the land and sea.'

Heb. שָׂרֵי הָאֲלָפִים וְהַמֵּאוֹת 'the captains of thousands and hundreds' (Nu. 31, 54).

Eth. አምላከ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወምድር ፡ } 'the God of heaven and earth.'
'amlâka samâi̯ ṵa-mĕdr }

This combination may also be expressed in several other ways, viz.:

a) the *nomen regens* may be repeated before each genitive;

b) the *nomen regens* and the first of the modifying nouns may form a construct chain, and the second stand after a particle indicating the genitive;

c) the genitive of both nouns may be indicated by such a particle: e. g.,

a) Heb. אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וַאלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ 'the God of heaven and earth.'

b) Eth. መዝገብተ ፡ ፀሓይ ፡ ወዘወርኃ ፡ } 'the treasuries of the
mazâgĕbta ḍaḥâi̯ ṵa-za-ṵarḥ } sun and moon.'

c) Ass. *ilâni ša šamê u erçiti*^{m} 'the gods of heaven and earth.'

Eth. ኖሎት ፡ ዘሎጥ ፡ ወዘአብራም ፡ } 'the shepherds of Lot
nôlôt za-lôṭ ṵa-za-'abrâm } and Abraham.'

The plural of the idea expressed by a construct chain is indicated sometimes by pluralizing the construct, sometimes by pluralizing the genitive, and sometimes by pluralizing both, e. g.,

Assyr. *bît nakamâti* 'treasure houses.'
abnê nisiqti^{m} 'precious stones.'

Eth. አራዊተ ፡ ምድር ፡ *'araṵîta mĕdr* 'wild animals (animals of the land).'

ዕጹመ ፡ ገበዋት ፡ *'açma gabaṵât* 'ribs (bones of the side).'

አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ *'abi̯âta krĕstîi̯ânât* churches (houses of Christians).'

Heb. בְּנֵי יְמִינִי 'Benjamites.'
בֵּית אָבוֹת 'families (fathers' houses).'
גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל 'heroes of valor.'
Syr. בֵּית קְבוּרָא ܒܝܬ ܩܒܘܪܐ 'graves (houses of burial).'
בְּנָת קָלָא ܒܢܬ ܩܠܐ 'words (daughters of the voice).'

When the *nomen regens* of a construct chain is logically modified by a possessive adjective idea, if the possessive suffix is used, it must stand with the *rectum* and not with the *regens*, e. g.,

Arab. كأس فضته *ka'su fiḍḍati-hi* 'his silver cup.'
Eth. ንዋየ : ሐፍልከ : *nĕuậia ḥaqlĕ-ka* 'thy field-instrument, weapon.'
Te. ወ·ላ·ድ : ደ·ረ·ሳ·ሁ· : *ŭĕlâd darasâ-hû* 'his disciples (children of his teaching).'
Heb. הַר קָדְשִׁי 'my holy mountain.'
Jew. Pal. בעלי דבביכון 'your enemies (possessors of enmity).'
Sam. אד ימינה (ה suffix) 'his right hand.'

When the *nomen regens* is modified by a descriptive adjective[1] the adjective stands after the *rectum* in Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic; in Ethiopic it may stand either before the *regens* or after the *rectum*. In Assyrian the adjective either precedes the regens, or the circumlocution with *ša* is used. When the construct chain is definite, the adjective has the definite form in those languages which distinguish between definite and indefinite. e. g.

Arab. بنت ملك جميلة *bintu maliki*^{n} *jamîlatu*^{n} 'a beautiful princess (king's daughter).'
بيت الملك الواسع *baiṭu 'l-maliki 'l-ŭâsĭu* 'the spacious palace (king's house).'
Heb. עֲטֶרֶת זָהָב גְּדוֹלָה 'a great crown of gold.'
מַעֲשֵׂה יהוה הַגָּדֹל 'the great work of JHVH.'
Bib. Aram. בֵּית אֱלָהָא רַבָּא 'the great temple.'[2]
Sam. באלפן קשטך רבה 'in the great law of thy truth (thy great and true law).'

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[1] In Coptic when the *nomen regens* of a genitive combination is modified by an adjective or another genitive, this additional modifier is added after the genitive sign *ente*, cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 81.

[2] Altho this passage, Ezra 5, 8 is usually translated 'the temple of the great God,' [so A. Bertholet, *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemiah* (= Abt. XIX of Marti's Kurzer Handc. zum AT.) Tübingen & Leipzig, 1902, p. 21] the similar phrase בֵּית אֱלָהָא דְנָה 'this temple' makes the connection of רבא with בית not unlikely.

Eth. ዐቢይ : ዕጹይ : ወይን : *ʿabîi̯ ʿaçada u̯ai̯n* / ዕጹይ : ወይን : ዐቢይ : *ʿaçada u̯ai̯n ʿabîi̯* 'a great vinyard (garden of wine).'

Ass. *rapšâti matâti Nairi* 'the broad lands of Nairi.'

Ambiguity sometimes arises in this construction from the fact that the adjective may in many cases be referred to either *nomen regens* or *nomen rectum.* In Classical Arabic ordinarily no ambiguity is possible on account of the case endings; in Modern Arabic and the other languages the ambiguity may be prevented by using some circumlocution for the construct chain (cf. pp. 225—238). These circumlocutions are employed even in those languages which have the property of placing the adjective before the construct. e. g.,

Cl. Arab. باب بيت كبير { *bâbu bai̯tiⁿ kabîruⁿ* 'a large house-door.' / *bâbu bai̯tiⁿ kabîriⁿ* 'a door of a large house.'

Eg. Arab. باب البيت الكبير *bâb el-bêt el-kebîr* { 'the large door of the house.' / 'the door of the large house.'

الباب الكبير بتاع البيت *el-bâb el-kebîr betâʿ el-bêt* 'the large door of the house.'

Heb. בֶּן־הָאִישׁ הַטּוֹב { 'the son of the good man.' / 'the man's good son.'

הַבֵּן הַטּוֹב אֲשֶׁר לָאִישׁ 'the man's good son.'

Ass. *šangû çîru ša Bêl* 'high-priest of Bel.'

namçaru zaqṭu ša epêš taḫâzi 'the sharp battle-sword.'

Eth. በዕለት : ዐቢይ : እንተ : ዝኑ : *ba-ʿĕlat ʿabâi̯ ʾĕnta kuĕnanê* 'on the great day of judgment.'

When the *nomen regens* is modified by a demonstrative, the demonstrative has in general the same position as the adjective, tho in Ethiopic it stands more frequently before the *regens.* The article required by the demonstrative is taken of course by the *rectum*: in Hebrew the demonstrative itself has the article, as it has after a simple definite noun; on the other hand the Samaritan demonstrative is without the prefixed ה which it takes when modifying a simple noun. e. g.,

Arab. بيت الملك هذا *bai̯tu ʾl-maliki hâðâ* 'this palace (king's house).'

Heb. אִישׁ־הַבְּלִיַּעַל הַזֶּה 'this good-for-nothing man (man of no account).'

Bib. Aram. בֵּית־אֱלָהָא דְנָה 'this temple (house of god).'

Sam. משרי אלהים דן 'this camp of God.'

Eth. ዝንቱ : ዐጸደ : ወይን : *zĕntû 'açada ṯaiṇ* 'this vinyard.'
ውስተ : ሀገረ : ኢያቡሲዎን : ዛቲ : *ṯĕsta hagara 'iyâbûsê-ṯôn zâtî* 'in this city of the Jebusites' (or 'the city of the J. here').

Prepositional Phrases.

Case relations between nouns may also be denoted by prepositions, the noun and following prepositional phrase being often equivalent in meaning to a construct chain. These prepositional phrases, in the course of the development of the Semitic languages, have encroached more and more upon the domain of the construct chain,[1] until in some of the modern dialects, viz., Amharic and Modern Syriac, they have driven it entirely from the field.

The principal prepositions that are used in this way are, viz.:

a) prepositions derived from the relative pronouns;
b) prepositions derived from nouns meaning property, possession and the like;
c) prepositions indicating a dative;
d) prepositions indicating a partitive genitive;
e) other prepositions, which play a comparatively insignificant role.

These phrases are in many cases the exact equivalent of the genitive in a construct chain. This is true not only of those languages in which the construct chain is obsolete or obsolescent, but also to some extent in those languages in which it exists in full vigor. In these latter languages, however, they are usually employed only when for some reason the construct chain is awkward or inadmissable.

(*a*)

The first class of prepositions is found in Assyrian, Ethiopic, Amharic, Mineo-Sabean, Meḥri, Phenician, and Aramaic.

[1] Cf. p. 218, n. 1. In Coptic the genitive sign *n* is employed not only to indicate a genitive but also to connect noun and attributive adjective, cardinal, or ordinal; cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 83, 89, 90. Similarly the so-called ligatures in the Philippine languages are employed both in genitive and adjectival relations; cf. my article *The Tagalog Ligature and Analogies in other Languages* JAOS, vol. l. c., 1908, pp. 227—231.

In Assyrian the relative *ša* + dependent noun may be employed as follows:

a) as the exact equivalent of the genitive in a construct chain, with or without suffix on the *nomen regens*, referring to the genitive, e. g.,

ina çilli ša Uramazda 'in the protection of Ahuramazda.'

mutu ša aššati / *mussu ša aššati* } 'the woman's husband.'

ilâni šût šamê erciti$_m$ 'the gods of heaven and earth.'

b) necessarily for the simple genitive when the *nomen regens* is modified by a possessive suffix, following adjective or other modifier, e. g.,

andulla-šunu ša šalâme 'their safe protection (protection of safety).'

šangû çîru ša Bêl 'high-priest of Bel.'

šarrâni kalî-šunu ša Nairi 'all the kings of Nairi.'

c) for emphasis at the beginning of a sentence with retrospective suffix on the following dependent noun, e. g.,

ša NN . . . . . *abikta-šu aštakan* 'of so and so . . . . I accomplished the defeat.'

ša ^{mat} *Madaa mandatta-šunu amḫur* 'of Media . . . . I received the tribute.'

In Ethiopic the relative pronoun is usually employed in the masculine form ዘ-; the position of the phrase is entirely free, it may stand either before or after the modified noun, and it may be separated from it by other words.

These phrases may be used as the exact equivalent of the genitive in the construct chain, e. g.,

ወልድ ፡ ዘንጉሥ ፡ *ṵald za-nĕguš* 'the king's son.'

ዕለት ፡ እንተ ፡ ዙኑ ፡ *'ĕlat 'ĕnta kuĕnanê* 'the day of judgment.'

Usually, however, they are employed when for one reason or another the construct chain is ambiguous or impossible, viz.:

a) after proper names which cannot stand in the construct state, e. g.,

ቤት ፡ ልሔም ፡ ዘይሁዳ ፡ *bêta lĕḥêm za-ỵĕhûdâ* 'Bethlehem in Judah.'

b) after words ending in a long vowel that have no special construct form, and after an accusative, e. g.,

ምሳሌ ፡ ዘክርዳይ ፡ ገራህት ፡ *mĕsâlê za-kĕrdâda garâht* 'the parable of the weed of the field.'

ቀተለ ፡ ሕፃናት ፡ ዘቤተ ፡ ልሔም ፡ *qatala ḥĕḏânâta za-bêta lĕ-hêm* 'he killed the children of Bethlehem.'

c) when the *nomen regens* is modified by a suffix, or following adjective or other modifier, e. g.,

ደምየ ፡ ዘሐዲስ ፡ ሥርዐት ፡ *damĕ-i̯a za-ḥadîs šĕrʿat* 'my blood of the new covenant.'

በዕለት ፡ ዐባይ ፡ ዘፍሥሓ ፡ *ba-ʿĕlat ʿabâi̯ za-kuĕnanê* 'on the great day of judgment.'

ምሠዋዖ ፡ ለበዓል ፡ ዘአቡከ ፡ *mĕšu̯âʿ-ô la-baʿâl za-ʾabû-ka* 'the Baal-altar of your father.'

d) to avoid a long succession of construct states, e. g.,

ኮሰ ፡ ሐቅል ፡ ዘወልድኪ ፡ *kôla ḫaql za-u̯aldĕ-kî* 'thy son's mandrakes.'

e) when a noun is modified by more than one genitive; in this case the governing noun may stand in the construct before the first dependent noun, and the second may take ዘ, or the governing noun may stand in the absolute form, both dependent nouns taking ዘ: e. g.,

መዛግብተ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ወዘወርኃ ፡ *mazâgĕbta ḍaḥai̯ u̯a-za-u̯arḫ* 'the treasuries of the sun and moon.'

ኖሎት ፡ ዘሎጥ ፡ ወዘአብራም ፡ *nôlôt za-lôṭ u̯a-za-ʾabrâm* 'the herdsmen of Lot and Abram.'

In Amharic the construction with the relative የ *i̯a* has completely replaced the construct chain. In the older texts the position of the phrase introduced by the relative is free, as in Ethiopic, but in the modern language its position is regularly before the noun, except with the genitives of geographical names modifying the name of a person, which may stand either before or after. In the modern language the relative phrase and its noun stand regularly in immediate juxtaposition, ordinarily no word except the enclitic particles ም, ስ, ን, being allowed to stand between them (cf., however, below). e. g.,

የጸጋ ፡ ልጅ ፡ *i̯a-çagâ lĕj* 'son of grace.'

የናዝሬቶን ፡ የሲስን ፡ *i̯a-nâzĕrêt-û-n i̯asûs-ĕn* 'Jesus of Nazareth (acc.).'

የሱስ ፡ የናዝሬቶ ፡ *i̯asûs i̯a-nâzerêt-û* 'Jesus of Nazareth.'

Sometimes, as in Assyrian and Aramaic, the *nomen regens* has a possessive suffix referring to the *nomen rectum*, e. g.,

የጠቢባን ፡ ዘውዳቸው ፡ *ia-ṭabîbân zauud-âçau* 'the crown of the wise.'

When two or more genitives depend on the same noun, all the genitives connected by ም or ና may stand before the noun; but frequently only the first is placed before the noun, the others following: e. g.,

የእግዚአብሔርና ፡ የበጉም ፡ ዙፋን ፡ *ia-'ĕgzî'abḥêr-nâ ia-bag-û-m*[1] *zûfân* 'and the throne of God and the lamb.'

የያዕቆብም ፡ ወንድም ፡ የዮሳም ፡ የይሁዳም ፡ የሲሞንም ፡ *ia-ia'qôb-ĕm uandĕm ia-iôsâ-m ia-iĕhûdâ-m ia-sîmôn-ĕm* 'and the brother of Jacob, Josa, Juda, and Simon.'

When two or more nouns are modified by the same genitive, the genitive as usual stands first, the modified nouns connected by ም following; usually the last *nomen regens*, and in a series of more than two, several of the last, take a suffix referring to the genitive: e. g.,

የቅዱሳን ፡ ትዕግሥት ፡ ሃይማኖታቸውም ፡ *ia-qĕdûsân tĕ'gĕšt hâimânôt-âčau-m* 'the hope and belief of the saints.'

The sign of the genitive የ is quite frequently omitted, the preceding genitive being then practically an adjective modifying the noun. This is always the case when the *nomen regens* depends on a preposition or the sign of the genitive የ, but it is also found outside of this construction, especially in titles, geographical names, and standing expressions. e. g.,

{ የመቶው ፡ አለቃ ፡ *ia-matô-u 'alaqâ* 'the commander of a hundred.'
{ ለመቶው ፡ አለቃ ፡ *la-matô-u 'alaqâ* 'to the commander of a hundred.'

ወደ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ቤት ፡ *uada nĕgûš* (for *ia-nĕgûš*) *bêt* 'to the house of the king.'

ደጅ ፡ አዝማች ፡ *daj 'azmâč* 'duke (soldier of the door).'

አጋውምድር ፡ *'agâu-mĕdr* 'the land of Agau.'

ወጥ ፡ ቤት ፡ *uaṭ bêt* 'kitchen (house of sauce, cookery).'

When the *nomen regens* is itself in the genitive, it and its preceding *nomen rectum* are placed before the new *nomen regens*, one የ standing at the beginning instead of two; this new *nomen regens* may itself be placed in the genitive in the same way, and so on indefinitely, the የ of the subordinate

[1] This *-m* connects the whole expression with what precedes, being placed with the second instead of the first word of the element it connects with something preceding: cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 394 (§ 296*b*).

genitive being regularly dropped after that of the governing noun, so that no more than one የ ever stands at the beginning of such a chain of successively subordinated genitives. If the last *nomen regens* of such a chain is governed by a preposition, the preposition stands first and even the single የ is lost. e. g.,

የምድር ፡ ነገሥታትም ፡ አለቃ ፡ *ḏa-mĕdr nagaštât-ĕm 'alaqâ* 'and the prince of the kings of the earth.'

የእግዚአብሔር ፡ ልጅ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ መጀመርያ ፡ *ḏa-'ĕgzîabḥêr lĕj ṯangêl majamariḏâ* 'the beginning of the Gospel of the Son of God.'

በባቢሎን ፡ ምርኮ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ *ba-bâbîlôn* (for *ba-ia-bâ-*) *mĕrkô gîzê* 'at the time of the Babylonian captivity.'

Some instances of this peculiar genitive construction occur also in Tigriña and Tigre,[1] due doubtless to the influence of Amharic, e. g.,

Ta. እንካብ ፡ ዮርዳኖስ ፡ ማዕዶ ፡ *'ĕnkâb ḏôrdânôs* (for *nâi ḏô-*) *mâʿdô* 'from the other side of Jordan.'

Te. እብ ፡ ዲማ ፡ ኻዮት ፡ *'ĕb dîmâ* (for *nâi dî-*) *khâḏôt* 'in the life of eternity.'

With regard to the application of the article and the accusative -ን, the genitive phrase is treated just like an adjective (cf. p. 166 f.). When both elements of the combination, however, are indeterminate the accusative -ን is usually placed with the genitive, rarely with the *regens*. e. g.,

Art. የመቶው ፡ አለቃ ፡ *ḏa-matô-ṯ 'alaqâ* 'the commander of a hundred.'

የትግሬው ፡ ሽፍታ ፡ *ḏa-tĕgrê-ṯ šĕftâ* 'the rebel of Tigre.'

የቤትኤሉ ፡ ካህን ፡ *ḏa-bêt'êl-û kâhĕn* 'the priest of Bethel.'

Acc. የሰው ፡ ልጅን ፡ *ḏa-saṯ lĕj-ĕn* 'the son of man.'

የኃጢአተኛን ፡ ሞት ፡ *ḏa-ḫâṭî'atañâ-n môt* 'the death of a sinner.'

የደረት ፡ ልብሱን ፡ *ḏa-darat lĕbs-û-n* 'his upper garment (his breast-clothing).'

የደረቱን ፡ ልብስ ፡ *ḏa-darat-û-n lĕbs* 'the clothing of his breast.'

የኡዚኤልን ፡ ልጆች ፡ *ḏa-'ûzî'êl-n lĕjôč* 'the sons of Uziel.'

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[1] Cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 212 f.; Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 292. In Tigriña the use of the construct chain in such expressions instead of the locution with ናይ ፡ e. g., እንካብ ፡ ማዕዶ ፡ ዮርዳኖስ ፡ instead of እ'' ማ'' ናይ ፡ ዮ'' is also due to Amharic influence cf. *op. et loc. cit.*

የስማዩን ፡ አባታችሁን ፡ *ya-samây-û-n 'abât-âčhû-n* 'your father in heaven.'

ቸርነቱን ፡ የእግዚአብሔርን ፡ *čarnat-û-n ya-'ĕgzî'abḥêr-n* 'the goodness of God.'

In Mineo-Sabean the relative is in certain constructions employed to indicate a genitive relation,[1] e. g.,

ثور ذ ذهبن *thur-n ð ðhb-n* 'the bull of gold.'

قشبة ذت مرثدم *qšbt ðt mrthd-m* 'K. (a woman) of (the tribe of) M.'

اصلمم الى ذهبم *'çlm-m 'li ðhb-m* 'statues of gold.'

In Mehri the genitive is regularly expressed in this way,[2] e. g.,

habrît da doulet 'the daughter of the king.'

bôb da bêt 'the door of the house.'

hare di rîšît 'a snake's head.'

uaiûten la farat 'baskets for dates.'

In Aramaic the use of the relative + dependent noun has encroached greatly upon that of the construct chain. It may be used for the construct in almost any case. In Western Aramaic the two constructions are used side by side, in Biblical Aramaic, with about the same degree of frequency, while in Jewish Palestinian the relative construction has gained considerably on the other; in Syriac and Mandaic the relative

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[1] Cf. Homm. *Süd.-arab. Chr.* p. 14.

[2] Closely connected with these South Arabian constructions is the construction of Arabic demonstrative ذو (employed as relative by some tribes, cf. Wright-DeG. Arab. Gr. I. p. 272f.) in the sense of 'owner, possessor' (cf. p. 151, n. 1). This ذو with its genitive may be used in apposition to a preceding noun, in which case it is very much like a genitive sign, cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* II. p. 203. e. g.,

رجل ذو مال *rajulun ðû mâlin* 'a man of wealth (a man, a possessor of wealth).'

ارض ذات شوك *'arḍun ðâtu šauki*n 'land covered with thorns.'

On the other hand Ethiopic **ዘ**, Tigre **ዀ**, and occasionally Mineo-Sabean ذ are used absolutely like Arabic ذو, e. g.,

Arab. ذو رحم *ðû raḥmin* 'a relative.'

اولو الالباب *'ulû 'l-'albâbi* 'intelligent people.'

Eth. ዘለምጹ ፡ *za-lamç* 'a leper.'

ኀለ ፡ ዐመፃ ፡ *'ĕlla 'amaḍâ* 'unjust people.'

Te. ለቀትል ፡ *la-qatĕl* 'something mortal.'

ለአምን ፡ *la-'amĕn* 'the believer.'

Min. ذت نشقم *ðt nšq-m* 'she of N.=Goddess of N.'

Cf. Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 415 (§ 186 a δ); Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 305; Homm. *Süd.-arab. Chr.* p. 14.

construction is by far the more frequent; in Modern Syriac it has completely replaced the construct chain. In Modern Syriac the *nomen regens* may take the ending ܝܬ -*it*, after which the relative is usually dropped.[1] In Biblical Aramaic the *nomen regens* without suffix stands in the absolute or emphatic state according as it is definite or indefinite; in Syriac and Mandaic it stands regularly in the emphatic state, though the absolute is also used in rare instances. In practically all the Aramaic dialects when both *nomen regens* and *nomen rectum* are determinate in sense, the *nomen regens* may take a suffix referring to the *nomen rectum* (cf. p. 145 ff.). As in Ethiopic, the position of these phrases in Syriac and Mandaic is very free; they may stand not only after, but also before their noun, and other words may stand between them. e. g.,

Bib. Aram. נְהַר דִּי־נוּר 'a stream of fire.'
רֵאשָׁה דִּי־דַהֲבָה 'the head of gold.'
שְׁמַהּ דִּי־אֱלָהָא 'the name of God.'

Syr. כֶּסְפָּא דְזַאפָּא ܟܣܦܐ ܕܙܘܦܐ 'false money.'
מַלְכָּא דְבָבֶל ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܒܠ 'the king of Babylon.'
בְּרַהּ דַאלָהָא ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ 'the son of God.'
כָּל שׁוּלְטָן דְרוּמָיוּתָא ܟܠ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܕܪܘܡܝܘܬܐ 'every military (Roman) office.'

Mod. Syr. ܫܘܒܩܐ ܕܚܛܝܐܬܐ *šeuâqâ de-ḥetîiâtâ* } 'forgiveness
ܫܘܒܩܝܬ ܚܛܝܐܬܐ *šeuâqit ḥetîiâtâ* } of sins.'
ܚܫܝܬ ܡܪܢ *ḥiššit de-mâran* 'the suffering of our Lord.'
ܒܪܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ *berôn-eh de-'alâhâ* 'the son of God.'

When the *nomen regens* of a construct chain is modified by another genitive the paraphrase with the relative must be used, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. מָאנֵי בֵית אֱלָהָא דִי דַהֲבָה וְכַסְפָּא 'the gold and silver vessels of the temple.'

Syr. עֲבַר פּוּקְדָנָא דְאָדָם ܥܒܪ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܐܕܡ 'Adam's breaking of the covenant.'

In Phenician the relative plus dependent noun is quite frequently used as the equivalent of the genitive of a construct chain, e. g.,

מצבת שאטבן 'the grave of Atban.'
yth alonim ualonuth si macom syth 'the gods and goddesses of this place.'

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[1] For an explanation of this ending cf. p. 146.

(*b*)

The second class of prepositional phrases is found in Tigriña, Tigre, and Modern Arabic, in all of which they are used alongside of the construct chain, as the equivalent of the *nomen rectum.*

In Tigriña and Tigre the word ናይ : *nâi̯* (<Eth. ንዋይ : *nĕu̯âi̯* 'possession') is used to introduce phrases of this type. In Tigriña the order of the phrase is free like that of the relative phrases in Ethiopic and Aramaic, tho the natural position is after the modified noun; it may stand before or after the noun, and other words may intervene between them; in its use it corresponds closely to the use of the phrase introduced by the relative in Ethiopic: in Tigre the phrase stands regularly before the noun, tho it may follow.[1] e. g.,

Ta. ገሊላ : ናይ : አሕዛብ : *galîlâ nâi̯ 'aḥzâb* 'Galilee of the heathen.'

ናይእግዚአብሔር : ቅዱስ : *nâi̯-'ĕgzî'abḥêr qĕdûs* 'a saint of God.'

እንስ : ድምጽ : አዩ : ናይዚጸውዕ : *'an-ĕs dĕmç 'îi̯ô nâi̯-zîçau̯ĕ̃* 'I, however, am the voice of one crying.'

Te. ናይ : ረቢ : ቅዱስ : *nâi̯ rabbî qĕdûs* 'a saint of God.'

ናይ : ደማ : ኻዮት : *nâi̯ dîmâ khâi̯ôt* 'the life of eternity.'

In the Modern Arabic dialects, the genitive of a construct chain may be replaced by a noun meaning 'possession' governing the genitive and standing in apposition to the *nomen regens.* These nouns are the genitive signs متاع (Syria and Algeria), بتاع (Egypt and Palestine), شيت (Jerusalem), مال (Baghdad), حق (Yemen) [cf. p. 150]. These are ordinarily invariable for gender and number; occasionally, however, Egyptian بتاع, Syriac متاع, and Jerusalem شيت have the plural forms بتوع *bĕtû'*, متوع *metû'*, شيوت, شووت *šui̯ût, šuu̯ût* after a plural noun; and more rarely the Egyptian and Syrian words have a feminine form بتاعة *betâ'et*, متاعة *metâ'et*, after a feminine noun. The *nomen regens* regularly takes the article, but in Egypt at least, it may also stand in the indefinite form. e. g.,

الدار متاع شريكى *ed-dâr metâ' šarîkî* 'the house of my companion.'

الكتاب مال التلميذ *el-kitâb mâl et-talmîd* 'the pupil's book.'

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[1] Cf. Litt. *Te. Pron.* p. 292, n. 2.

الصندوق حق المسافر *eç-çandûq ḥaqq el-musâfir* 'the traveler's trunk.'

العساكر بتاع (بتوع) السلطان *el-ʿasâkir betʿâ (betûʿ) es-sulṭân* 'the Sultan's soldiers.'

شباك بتاع الجامع *šibbâk betâʿ el-gâmiʿ* 'a window of the mosque.'

Here is also to be classed the similar use of the demonstrative دا, دى in North Africa, e. g.,

كتاب دا البنت *kitab del-bint* 'the book of the girl.'

شجره دا الزيتون *šajare dez-zaiṭûn* 'olive tree (tree of olives).'

(*c*)

Prepositional phrases of the third class are found in Arabic, Ethiopic, Tigriña, Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, and rarely in Syriac.

In Arabic the preposition ل is used to express the genitive relation between an indefinite *nomen regens* and a definite *nomen* or *pronomen rectum*,[1] e. g.,

ابن للملك *ibnuⁿ li-l-maliki* 'a son of the king.'

اخ لك *'aḫuⁿ la-ka* 'a brother of thine.'

In Ethiopic phrases introduced by ለ are employed as follows, viz.:

a) as the equivalent of a genitive in a construct chain, especially when the genitive has rather a dative force, e. g.,

ውሉደ ፡ ለአቡክሙ ፡ *ṳ̈ělûda* (acc.) *la-'abû-kĕmmû* 'children of your father' (Matt. 5, 45).

ጼው ፡ ለምድር ፡ *çêṳ la-mĕdr* 'salt of the earth' (Matt. 5, 13).

b) to modify an indefinite noun after a negative, when the *nomen* or *pronomen rectum* is definite, e. g.,

ኢይትረከብ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ አስር ፡ *'î-ỵ̈ĕtrakab lômû 'asr* 'no trace of them is found.'

c) after እለ ፡ *'ĕlla* in the sense of 'those of,'[2] e. g.,

ወአርዳእሁ ፡ ለዮሐንስ ፡ ወእለሂ ፡ ለፈሪሳውያን ፡ *ṳa-'ardâ'î-hû la-ỵ̈ôḥanĕs ṳa-'ĕlla-hî la-farîsâṳĕỵ̈ân* 'the disciples of John and those also of the Pharisees.'

d) with pronominal suffix in the place of a possessive suffix (cf. below, p. 244 f.).

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[1] Coptic *ente* has a similar use; cf. p. 220, n. 4.

[2] Strictly speaking this belongs to the discussion of the pronoun and its modifiers, but it is added here for the sake of completeness.

e) above all in connection with a suffix on the *nomen regens* to indicate that the idea expressed by the combination is definite; this construction may also be used even when the determination is already indicated by the determinate character of the nomen rectum (cf. p. 145): e. g.,

ጠፈራ ፡ ለታቦት ፡ *ṭafar-â la-tâbôt* 'the roof of the ark.'

ወልዱ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ *ṵald-û la-nĕgûš* 'the king's son.'

ምሕረቱ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ *mĕḥrat-û la-'ĕgzî'abḥêr* 'the mercy of God.'

ወርቃ ፡ ለይእቲ ፡ ምድር ፡ *ṵarq-â la-ïĕ'ĕtî mĕdr* 'the gold of that land.'

ስሙ ፡ ለአቡከ ፡ *sĕm-û la-abû-ka* 'the name of thy father.'

In Tigriña a phrase introduced by the preposition ፣ *nĕ* 'to' is quite frequently used to express the genitive, usually, tho not always, in connection with a suffix on the *nomen regens* referring to the *nomen rectum*, e. g.,

ልዴኡ ፡ ፣ዩሱስ ፡ *lĕdê-'û nĕ-ïasûs* 'the birth of Jesus.'

፣እግዚአብሔር ፡ መልአኽ ፡ *nĕ-'ĕgzî'abḥêr mal'ak* 'the angel of God.'

ሰበይት ፡ ፣ኡሪያ ፡ *sabaït nĕ-'ûrîïâ* 'the wife of Uriah.'

In Hebrew phrases introduced by ל are used in the sense of a genitive; sometimes when a construct chain would be equally suitable, e. g.,

הַצֹּפִים לְשָׁאוּל 'the watchmen of Saul' (1. Sam. 14, 16); but ordinarily when for any reason a construct chain would be difficult or impossible. The principal uses[1] of such phrases are, viz.:

a) to express a determinate genitive which depends on an indeterminate noun, e. g.,

בֵּן לְיִשַׁי 'a son of Jesse' (1. Sam. 16, 18).

מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד 'a psalm of David' (Ps. 3, 1).

b) to modify a noun which is already modified by a genitive or a possessive suffix, e. g.,

חֶלְקַת הַשָּׂדֶה לְבֹעַז 'Boaz' portion of the field' (Ru. 2, 3).

עַל־סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel' (1. Ki. 14, 19).

שִׁכְבַתְּךָ לְזָרַע 'thy emission of seed' (Lev. 18, 20).

c) to modify substantives accompanied by numerals, especially in dates, e. g.,

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[1] For exceptional cases in which ל is used as genitive sign cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 439, 440 (§ 129 *c*, *g*).

בְּשִׁבְעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ 'on the twenty-seventh day of the month' (Gen. 8, 14).

בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם לְדָרְיָוֶשׁ 'in the second year of Darius.'

בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִּי 'on the third day after my giving birth' (1 Ki. 3, 18).

In Biblical Aramaic and Samaritan the use of phrases with ל is in general the same as in Hebrew; they are employed, viz.:

a) to express the genitive of a determinate noun modifying an indeterminate, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. מֶלֶךְ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל 'a king of Israel.'

לְעֲלָוָן לֶאֱלָהּ שְׁמַיָּא 'for burnt offerings for the Lord of Heaven.'

Sam. עבד לרב טבחיא 'a servant of the chief cook.'

b) after a noun modified by a numeral, in dates, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. בִּשְׁנַת חֲדָה לְבַלְשַׁאצַּר 'in the first year of Bel-'shazzar.'

יוֹם תְּלָתָה לִירַח אֲדָר 'the third day of the month Adar.'

Sam. בשתה תנינתה למפוקיחון 'in the second year of their going out.'

c) to modify a noun already modified by a genitive, e. g.,

Sam. נסיא בית אב לכרן קהתה 'the family chief of the family of Kohath.'

In Syriac, phrases with ܠ are sometimes used to express the genitive after expressions of space and time, e. g.,

מִן גַּרְבָּיָא לַסְיָגְתָא ܡܢ ܓܪܒܝܐ ܠܣܝܓܬܐ 'on the north of the enclosure.'

מִן בָּתַר תְּלָתִין יַרְחִין לְמַפְּקָתֵהּ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܝܪܚܝܢ ܠܡܦܩܬܗ 'thirty months after his departure.'

Cases like: —

בִּשְׁנַת מְאָא וַחְדָא לְחַיֵּי אַבְרָהָם ܒܫܢܬ ܡܐܐ ܘܚܕܐ ܠܚܝܝ ܐܒܪܗܡ 'in the year one hundred and one of Abraham's life,'

seem to be borrowed from Hebrew.[1]

In Malulan *il* is a common genitive determinant, e. g.,

ḏairaṷôṯ il ma'lûlâ 'the convents of Malula.'

päiṯ il malk'â 'the house of the king.'

(*d*)

Prepositional phrases of the fourth class are found principally in Arabic and Ethiopic.

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[1] Cf. Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* p. 183 (§ 247).

In Arabic, phrases with the preposition من are used in the sense of a partitive genitive as follows, viz.:

a) to express the genitive of a determinate noun modifying an indeterminate, e. g.,

حى من الجن *ḥaiiu*ⁿ *mina 'l-jinni* 'a tribe of Jinn.'

جماعة من خدمه *jamâ'atu*ⁿ *min ḫadami-hi* 'a company of his servants.'

b) to express the genitive of possession after an indeterminate noun, the object of the preposition in this case being the plural of the governing noun followed by the genitive of the possessor, e. g.,

قصر من قصور ملك *qaçru*ⁿ *min qucûri maliki*ⁿ = قصر ملك *qaçru maliki*ⁿ 'a royal castle.'

قصر من قصور الملك *qaçru*ⁿ *min quçûri 'l-maliki* = قصر للملك *qaçru*ⁿ *li-l-maliki* 'a castle of the king.'

ملك من ملوك فارس *maliku*ⁿ *min mulûki fârisa* 'a king of Persia.'

c) to modify a noun already modified by a suffix, e. g.,

اصهاره من الجن *'açhâru-hu min al-jinni* 'his relatives of the Jinn.'

In Ethiopic a phrase after እምነ : or እም- sometimes stands for a partitive genitive, e. g.,

ውሉደ : ትጉሃን : እምሰብእ : *ʷëlûda tëgûhân 'ëm-çab'ë* 'the children of the watchers among men.'

It may also, like the phrases with ל in Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic, depend on a noun modified by a numeral, e. g.

አመ : ፮ፀ : ፮፻ወ፮ዓመተ : እምሕይወቱ : ለኖሕ : *'ama kôna 601 'âmata 'em-hëiuat-û la-nôḥ* 'in the year six hundred and one of Noah's life (when it was six hundred and one years of Noah's life).'

Phrases of this sort also occur occasionally in the other languages, e. g.,

Sam. מים מן נהרה 'water of the river.'

חלק מן רביאנך 'part of thy excellence.'

Bib. Aram. עור מִן־אִדְּרַי־קַיִט 'chaff from the threshing floors of summer.'

(*e*)

The use of other prepositional phrases as nominal modifiers is comparatively rare; examples are,

Arab. ذريتك من بعدك *ðurriiiatu-ka min ba'dika* 'thy posterity after thee.'

Eth. ስምዕ : በሐሰት : *sĕm'ĕ ba-ḥasat* 'false witness (heard falsely).
ላሕ : በእንተ : እሙ : *lâḥ ba'ĕnta 'ĕmmû* 'sorrow for his mother.'
Heb. אִישָׁהּ עִמָּהּ 'her husband with her' (Gen. 3, 6).
מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלִַם 'king in Jerusalem' (Ecc. 1, 1).
Sam. נסיאה בעמך 'prince among thy people.'

Other Forms.

Instead of the simple juxtaposition of noun and modifying phrase, the two may be more closely joined in several ways.

Sometimes the noun and the following prepositional phrase form a construct chain, the noun standing in the construct state; so in Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, and rarely in Assyrian: e. g.,

Heb. שִׂמְחַת בַּקָּצִיר 'joy in the harvest.'
Bib. Aram. מַלְכְוָת תְּחוֹת כָּל־שְׁמַיָּא 'the kingdoms under the whole heaven' (Dan. 7, 27).
Ass. *ṭêm ša Arabi* 'news of the Arabs.'

Sometimes the two are joined together by the relative pronoun, the prepositional phrase forming the predicate of the relative clause. Such a construction is of course possible in all the languages, but sometimes the relative has practically lost its force as such, and simply serves to connect modifier and modified more closely. So in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Ethiopic. In Ethiopic this is the ordinary way of joining a noun and a prepositional phrase that modifies it. Here is also to be classed Maghrebinic ديال which is a combination of a demonstrative element + the preposition ل. Some of these combinations have become practically genitive determinants. In Hebrew אשר ל is practically equivalent in meaning to the simple ל when it indicates possession; Post-Biblical של takes its noun without article, and the governing noun usually has a suffix. e. g.

Eth. እኅቱ : ዘበሥጋ : *'ĕḫtû za-ba-šĕgâ* 'his sister according to the flesh.'
አልቦ : ባዕደ : አምላከ : ዘእንበሌከ : *'albô bâ'da 'amlâka za-'ĕnbalê-ka* 'there is no other God beside thee.'
Bib. Heb. הַצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיהָ (=צֹאן אָבִיהָ) 'the flocks of her father.'
הַמַּשְׁקֶה וְהָאֹפֶה אֲשֶׁר לְמֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם 'the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt.'
שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לִשְׁלֹמֹה 'Solomon's song of songs.'
יְרוּשָׁלִַם אֲשֶׁר בִּיהוּדָה 'to Jerusalem in Judah.'
הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת לָרָקִיעַ 'the water under the firmament' (Gen. 1, 7).

Mish. שֵׁנָה שֶׁל שַׁחֲרִית 'the sleep of the morning.'
שְׂכָרָן שֶׁל מִצְוֹת 'the reward of the commandments.'
תַּלְמִידָיו שֶׁל אַהֲרוֹן 'the disciples of Aaron.'
Bib. Aram. הֵיכְלָא דִי בִירוּשְׁלֶם 'the temple in Jerusalem.'
גְּבַר דִי מִן־בְּנֵי גָּלוּתָא 'a man of the captives.'
Sam. אפואה דלמלך 'the baker of the king.'
עאנה דלאבוה 'the sheep of her father.'
גוניתה דבנהרה 'the fishes of the river (Nile).'
Mal. *ġabrnô til-maʿlûlâ* 'the men of Malula.'
kʿuppôḥtâ til-môḥâ 'a glass of water.'
päḥtâ til-malkʿâ 'the house of the king.'
Alg. Arab. السيف ديال الملك *es-sêf diḥâl el-melik* 'the king's sword.'

Personal Pronominal Qualification.

Simple.

The idea expressed in English by the possessive adjectives is regularly rendered in all the Semitic languages by the possessive suffixes.[1] The combination really forms a construct chain, the suffix, which represents a personal pronoun, being added

[1] Cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 306—313 (§ 105), and the various Semitic grammars under the head of pronominal suffixes. Similar suffixes are found in Egyptian and Coptic; cf. Erm. *Ägypt. Gr.* pp. 77—81 (§§ 138—147); Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 39—45. In Indo-European languages are to be compared the enclitic forms of the personal pronouns in Sanskrit, Avestan, and Greek (the genitive forms corresponding to the possessive suffixes, the dative and accusative forms to the Semitic suffixes after prepositions and verbs) and the predominantly postpositive position of the possessive adjectives in Latin, Gothic, and certain Slavic dialects: cf. Whitney, *Sansk. Gr.* pp. 186, 187; A. V. W. Jackson, *Avesta Gr.* Stuttgart, 1892, pp. 110—113. Goodwin, *Greek. Gram.*, pp. 31, 82; Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 91—93. In a number of the Malayo-Polynesian languages similar enclitic pronominal forms exist; so in Malay, Javanese, and the Philippine languages: cf. A. Seidel, *Praktische Gram. d. Malay. Spr.*, Wien (Hartleben), p. 44; H. Bohatta, *Prakt. Gram. d. Javan. Spr.* Wien (Hartleben), p. 44; F. R. Blake, *Contribs. to Comp. Phil. Gr.* JAOS. vol. xxvii, 1906, pp. 365—386 (espec. p. 386 bot.). Possessive suffixes occur also in Hungarian and Turkish: cf. F. v. Ney, *Ungarische Sprachlehre*, 27. Aufl., Budapest, 1903, p. 85; A. Müller, *Türkische Gram.*, Berlin, 1889, p. 62 f.

to the construct state of the noun. The noun is made definite by the addition of the suffix and can, of course, not ordinarily have the determinate form.[1] e. g.,

Ass. *mât-su*
Arab. ارضه *'arḍu-hu*
Eth. ምድሩ : *mĕdr-û* } 'his country.'
Heb. אַרְצוֹ
Syr. אַרְעֵהּ ܐܪܥܗ

In those languages which have a preformative definite article, a participle[2] may take the article and the suffix at the same time; the suffix in this case, however, is not possessive but represents an accusative: e. g.,

Arab. القاتله *al-qâtilu-hu* 'the one that killed him.'
Heb. הַמַּכֵּהוּ 'the one smiting him' (Is. 9, 12).

In Tigre, however, and in the Arabic dialect of Malta an ordinary noun with a possessive suffix may take the article,[3] e. g.,

Te. ለብእሳ : *la-bĕ'ĕs-â* 'her husband.'
Malt. *lil-bint-u* 'to his daughter.'

In Modern Arabic the possessive pronouns (originally a noun meaning possession + possessive suffix) may take the definite article,[3] e. g.,

المتاعى *el-metâ'î* 'mine.'

A noun with possessive suffix is definite, and an adjective modifying it stands ordinarily in the definite state when one is distinguished. So in Arabic, Hebrew, and probably in Western Aramaic. In Amharic the article may stand with the adjective, especially if it is a cardinal, but it may also be omitted. e. g.,

Arab. اخوه الصغير *'aḫûhu 'ç-çaǵîru* 'his little brother.'
جبتها الزرقاء *jubbatuhâ 'z-zarqâ'u* 'her blue jacket.'
Heb. יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה 'thy strong hand' (Deut. 3, 24).
Amh. ታናሺቱ : ልጄ : *tânâš-ître lĕj-ê* 'my little daughter.'
አራቱ : ልጆቹ : *'arât-û lĕjôč-û* 'his four sons.'

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[1] Contrast with this the use of the article with noun modified by possessive adjective or pronoun in Greek and Italian; e. g.,

Gr. ὁ σὸς πατήρ } 'thy father.' Ital. *il tuo padre* 'thy father.'
ὁ πατήρ σου }

Cf. Goodwin, *Greek Gram.* p. 206 (§ 946); C. N. Grandgent, *Italian Grammar*, 3rd ed., Boston, 1892, p. 33.

[2] Cf. p. 219, n. 2.

[3] In Maltese this is probably due to the influence of the Italian construction, e. g., *la sua figlia;* cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 470, n. 2.

ንጹሕ ፡ ልባችሁን ፡ *nĕçûh lĕbb-âčhû-n* (acc.) 'your pure hearts' (2 Pet. 3, 1).

In Assyrian an adjective modifying a noun with suffix often stands before it, e. g.,

ina emqi libbišu 'in his wise heart.'

aqrâti nâpšâtišunu 'their precious life.'

In Modern Arabic an adjective without article may stand before a noun with suffix,[1] e. g.,

غالى سلامتكم *ǵâlî selâmat-kum* 'your dear health.'

When a demonstrative modifies a noun with possessive suffix, its construction is in general the same as when it modifies a *nomen regens* in a construct chain. In Hebrew, however, no article is used with the demonstrative, and the Samaritan demonstrative is without the prefixed ה which it takes when modifying a simple noun. e. g.,

Arab. اختنا هذه *'uḫtuṇâ hâδihi* 'our sister here, this sister of ours.'

Amh. ይኽ ፡ ታላቁ ፡ ኀይልኽ ፡ *i̯ĕkh tâlâq-û ḫâi̯l-ĕkh* 'this great power of thine.'

Ta. እዘም ፡ ደቀይ ፡ *'ezôm daq-ai̯* 'these my children.'

Heb. דְּבָרֵנוּ זֶה 'this matter of ours.'

Sam. סמני אלין 'these signs of mine.'

Syr. מִלֵּין הָלֵין ܡܠܝ ܗܠܝ 'these words of ours.'

Mod. Syr. ܗܳܐ ܫܘܳܝܳܐ *'âhâ šeu̯âu̯î* 'this neighbor of mine.'

Just as it is impossible to express the combination of indefinite *regens* with definite *rectum* by a construct chain (cf. p. 218 f.), so ordinarily the combination of indeterminate and personal pronominal qualification can not be expressed by noun + suffix; one of the circumlocutions for the genitive must be employed (cf. pp. 225—238): e. g.,

Arab. اخ لك *'aḫu*ⁿ *laka* 'a brother of thine.'

In Modern Syriac, however, this idea is rendered by placing the indefinite article ܠܳܐ *ḫâ* before the noun with suffix,[2] e. g.,

ܠܳܐ ܕܳܘܣܬܝ *ḫâ dôst-î* 'a friend of mine.'

Emphatic.

The idea which is expressed by the possessive suffix may also be indicated in various other ways, originally with em-

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[1] Cf. Perc. *Gr. Grab. Vul.* p. 139; also above p. 166, n. 1.

[2] This un-Semitic construction is probably borrowed from Turkish, cf. Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 278.

phasis on the possessive, though in some cases these constructions have become practically equivalent to the noun + suffix.

(*a*)

An independent pronoun corresponding to the suffix may be used with the noun + suffix.

In Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, Classical and Modern Egyptian Arabic, the nominative corresponding to the suffix is used in connection with the suffix,[1] either before or after the noun in Hebrew and Egyptian Arabic, after the noun in Classical Arabic; e. g.,

Heb. מוֹתִי אָנִי 'my own death' (2 Sam. 19, 1).
דָּמְךָ גַּם־אַתָּה 'thy own blood also' (1 Ki. 21, 19).
אֲנִי עִם־לְבָבִי 'in my own heart' (1 Ch. 28, 2).
Bib. Aram. רוּחִי אֲנָא 'my spirit' (Dan. 7, 15).
Sam.[2] ופגריכון אתון 'and your own bodies.'
Eg. Arab. بيتها هى *bêt-hâ hiia* 'her own house.'
انا بدنى *ana badan-î* 'my body.'
Cl. Arab. رايه هو *ra'iu-hu huua* 'his opinion.'
نصيبى انا *naçîb-î 'anâ* 'my share.'

In Assyrian the independent genitive and accusative forms are used either absolutely or after *ša* in connection with the suffix; they regularly precede the noun: e. g.,

kâtu amât-ka 'thy own command.'
šâšu mašak-šu 'his own skin.'
ša kâšu ... qurdi-ku 'thy might.'

(*b*)

The emphasis may be expressed in those languages which

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[1] This construction is not confined to possessive suffixes, but is just as frequent with suffixes after verbs and prepositions; cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 459; Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.* p. 148; Wright-De G. *Arab. Gr.* II. p. 282. In Mehri the independent pronouns are used to emphasise suffixes after a verb or a preposition, but not a nominal suffix; cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* pp. 28, 130.

The cases in Tigriña in which an independent pronoun is placed absolutely at the beginning of a sentence referring to a following suffix, e. g., ንሕናስ ፡ ኣብርሃም ፡ ኣቦና ፡ *nĕḥnâ-s 'abrĕhâm 'abô-nâ* 'as for us, Abraham is our father,' do not belong here, cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 291.

Similar to this is the Coptic construction of absolute personal pronoun after a noun with possessive article (cf. p. 242. n. 1) for the sake of emphasis, e. g., *pa-eiôt anok* 'my father,' cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p 44 f.

[2] As this is the only example given by Uhlemann it is uncertain whether the pronoun may precede the noun.

have developed an independent possessive form,[1] by using this form either alone or in connection with the corresponding suffix.[2]

Sometimes the possessive stands after the noun in the construct state; so in Ethiopic and Syriac (rarely): e. g.,

Eth. ብእሴ ፡ ዚአየ ፡ *bĕ'ĕsê zî'aiạ* 'my husband.'

Syr. ܩܢܘܡ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ 'their own person.'

Usually, however, the possessives are treated as adjectives or prepositional phrases, and may stand either before or after the noun, which may or may not have the corresponding suffix.

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[1] The independent possessives are formed in almost all the languages which make them by adding the suffixes to certain forms connected with the sign of the genitive. These forms are, viz.,

Eth. ዚአ-, እንቲአ-, እሊአ-: cf. Dill.-Bez. p. 304.

Ta. ናይ-, or its plurals ናይት-, ናት-: cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 162.

Meh. *da*: cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 30; it is not stated whether they are used attributively.

Syr. -ܕܝ: cf. Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* p. 47.

Man. -דיל: cf. Nöld. *Man. Gr.* pp. 332 (especially n. 2), 333.

Bab. Tal. -דיד, (-דיל): Marg. *Man. Bal. Tal.* pp. 18, 69.

Mod. Syr. -ܕܝ: Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 83.

Jew. Pal. -דיד, (-דיל): Dalm. *Jüd. Pal.* p. 118.

Mal. *tîḍ*: cf. Parisot, *Dial. Mal.* p. 311.

Mish. / Ph. { -של: cf. Geig. *Spr. Mish.* p. 37; Schröd. *Phön. Spr.* p. 165.

Mod. Arab. -متاع (Syriac and Algeria), -بتاع (Egypt. and Palestine) -حق (Yemen), -مال (Baghdad), ديال (Algeria and Morocco), شيت (Jerusalem): cf. Wahrm. *Prak. Handb.* pp. 45, 46; Spitta, *Gramm. Vul. Aeg.* p. 262; Bauer, *Pal. Arab.* p. 100.

In Amharic they are formed by prefixing the genitive sign የ to the independent pronouns; cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 119.

In Tigre ናይ ፡ and in Amharic, ገንዘብ ፡ *ganzab* 'possession' and ወገን ፡ *ụagan* 'side' are employed with suffixes to form possessive pronouns, but these are used only absolutely: cf. Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 291; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 119.

In the Assyrian of the Amarna letters a particle *an* (probably connected with the demonstrative *annû*) + suffix is employed as a possessive.

For these possessive pronouns in general, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 315, 316, (§ 106, f, g). Coptic possesses a series of possessive pronouns always used as substantives, and also a so-called possessive article consisting of the article with possessive suffixes which is used before the noun as the equivalent of the old possessive suffixes, which are obsolescent; e. g., *pek-son* 'thy brother,' *tef-sône* 'his sister,' *neu-eiote* 'their parents,' cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 43, 44.

[2] Cf. the French construction *mon livre à moi* 'my own book,' cf. W. D. Whitney, *A Pract. French Gram.* New. York, 1887, p. 251.

In Ethiopic[1] the possessive may stand before or after the noun; the noun may have the suffix, or the possessive may be preceded by the sign of the genitive ዘ-. The stem of the possessive pronoun (not the suffix) agrees in gender and number with the *nomen regens*. e. g.,

ነፍሶ ፡ እንቲአሁ ፡ *nafs-ô 'entî'ahû* 'his own life.'

ለእሊአሁ ፡ አርዳእሁ ፡ *la-'ellî'ahû 'ardâ'î-hû* 'for his own disciples.'

ብእሲት ፡ ዘእንቲአከ ፡ *bĕ'ĕsît za-'ĕntî'aka* 'thy wife.'

In Tigriña the possessive stands either before or after the noun without suffix, e. g.,

አድጊ ፡ ናይቶ ፡ *'adgî nâiâtû* 'his ass.'

ናይቶ ፡ ቦታ ፡ *nâiâtû bôtâ* 'his place.'

In Amharic it precedes the noun, which may or may not have a suffix, e. g.,

የኔ ፡ ልቤ ፡ *ianê lĕbb-ê* 'my heart.'

የኛ ፡ ቃል ፡ *iañâ qâl* 'our word.'

In Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic, Mandaic, and Modern Syriac, it regularly stands after the noun; the noun may be with or without suffix in Syriac and Mandaic, always without in Modern Syriac, and apparently also in Babylonian Talmudic;[2] in Syriac when the noun has a suffix the possessive sometimes precedes: e. g.,

Syr. ܙܢܳܐ ܕܝܠܗ ‘his own girdle.’
ܡܢܳܢܗ ܕܝܠܗ ‘his own zeal.’
ܕܝܠܳܟ ܡܥܡܪܳܟ ‘thy own dwelling.’

Man. בזיוא דילאן ‘in our splendor.’
לבושאן דילאן ‘our clothing.’

Bab. Tal. אפדנא דידי ‘my mansion.’
דהבא דיליה ‘his gold.’

Mod. Syr. ܒܳܒܳܐ ܕܝܺܐ *bâbâ deiî* ‘my father.’

In Phenician and Post-Biblical Hebrew it stands after the noun in place of the suffix; in Biblical Hebrew, in the few cases in which it occurs, after the noun with suffix: e. g.,

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[1] In Ethiopic an objective suffix may be emphasized by ከየ + suffix, cf. Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 303; Praet. *Äth. Spr.* p. 25: e. g., ኪያከ ፡ ተሣሀለከ ፡ አምላክ ፡ *kîia-ka tašâhala-ka 'amlâk* '*thee* God has blest.' With this is to be compared the use of Arabic ايا *'iiiâ* in similar cases, e. g., رايتك *ra'aitu-ka 'iiiâ-ka* 'I saw *thee*; cf. Wright-De. G. *Arab. Gr.* II. p. 283 (top); and also the use of the Assyrian independent genitive and accusative forms, e. g., *ukallim-anni iâši* 'he showed *me*,' *kâša luqbi-ka*' *thee* will I tell' (cf. Del. p. 351). Morphologically the *-iiâ* of *kîia*, the *iâ* of *iâti*, *iâši*, and the Arabic *'iiiâ* are indentical; cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 314 (§ 160 *b*, *d*).

[2] Cf. Marg. *Man. Bab. Tal.* p. 69.

Ph. במערב שלהם *by-marob syllohom* 'through their protection.'
באזרת שלא 'through his help.'
Mish. דְּבָר שֶׁלִּי 'my word.'
Bib. Heb. כַּרְמִי שֶׁלִּי 'my garden' (Ct. 1, 6).

In the Modern Arabic dialects the possessive pronouns are used in apposition to a noun with the definite article, the whole combination being practically equivalent to a noun with the suffix; بتاع in Egypt, and متاع in Syria and probably شيت are varied to agree in gender and number with the preceding noun; the forms in the other dialects are invariable: e. g.,

Egypt. الكتاب بتاعى *el-kitâb betâ'i* 'my book.'
البندقيه بتاعتك *el-benduqîe betâ'etak* 'thy flint-lock.'
البيوت بتوعى *el-buiût butû'i* 'my houses.'
Alg. الكتب متاعى *el-kutub metâ'î* 'my books.'
القزازه متاعك *el-qizâze metâ'ak* 'thy bottle.'
السيف ديالى *es-sêf diiâli* 'my sword.'
Bag. السيف مالى *es-sêf mâli* 'my sword.'

In Assyrian the word *attû* with suffixes may, like the possessive pronouns, be used before or after the noun, which may or may not have the corresponding suffix, e. g.,

abû'a attû'a } 'my father.'
attû'a abû'a }
bîta attûnu (acc.) 'our house.'
attûni ašâbani 'our remaining.'

Similar is the use in the Assyrian of the Amarna letters of *an* (probably connected with demonstrative *annû*) + suffix, instead of a simple possessive suffix; the modified noun seems to stand in the construct: e. g.,

mârat aniia 'my daughter.'

(*c*)

In Ethiopic sometimes, instead of a simple possessive suffix, the preposition ለ + suffix may be employed,[1] e. g.,

[1] Whether the preposition + suffix may also follow its noun does not appear from the examples given by Dill-Bez. p. 416. With this usage are to be compared the so-called mediate (*mittelbar*) suffixes in Tigriña, Tigre, and Amharic. These are composed of prepositions (in Amharic ለ, በ; in Tigriña ለ; in Tigre ኣል, ኣት 'in', ብ) + suffix. They are employed, however, only with verbs: cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 116 f.; Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 152 f.; Littm. *Te. Pron.* pp. 226–229.

ሎቱ ፡ መዐዛ ፡ *lôtû ma'azâ* 'its odor.'
ወላቲኒ ፡ ማይ ፡ የሐውር ፡ *ṵa-lâtî-nî mâị ịaḥaṵĕr* 'and even its water is flowing.'

Nominal Apposition.

A noun may be modified by another noun standing in apposition in the same case; in Arabic a noun in apposition to a vocative in the nominative case form may stand in either nominative or accusative.[1] Both nouns may be common, or one may be a proper name.[2] Sometimes the first of two nouns in apposition is to be regarded as the modifier, but usually the second is subordinate to the first.

A common noun may be used in apposition to another common noun to denote class, quality, material or content. The appositives that denote class are the most common, but examples of all the others[3] are found in some of the languages. In Assyrian an appositive indicating material precedes its noun; when the first noun is plural the second noun is regularly put in the singular. e. g.,

Ass. *êkallu šubat šarrûtišu* 'the palace, his royal abode.'
erinu zulûlu 'cedar roofing.'
ḫurâçu iḫzu 'a golden setting.'
âlânišu dannûti bît niçirtišu 'his strong cities, well guarded places.'
šarrâni âlik mahriịa 'the kings my predecessors.'

Eth. ውሉደ ፡ ረዐይት ፡ *ṵĕlûd ra'aịt* 'giant sons.'
ገሃነም ፡ እሳት ፡ *gahânam 'ĕsât* 'the fire of hell.'
ብእሴ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ *bĕ'ĕsê nĕgûša* (acc.) 'a man, a king.'

Amh. ባሮቼ ፡ ነቢያት ፡ *bârôč-ê nabîịât* 'my servants the prophets.'
ሽህ ፡ ድሪም ፡ ብር ፡ *šĕh dĕrîm bĕr* 'a thousand dirhems of silver.'

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[1] A somewhat similar indecision with regard to the concord of an apposition to a vocative appears in Sanskrit and Greek, where such a noun may stand either in the vocative or the nominative: cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. p. 196 f.

[2] In Indo-European, apposition is mostly of the second variety, cf. Delb. *op. cit.* p. 195.

[3] Appositives of this character are found in Egyptian, but apparently not to any extent in Coptic, cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 113; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 78.

ማድጋ : ውኃ : *mâdgâ ṵëhâ* 'a jug of water.'
ቍራሽ : እንጀራ : *quërâš 'ĕnjĕrâ* 'a bit of bread.'

Arab. الرجل السوء *ar-raḏulu 's-saṵ'u* 'the bad man.'
صنم ذهب *çanamuⁿ ȝahabuⁿ* 'a golden image.'
رطل زيت *raṭluⁿ zaiṯuⁿ* 'a pint of olive oil.'

Heb. אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה 'a widow woman.'
נַעֲרָה בְתוּלָה 'a virgin maid.'
אֲמָרִים אֱמֶת 'true words.'
מְצִלְתַּיִם נְחֹשֶׁת 'brass cymbals.'
סְאָה סֹלֶת 'a *seah* of fine flour.'

Bib. Aram. גִּבְרִין גִּבָּרֵי־חַיִל 'men, mighty men.'

Sam. שמשה סאב ביתה 'his servant, the head of his house.'

Syr. ܬܠܬܝܢ ܡܕܪܝܢ ܚܛܐ 'thirty measures of wheat.'

Bab. Tal. גברי נגדי 'men carpenters.'
תרי קבי תמרי 'two *kabs* of dates.'

Man. גובריא בילאיהון 'the men, their husbands.'

Mod. Syr. ܠܚܐ ܬܥܢܐ ܩܡܚܐ *ḫâ ṭa'nâ qamḥâ* 'a load of meal.'
ܫܒܥܐ ܙܘܓܐ ܬܘܪܐ *šaṵ'â zôgâ tôrê* 'seven yoke of oxen.'

When one of the two nouns is a proper noun, the modifying common noun usually stands second, but sometimes it precedes the proper noun, especially when it is a common epithet or title.[1] In Assyrian the same rule of concord holds good as in the preceding case. e. g.,

Ass. *Astartarikku hîratsu* 'A. his consort.'
Šamaš u Ištar çît libbišu 'S. and I., his own offspring.'
bêl ilâni Marduk 'Marduk, the lord of the gods.'

Eth. ሶዶም : ሀገር : *sôdôm hagar* 'the city of Sodom.'
ጢሮስ : ብሔር *ṭîrôs bĕḥêr* 'the land of Tyre.'
ሔዋን : ብእሲቱ : *ḥêṵân bĕ'ĕsît-û* 'Eve his wife.'

Amh. እቴጌዪቱ : ዋሽቲ : *'ĕtêgêi-îtû ṵaštî* 'Queen Vashti.'
አስቴር : ንግሥቲቱ : *'astêr nĕgĕst-îtû* 'Esther the queen.'

Arab. اخوك زيد *'ahû-ka zaiḏuⁿ* 'thy brother Zaid.'
عمر اخوك *'umaru 'ahû-ka* 'Umar thy brother.'
يا محمد النبى *ṵâ muhammadu* { *'n-nabiiiu* / *'n-nabiiia* } 'oh Mohammed, the prophet.'

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[1] Similarly common epithets often precede in Indo-European, e. g., Sanskrit *rājā varuṇaḥ* 'king Varuna,' M. H. Germ. *der herre Sifrit* 'the lord Siegfried.' Cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 198, 199.

Hebr. דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ 'David the king.'
הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד 'King David.'
Syr. ܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܣܛܘܣ 'king Anastasius.'
ܐܢܣܛܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ 'Anastasius the king.'

When a preposition stands before the first of the two nouns it is, in all the languages except Amharic, ordinarily not repeated. Cases of repetition, however, occur in several of the languages. e. g.,

Eth. ለእግዚእየ ፡ ለአብርሃም ፡ *la-'ĕgzî'ĕi̯a la-'abrĕhâm* 'to my lord Abraham.'

Ta. ምስ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ምስኖኡ ፡ *mĕs mâri̯âm mĕs-ĕnô-'û* 'with Mary his mother.'

Heb. אֶת־אָחִיו אֶת־הֶבֶל 'his brother Abel (acc.).'
לִבְנוֹ לְיוֹסֵף 'to his son Joseph.'

Man. לאבויא . . . למאנא דמינה עתינציב 'his father, . . . the spirit by which he was begotten (acc.).'

In Amharic the matter is somewhat complicated. When both nouns are determined, the preposition is usually repeated; when only the first noun is determined, the preposition is sometimes repeated and sometimes not; when the first noun is indeterminate, the preposition is used almost always before this noun only: e. g.,

ለአስቴር ፡ ለንግሥቲቱ ፡ *la-'astêr la-nĕgĕšt-îtû* 'to Esther the queen.'

ያባትህ ፡ የናዖድ ፡ ወዳጅ ፡ *i̯âbâtĕh ia-nâ'ôd u̯adâj* 'the friend of thy father Naod.'

ለባሮቹ ፡ ለነቢያት ፡ *la-bârôčû la-nabî̯ât* 'to his servants, the prophets.'

የንጉሥ ፡ ቴዎድሮስ ፡ *i̯a-nĕgûš têu̯ôdĕrôs* 'of king Theodore.'

ወደ ፡ አመንዝራ ፡ ሴት ፡ *u̯ada 'amanzĕrâ sêt* 'to a harlot woman.'

Adverbial Qualification.

Circumstantial.

A noun or adjective is used in what may be called circumstantial or adverbial apposition to another noun to indicate the condition of that noun when the action of the sentence is performed. In Assyrian the appositive is represented by the adverbial derivative in *-iš*: in Arabic the indefinite accusative of the appositive is employed: in Ethiopic the appositive, which stood originally in the accusative as in Arabic, may stand in either nominative or accusative when the governing noun is a

nominative; a suffix referring to the governing noun is most commonly added to the appositive: in Tigriña the appositive takes a suffix as in Ethiopic, and stands thus, or is placed after the preposition ብ: in Amharic the suffix is employed with a few special words[1] used as appositives, sometimes with accusative determinant ን, otherwise the appositive stands absolutely: in the other languages the noun or adjective is regularly used without change of form: in Hebrew instead of the adjective רַיק, an adverbial form רֵיקָם is employed; the appositive adjective or noun usually agrees in gender and number with the governing noun; the adverbial forms are invariable; hence sometimes by analogy the noun or adjective is uninflected.[2] e. g.,

Ass. *šarru šalṭiš ittallak* 'the king went as a ruler.'
šarru êdiš ipparšid 'the king fled alone.'

Arab. سار متوجها الى المدينة *sâra mutaṵajjiha*ⁿ *'ila 'l-madînati* 'he journeyed, going towards Medina.'
جاء زيد باكيا *jâ'a zaiḍu*ⁿ *bâkiiạ*ⁿ 'Zaid came weeping.'
لقيت عمرا باكيا *laqaiṭu 'amra*ⁿ *bâkiiạ*ⁿ 'I met Amru weeping.'

Eth. ወሖረ : ብእሲ : ትኩዙ : *ṵa-hôra bĕ'ĕsî tĕkûz-û* 'and the man went away sad.'
ነቅሀ : ብእሲ : ድንጉፅ : *naqha bĕ'ĕsî dĕngûḍ-ô* 'the man awoke terrified.'
ረከብክዎሙ : ፍሡሓኒሆሙ : *rakabkĕṵômû fĕšûḥânî-hômû* 'I found them joyful.'
ይትርፉ : አዳም : ወሔዋ : ሕዙናነ : *or* ሕዙናን : *iĕtrĕfû 'adâm ṵaḥêṵâ ḥĕzûnâna* or *ḥĕzûnân* 'Adam and Eve shall remain behind sad.'
ርኢኩ : ንዋኃወ : ሰማይ : ፍቱሓተ : *rĕ'îkû ḫaṵâḫṵa samâi fĕtûḥâta* 'I saw the gates of heaven standing open.'

Ta. ጥራሑ : ኃደሜ : *ţĕrâḥ-û ḫâdamê* 'he fled naked.'
ጥራዩ : ሰደዱዎ : *ţĕrâi-û sadadṵô* 'they drove him forth naked.'
ብዕውሩ : ዝተወልዱ : *bĕ-'ĕṵr-û zĕ-taṵaldê* 'who was born blind.'
ዙሎም : ሕዝቢ : እለው : ብምሉኦም : ይጽልዩ : ኦብደጌ : *kuĕllôm ḥĕzbî 'allaṵ bĕ-mĕlû-'ôm iĕçlĕiû 'abdagê* 'all the people were praying in a multitude before the door.'

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[1] Cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 346—348.

[2] Examples in which a noun is modified by the appositive not being always available, cases in which the appositive modifies a pronoun are added to show the construction.

ሰደደ ፡ ሐና ፡ ብእሱሩ ፡ ኀየሱስ ፡ *sadad-ô ḥannâ bĕ-'ĕsûr-û nĕ-ḏasûs* 'Hanna sent Jesus bound.'

Amh. ምድርም ፡ ባዶ ፡ ነበረች ፡ *mĕdr-ĕm bâdô nabbarač* 'and the earth was empty.'

ባዶውንም ፡ ሰደዳት ፡ *bâdô-ṵ-n-ĕm saddadû-t* 'and he sent him forth empty-handed.'

እራቁቱን ፡ ከርሳቸው ፡ አመለጠ ፡ *'ĕrâqût-û-nkarsâčaṵ 'amallaṭa* 'he fled from them naked.'

የመበለቲንም ፡ በሬ ፡ መያዣ ፡ ወሰዱ ፡ *ḏa-mabalat-û-n-ĕm barê maḏâžâ ṵassadû* 'and the widow's ox they took as security.'

Heb. אֵרֵד אֶל־בְּנִי אָבֵל 'I will go down to my son as a mourner.'

עֲרוֹם הִלְּכוּ 'naked they go about.'

יָמוּתוּ אֲנָשִׁים 'they shall die as men.'

אֲנִי מְלֵאָה הָלַכְתִּי וְרֵיקָם הֱשִׁיבַנִי יהוה 'I went forth (with) full (hands) and JHVH brings me back empty (handed).'

לֹא תֵלְכוּ רֵיקָם 'ye shall not go forth empty-handed.'

אַלְמָנוֹת שִׁלַּחְתָּ רֵיקָם 'the widows thou hast sent away empty-handed.'

Syr. ܘܥܠ ܗܘ ܠܓܘܗ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܐܬܐ 'and he went into it first.'

אִיסְחָק אוֹלִד לְיַעֲקוֹב בַּר ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܪ ܫܬܝܢ שְׁתִּין שְׁנִין 'Isaac begot Jacob when be was 60 years old.'

נְפְתַּח רְדִיפָא קָם רַשָּׁא לְעַמַּה ܢܦܬܚ ܪܕܝܦܐ ܩܡ ܪܫܐ ܠܥܡܗ 'Jephtah, the fugitive, rose as the chief of his people.'

A noun may also be modified by the adverbial ideas 'also', 'only, alone', 'indeed (simple emphasis)' which belong to the same general class of ideas as the preceding.

Also.

'Also' is expressed by the following words, viz.,

Eth.	-ኒ, -ሂ *-nî, -hî*
Amh.	ደግሞ ፡ *dagmô*
Ta.	-ውን, ከዓም ፡ *-ṵĕn, ka'âm*
Arab.	ايضا *'aḏa*
Heb.	גַּם, אַף
Syr.	ܐܦ אָף (so Aramaic in general).
Mod. Syr.	ܐܘܦ *'ûp*

The Ethiopic, Tigriña, and Arabic forms stand after the modified noun, -ኒ, -ሂ, and -ውን being enclitic; in Ethiopic ወ may precede the modified noun in addition: the Hebrew and

Aramaic forms precede; in Hebrew, however, it is more common to place גם after the noun with a pronoun referring to the noun following it. e. g.,

Eth. የሱስሂ : *ïasûs-hî* } 'Jesus also.'
ወየሱስሂ : *ïa-ïasûs-hî* }
ወበምድርኒ : *ïa-ba-mĕdr-nî* 'and in the earth also.'
ወእንስሳሂ : *ïa-'ĕnsĕsâ-hî* 'and the beasts also.'

Ta. ንስንበትውን : *nĕ-sanbat-ïĕn* 'of the Sabbath also.'
ቀራጻት : ከዓም : *qarâçât ka'âm* 'the publicans also.'

Arab. الكلب ايضا *al-kalbu 'aïḍa*ⁿ 'the dog also.'
هابيل ايضا *hâbîlu 'aïḍa*ⁿ 'Abel also.'

Heb. הָאִישׁ גַּם־הוּא 'the man also.'
הֲגַם שָׁאוּל בַּנְּבִיאִם 'is Saul also among the prophets?'

Syr. אָף דָּוִיד ܐܦ ܕܘܝܕ 'David also.'

Only.[1]

The idea 'only, alone' is expressed by the following words, viz.,

Eth. ባሕቲት : *bâḥtît*
Ta. ብሕት : *bĕḥt*
Amh. ብቻ : *bĕčâ*
Arab. فقط *faqaṭ*, لا غير *lâ ġaïru*
Eg. Arab. فقط, بس *faqaṭ*, *bess.*
Heb. לְבַד, רַק, אַךְ
Syr. בַּלְחוּד ܒܠܚܘܕ
Mod. Syr. اسچى *'aḫčî*

All these words except the Arabic, Modern Syriac(?), and Hebrew רק, אך, take a suffix referring to the noun they modify, and follow their noun;[2] classical Arabic *faqaṭ*, which means literally 'and that's enough,' or 'and that's all,' and *lâ ġaïru* 'not besides,'[3] regularly stand at the end of the sentence; in Egyptian Arabic the words may precede or follow their noun: Hebrew רק and אך precede the noun. e. g.,

Eth. ብእሲ : ባሕቲቱ : *bĕ'ĕsî bâḥtît-û* 'the man alone, only the man.'
ኖኅ : ባሕቲቱ : *nôḥ bâḥtît-û* 'only Noah.'

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[1] In Assyrian the idea 'alone', and probably also 'only' is expressed by *êdiššu* + suffix, viz., *êdiššišu*, cf. Del. HB. p. 20.

[2] Compare with these Coptic *ouaa* 'alone' + suffixes, Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 84.

[3] With these are to be compared the Modern Persian وبس *va-bás* 'only (and enough),' and the Spanish *no mas* in such expressions as *dos libros no mas* 'two books only.'

Ta. ሕዝቢ ፡ ብሕትም ፡ *ḥĕzbî bĕḥt-ôm* 'the people alone.'
Amh. ከይሁዲ ፡ ነገድ ፡ ከብቻው ፡ በቀር ፡ *ka-ïĕhûd nagad ka-bĕčâ-ï̯u baqar* 'except the tribe of Judah only.'[1]
ለካህናት ፡ ብቻ ፡ *la-kâhĕnât bĕčâ* 'to the priests alone.'
Cl. Arab. جاء يسوف فقط *jâ'a ï̯usûfu faqaṭ* 'only Joseph came.'
Eg. Arab. فقط خمس قروش *faqaṭ ḫamas qurûš* } 'only five
خمس قروش فقط *ḫamas qurûš faqaṭ* } piasters.'
بس اربعه قروش *bess arbaa qurûš* 'only four piasters.'
Heb. יַעֲקֹב לְבַדּוֹ 'Jacob alone, only Jacob.'
אַדְמַת הַכֹּהֲנִים לְבַדָּם 'the land of the priests alone.'
רַק אַדְמַת הַכֹּהֲנִים 'only the land of the priests.'
אַךְ־נֹחַ 'only Noah.'
Syr. ܟܗܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ 'only the priest.'

Simple Emphasis.

In some of the languages a special adverbial particle of pronominal origin is employed to emphasize the noun. Such particles are found in Assyrian, Ethiopic, Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, and Mandaic,[2] viz.,

Ass. *-ma*
Eth. -ma *-ma*, ክma ፡ *kĕma*
Te. ፡ *tû*[3]
Syr. ܗܘ: Man. הו
Arab. -ل *la-*
Heb. -לְ

Except in Arabic and Hebrew these particles regularly follow their noun; e. g.,

Ass. *šar Aššur-ma* 'king of Assyria.'
ina šatti-ma šiâti 'in that very year.'
ina girrï̯a-ma 'on my campaign.'

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[1] The preposition *ka* is here repeated before the apposition *bĕčâ* (cf. p. 247).

[2] These particles are employed to emphasize not only nouns but all parts of speech. In Mandaic *hu* seems to be used chiefly with pronouns. With this use of *hû* in Aramaic is to be compared the so-called adverbial use of the demonstrative זה and הוא in Hebrew, chiefly with interrogative pronouns; these emphatic demonstratives are apparently not employed with nouns. Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 463, 464.

Similar emphatic particles are found in most of the Philippine languages, e. g., Tagalog *ñga*, Bisaya *man*, etc.

[3] Used chiefly with verbs, but also with other words, probably including nouns, tho no examples are given by Littmann. As an example of its use will serve ኦብካ ፡ ፡ *'ĕb-kâ tû* 'in thee indeed;' cf. *Te. Pron.* pp. 301—303.

Eth. ውስተ ፡ መታክፊሁመ ፡ *ṵ̈esta matâkfî-hû-ma* 'on his own shoulders.'
ሕያዋን ፡ ክመ ፡ *ḥĕïâṵân kĕma* 'the living (not the dead).'
ውስተ ፡ ከርሥ ፡ ክመ ፡ *ṵ̈esta karš kĕma* 'merely into the belly.'
አኮ ፡ በኅብስት ፡ ክመ ፡ *'akkô ba-ḥĕbĕst kĕma* 'not by bread alone.'

Syr. ܠܒܢܝܢܐ ܗܘ ܓܝܪ ܕܡܝܐ ܠܒܝܫܬܐ 'for she is like a *building*.'
ܠܒܝܫܬܐ ܗܘ 'to *evil*.'

The Arabic and Hebrew[1] particles precede the noun, e. g.,
Arab. لالموت *la-'l-maṵtu* 'death itself.'
Heb. לְכֶלֶב חַי 'verily a dead dog' (Ecc. 9, 4).

In Syriac a somewhat similar emphasis is conferred by placing the personal pronoun of the third person before the noun or a noun with modifiers; the pronoun agrees with the noun in gender and number: e. g.,
ܗܘ ܐܪܡܝܐ 'he, Jeremiah.'
ܗܘ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܢܛܘܪܐ 'the law of the watchman.'
ܗܢܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܛܘܒܢܐ 'these blessed ones.'
ܗܝ ܗܕܐ ܒܘܪܟܬܐ 'this blessing.'

With this construction is to be compared the Biblical Aramaic
הוא צַלְמָא 'that image, with regard to that image' (Dan. 2, 32), and the cases in Mandaic in which the personal pronoun of the third person is used before a noun,[2] e. g.,
הינון מלאכיא 'they, the angels.'
הע רוחא 'she, the Ruha.'

Sentence Qualification.

A noun is often modified by a whole sentence. This sentence may be a relative clause with or without connecting relative pronoun;[3] or the sentence, with or without connecting relative

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[1] For this particle in Hebrew, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr. II. Syntax*, p. 110, and the literature there referred to.

[2] It is also possible that these Mandaic pronouns are used here simply as demonstrative adjectives, just as they are in many cases after the noun; cf. Nöld. *Man. Gr.* pp. 336, 337.

[3] The relative pronoun is at times varied for gender and number, viz.,
Eth. H *za-*, f. እንተ ፡ *'ĕnta*; pl. እለ ፡ *'ĕlla*: cf. Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p, 295.

pronoun, may stand as a sort of *nomen rectum* after the construct state of the noun.

The first construction is found in all the languages. The relative pronoun regularly stands at the beginning of its clause except in Amharic and Tigre; in Amharic it always, in Tigre it usually stands immediately before the verb.[1] The relative clause regularly follows its noun in Assyrian, Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic, though in Assyrian, Syriac, and Mandaic instances of preposition are sometimes found; in Ethiopic, Tigriña, and Tigre it may either precede or follow; in Amharic long relative clauses usually follow, while with short clauses preposition is the regular rule, tho even in this case the relative clause often follows when its antecedent has another modifier. In Arabic, and usually in Mehri, the relative pronoun is used only when the modified noun is definite.[2] In Mineo-Sabean a relative clause is extremely rare, its place being taken by a

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Ta. sg. ዝ *zĕ-* pl. እለ፡እሉ፡ *'ĕlla 'ĕllĕ* (the demonstratives እዝ፡ *'ĕ-* and እቲ፡ *'ĕt* are also employed as relatives): cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 165.

Arab. الذى *allaδî*, f. التى *allatî*; pl. m. الذين *allaδîna*, f. اللاتى *allâtî* (other forms sg. and pl., and a dual occur; ذو, usually indeclinable, but also with a full series of forms, is used in some dialects) cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. pp. 270—273.

Min. ذ δ, f. ذت, ان δt, 'n; pl. ال 'l: cf. Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* pp. 15, 16.

Meh. sg. *da, de, di* pl. *la, le, li*: cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 28.

In many languages, however, it has become an invariable particle, viz. Ass. *ša*: Te. ለ, ላ *la-*, *lâ-*: Amh. ያ, ያም *ja-*, *jam-* (ያም before imperfect otherwise ያ): Mod. Arab. الى *elle* (cf. Wahrm. *Prakt. Handb.* p. 181: for other dialectic forms cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 325, § 109 c.): Heb. אשר (also Mo.), שֶׁ; the demonstratives זֶה, זוּ, זוֹ are also used as relatives (cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 118, 467, 468): Phen. אש, ש: Aram. די, ד.

In some languages the regular demonstratives are also employed as relatives, so, e. g., in Hebrew and Tigriña. In Classical Arabic and Hebrew the article is occasionally used as relative; cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I p. 269; Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 468 (§ 138 i). It is not impossible that the Tigre relative and article are identical (ctr. p. 142, n. 2). For the forms of the relatives in general, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 324—326 (§ 109).

[1] In compound verbal forms in Amharic and Tigre, the relative regularly stands with the auxiliary (cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 255); Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 308 [L.'s statement as to Amharic is a mistake]).

[2] This is also the rule in Coptic, cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 219—221.

clause standing as *nomen rectum* to an antecedent (cf. below).[1] e. g.,

Ass. *mâtu ša akšudu* 'the land that I conquered.'
ša epuš-šunûti dunqu 'the favor that I showed them.'

Eth. መርዓት ፡ ዘሞተ ፡ ምታ ፡ *marʿât za-môta mĕt-â* 'a bride whose husband is dead.'
ዘኵሎ ፡ ይእኅዝ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ *za-kuĕllô iĕ'ĕḫĕz 'ĕgzîa-bḥêr* 'God who holds all things.'

Arab. المدينة التى ظهرت له *al-madînatu allatî ẓaharat lahu* 'the city which appeared to him.'

Meh. *u̯uzir di-sḥâṯ ḥabuniie* 'the vizier who killed my children.'

Ta. ሰብ ፡ ዝወጹ ፡ እንካመቃበር ፡ *sab zĕ-u̯açê 'ĕnkâm-maqâbar* 'a man who came out of the graves.'

Te. ወለት ፡ ... ማርያ ፡ ለትተበሀል ፡ *u̯alat ... mâriâ la-tĕtbahal* 'a maiden who was called Mary.'
አና ፡ ለእሰትያ ፡ ጽዋእ ፡ *'anâ la-'ĕsatĕiâ çĕu̯â* 'the cup which I will drink.'

Amh. የከበረች ፡ ነገር ፡ *i̯a-kabbarač nagar* 'a matter which is honorable.'
አንድ ፡ ሰውም ፡ ነበረ ፡ የታመመ ፡ *'and sau̯-ĕm nabbara i̯a-tâmama* 'and there was a man who was sick.'
መዐዛው ፡ ደማረ ፡ ሽቱ ፡ *maʿazâ-u̯ i̯âmâra šĕt-û* 'spices whose odor is pleasant.'
አማኑኤል ፡ ... ትርጓሜው ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ከኛ ፡ ጋራ ፡ የሆነ ፡ *'amânû'êl ... tĕrguâmê-u̯ 'ĕgzî'abḥêr kañâ gârâ i̯ahôna* 'Emanuel ... whose interpretation is "God with us".'

Heb. הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר בָּא הֵנָּה 'the man who came here.'

Bib. Aram. צַלְמָא דִי הֲקִים מַלְכָּא 'the image that the king had erected.'

Syr. ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܩܒܠ ܡܠܟܐ 'the word of God which he had received.'
ܠܝܬ ܕܡܚܫܒ ܐܢܫ ܠܝܬ 'there was no one who thought.'

Man. האך דמותא דהזא 'that image which he saw.'
ואיתיליא דיאיא עצטלא 'and brought me a garment which was beautiful.'

A relative clause has in many cases, especially if it is short,

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[1] The relative pronoun in Mineo-Sabean is practically always a compound relative including its antecedent, cf. Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* p. 15.

become simply an adjective; this is particularly true in Ethiopic, Tigriña, Tigre, and Amharic;[1] when the noun depends on a preposition the preposition may stand before the relative clause, the relative pronoun being omitted in Amharic (cf. below). e. g.,

Eth. ዘዐዐቢ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ *za-ʿaʿabî bĕrhân* 'the great light (light that is great).'

በእንተ ፡ ኀለፈት ፡ ሌሊት ፡ *ba-ʾĕnta ḫalafat lêlît* 'in the night which has passed.'

Ta. እንካብ ፡ እትመጽእ ፡ ምዓት ፡ *ʾĕnkâb ʾĕt-maçĕʾ mĕʿât* 'from the wrath to come.'

The relative clause may stand after the noun without relative pronoun[2] in Assyrian, Arabic, Mehri, Hebrew, Samaritan, and Modern Syriac, and less frequently in Biblical Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian, Syriac, and Mandaic. In Arabic no relative is employed when the noun is indefinite: in Mehri the relative is regularly omitted in this case, but also at times when the antecedent is definite: in Hebrew the use of the relative clause without relative pronoun is more common in poetry: in Modern Syriac this omission is very common in relative sentences whose subject is a noun with suffix, and whose predicate is an adjective; in such relative clauses the copula is also omitted. e. g.,

Ass. *bîtu epušu* 'the house that I built.'

Arab. رجل يقال له زيد *rajulu*ⁿ *ʿiuqâlu lahu zaiduⁿ* 'a man who was called Zaid.'

Meh. *rîśît tetûi̯ hâbû* 'a snake that eats men.'

Heb. הַגֶּבֶר יֶחֱסֶה־בּוֹ 'the man that trusts in him' (Ps. 34, 9).

Bib. Aram. צֶלֶם דִּי־דְהַב רוּמֵהּ אַמִּין שִׁתִּין 'a golden image whose height was 60 cubits.'

Sam. באַרעא לית לון 'in a land which is not theirs.'

Syr. ܐܢܫܐ ܐܝܘܒ ܫܡܗ 'אָנָשָׁא אִיוֹב שְׁמֵהּ 'a man whose name was Job.'

Man.[3] גאברא ראם שומה 'a man whose name was Ram.'

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[1] Coptic forms similar adjectives, cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 81, 219.

[2] The relative may be omitted in both Egyptian and Coptic, in the latter as in Arabic; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 281; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 219—221. Omission of the relative is also common in English.

[3] The omission of the relative is specially frequent in Mandaic in clauses which give the name of a person as here; cf. Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 460.

Mod. Syr. ܫܠܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܦܐܬܐ ܫܦܝܪܬܐ *hâ 'nâšâ pât-û šâpîrtâ* 'a man with a handsome face.'

In Amharic the relative particle የ (the ም of የም is retained) introducing a preceding relative clause, is omitted like the sign of the genitive (cf. p. 228 above) whenever the modified noun is governed by a preposition or the sign of the genitive; e. g.,

ወደ ፡ ከበረ ፡ (for የከ-) ሰው ፡ *ṵada kabbara* (for *i̯a-ka-*) *saṵ* 'towards a man who is honorable.'

ከበሮ ፡ የሚመቱ ፡ (for የየሚ-) ደስታ ፡ *kabrô i̯a-mîmatû* (for *i̯a-i̯a-mî-*) *dastâ* 'the joy of those who beat drums.'

ኃጢአት ፡ በሚሰሩ ፡ (for በየየሚ-) ረድኤት ፡ ላይ ፡ *ḫâṭî'at ba-mîsarû* (for *ba-i̯a-i̯a-mî-*) *rad'êt lâi̯* 'against the help of those who do iniquity.'

በተቀመጠበት ፡ (for በየየተ-) እጅ ፡ *ba-taqammaṭa-bat* (for *ba-i̯a-i̯a-ta-*) *'ĕj* 'in the hand of the one who sat upon him.'

In Amharic the relative clause is treated as a unit and may take the sign of determination (*û*, ው; or after *û*, ት or ቸ) and the accusative ን, just like the genitive phrase (cf. p. 229 above), e. g.,

ያረፈው ፡ አባትህ ፡ *i̯ârrafa-ṵ 'abâtĕh* 'your deceased (who has died) father.'

የተገደሉት ፡ ሰዎች ፡ *i̯a-tagaddalû-t šaṵôč* 'the who-were-killed men'.

ያዘዘውን ፡ ቍርባኑን ፡ *i̯âzzaza-ṵ-ĕn quĕrbân-û-n* 'the sacrifice (acc.) which he ordered.'

In Tigre a relative clause modifying a noun with article either stands after the noun or (rarely) is placed between the article and the noun, e. g.,

ለአካን ፡ ላይቦ ፡ ከረዎ ፡ (or ይቦ ፡ ላከረዎ ፡) *la-'akân la-dîb-â karaṵ-ô* (*dîb-â lâ-karaṵ-ô*) 'the place in which they laid him.'

ምስላ ፡ ስክብእቱ ፡ ለዓላ ፡ ዐራት ፡ *mĕs-lâ* (article) *sakĕb-'ĕtû la-'âlâ* (relative + auxil. verb) *'arât* 'with the which-he-was-lying-upon-it bed.'

Examples in which a sentence depending on a noun stands as *nomen rectum* after the construct state are found in Arabic, Ethiopic, Hebrew, and Mineo-Sabean. In the first three languages they are comparatively rare, being most frequent when the modified noun denotes a division of time, but in Mineo-Sabean this construction takes the place of the relative clause introduced by relative pronoun.[1] e. g.,

[1] Cf. D. H. Müller, *Der status constructus im Himyarischen,* ZDMG. 30, pp. 117—124.

Arab. الى يوم يبعثون *'ilâ iaumi iub'athûna* 'till the day when they shall be raised up.'

زمن الحجاج امير *zamana 'l-ḥajâju 'amîru*ⁿ 'at the time when Hajaj was emir.'

Eth. ልማደ : ይበልዑ : ኅቡረ : *lĕmâda ïĕbalĕ'û ḫĕbûra* 'the custom of eating together.'

መዋዕለ : ነገሥ : ዳዊት : *maua'la nagša dâuît* 'the days when David reigned.'

Heb. בְּיַד תִּשְׁלָח 'by the hand (of him) thou wilt send' (Ex. 4, 13).

בְּיוֹם דִּבֶּר יהוה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה 'at the time when JHVH spoke to Moses' (Ex. 6, 28).

Min. بن محفد بنى *bn mḥfd bnï* 'from the tower (that) he built.'

بعد حدثة حدثت *b'd ḥdtht ḥdtht* 'after the accident (that) happened.'

علم را *'lm r'* 'the token (that) he saw.'

In Hebrew a sentence in this construction is often introduced by a relative pronoun; in Arabic, sometimes by a subordinate conjunction. In Hebrew this is especially frequent after the noun מקום 'place.' e. g.,

Heb. כָּל־יְמֵי אֲשֶׁר הַנֶּגַע בּוֹ 'all the time that the plague is upon him' (Lev. 13, 46).

מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אֲסִירֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲסוּרִים 'the place where the king's captives were imprisoned' (Gen. 39, 20).

Arab. وقت ان استتر *uaqta 'an-i 'statara* 'at the time that he hid himself.'

Nominal Coordination.

Two on more coordinated nouns may in some languages be joined together without conjunction;[1] so in Assyrian, Amharic, Tigriña, Babylonian Talmudic, Modern Egyptian Arabic, and Modern Syriac: e. g.,

Ass. *šamê erçitiᵐ* 'of heaven and earth.'
biltu mandattu 'tribute and offering.'
Nabû Marduk 'Nebo and Marduk.'

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[1] Asyndeton is found also in Egyptian (cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 113): in Indo-European it also occurs in a number of languages, viz., Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, and Russian; cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 181—194. In Sanskrit two such nouns often form a compound (*dvandva*), cf. *op. cit.* pp. 190—192.

Amh. ጉግሣን ፡ አሉላን ፡ *guĕgšâ-n 'alûlâ-n* (acc.) 'Guegsa and Alula.'

ቅጥር ፡ ሳንቃ ፡ ቍልፍ ፡ *qĕṭr sânqâ quĕlf* 'wall, door, and bolt.'

Ta. ኦሪት ፡ ነቢያት ፡ *'ôrît nabîi̯ât* 'the law and the prophets.'

መንገዲ ፡ ኦነት ፡ ሕይወት ፡ *mangadî 'ûnat ḥĕi̯u̯at* 'the way, the truth, and the life.'

Bab. Tal. במסכתא בפוריא באושפיזא 'with regard to the treatise, the couch, and the lodgings.'

Eg. Arab. رحنا بريس لندره برلين فئنه استمبول اسكندريه *ruḥnâ barîs lundera barlîn fi'enna istambûl, iskenderîi̯e* 'we journeyed to Paris, London, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, Alexandria.'

Mod. Syr. ܣܦܪܐ ܦܪܝܫܐ *sâperê perîšê* 'the Scribes and Pharisees.'

Ordinarily, however, they are joined together by a conjunction meaning 'and'. In all the languages except Amharic and Tigriña[1] the construction is simple, and consists in joining the different words together by some form of the conjunction *u̯a.* If there are three or more words so connected, the conjunction may be omitted before all but the last two; so in Ethiopic, Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic (here apparently the regular construction), and Mandaic. e. g.,

Ass. *ša šamê u erçiti*^{m} 'of heaven and earth.'

ardu u amtu 'manservant and maid.'

Nabû u Marduk 'Nebo and Marduk.'

Arab. ابوه وامه *'abûhu u̯a-'ummuhu* 'his father and his mother.'

كل شىء من الشاء والنعم والنخل والزرع *kullu šai̯'i*^{n} *mina 'š-šâ'i u̯a-'n-naʿami u̯a-'n-naḫli u̯a-'z-zarʿi* 'all kinds of flocks and camels and palms and grains.'

Eth. ኅብስት ፡ ወወይን ፡ *ḫĕbĕst u̯a-u̯ai̯n* 'bread and wine.'

ሶምሶን ፡ ወአቡሁ ፡ ወእሙ ፡ *sômsôn u̯a-abûhû u̯a-'ĕmmû* 'Samson, his father and his mother.'

መንግሥት ፡ ኀይል ፡ ወሰብሐት ፡ *mangĕšt ḫai̯l u̯a-sĕbḥat* 'the kingdom, the power, and the glory.'

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[1] What the construction is in Tigre does not appear, as Littmann in his two articles on Tigre discusses only the pronouns and the verb.

Heb. הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ 'heaven and earth.'
צֹאן וּבָקָר וַעֲבָדִים וּשְׁפָחוֹת 'sheep, cattle, men-servants, and maid-servants.'
בַּמִּקְנֶה בַּכֶּסֶף וּבַזָּהָב 'in cattle, silver and gold.'

Bib. Aram. חֶלְמָא וּפִשְׁרַהּ 'the dream and its interpretation.'
מַתְּנָן וּגְבִזְבָּה וִיקָר שַׁגִּי 'gifts and a reward and great honor.'
מַלְכוּתָא וּרְבוּתָא וִיקָר וְהַדְרָא 'the kingdom, power, glory, and honor.'
לְחֲנַנְיָה מִישָׁאֵל וַעֲזַרְיָה 'to Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah.'

Syr. ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ 'heaven and earth.'
ܐܪܥܐ ܟܪܡܐ ܘܙܝܬܐ 'the land, the vine and the olive.'

Bab. Tal. תרנוגלא חמרא ושרגא 'a cock, an ass, and a candle.'

Man. מן קולאליא ופירוניא ושושלאתא 'from snares, punishments, and chains.'
בחירבא נורא ועשאתא 'with sword, fire, and burning.'

Mod. Syr. ܒܚܪܐ ܘܫܚܘܢܝܐ *bahrâ ṵa-šeḫûniâ* 'light and warmth.'

Sometimes with groups of more than three nouns the conjunction is used in more than one case, tho not in all. This is due ordinarily to the fact that all the elements are not coordinate, but that some are more closely connected than others; it may in some cases be due to textual corruption. This phenomenon is probably found in most if not all of the languages. Examples are available in Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Mandaic, and Egyptian Arabic, e. g.,

Heb. לַבַּעַל לַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וְלַיָּרֵחַ וְלַמַּזָּלוֹת וּלְכָל צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם 'to Baal, to the sun, moon, constellations, and all the host of heaven.'
חֹדֶשׁ וְשַׁבָּת קְרֹא מִקְרָא 'new moon and sabbath, the calling of an assembly.'
מֹר־וַאֲהָלוֹת קְצִיעוֹת 'myrrh, aloes, and cassia.'[1]
אֱלִיפַז הַתֵּימָנִי וּבִלְדַּד הַשּׁוּחִי צֹפַר הַנַּעֲמָתִי 'Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite.'

[1] Perhaps the first two are to be considered as more closely connected with one another than with the third element. This is indicated by the fact that in three of the four passages in which the word for 'aloes' occurs it is preceded by מר as here (Ps.45, 9). It is not impossible, however, that the order of the words is wrong, and that the reading should be קציעות ואהלות מר (so Haupt).

Bib. Aram. מַלְכָּא וְרַבְרְבָנוֹהִי שַׁגְלָתֵהּ וּלְחָנָתֵהּ 'the king and his councillors, his queens and his concubines.'

סָרְכֵי מַלְכוּתָא סִגְנַיָּא וַאֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא הַדָּבְרַיָּא וּפַחֲוָתָא 'the ministers of the kingdom, the governors and the princes, the councillors and the satraps.'

לֵאלָהֵי דַּהֲבָא וְכַסְפָּא נְחָשָׁא פַּרְזְלָא אָעָא וְאַבְנָא 'to gods of gold and silver, of bronze, iron, wood and stone.'

מַלְכוּתָא חִסְנָא וְתָקְפָּא וְיֵקָרָא 'the kingdom, power and strength, and glory.'

בְּסַרְבָּלֵיהוֹן פַּטְשֵׁיהוֹן וְכַרְבְּלָתְהוֹן וּלְבוּשֵׁיהוֹן 'in their mantels (?), their cloaks (?), and their hats, (and their clothes)'[1] [Dan. 3, 21].

Man. מאנא סאדא הלאצא ומצארא ופכארא ונגאדא 'the instrument, the foot-block, the torture and the twisting, and the fettering and racking.'

היואניאתא ביריאתא ונוניא וציפאר גאדפא 'wild animals, cattle, and fish and birds.'

הידרא זיוא ונהורא ועקארא 'magnificence, splendor, and light and honor.'

Eg. Arab. واحد قميس وواحد لباس واحد عريه وواحد طربوش *ـٱâhid qamîs ـٱe-ـٱâhid libâs ـٱâhid ʿirîe ـٱe-ـٱâhid ṭarbûš* 'a shirt and a pair of drawers, a cloak and a fez.'

In Amharic and Tigriña, when a copulative conjunction is used to connect the nouns, the construction is somewhat more complicated than in the other languages. In Amharic —ና is employed like *ـٱa* between the words to be connected: —ም is ordinarily added to a word which is to be connected with a preceding word, tho it is sometimes employed also with the first of two nouns; when the element to be connected by —ም consists of two or more words, the conjunction is not necessarily added to the first element, but may be taken by one of the others. When more than two words are to be connected they may be placed together without connective (cf. above), or one or more pairs may be connected by one or the other of the conjunctions —ና, —ም; these conjunctions may be used together in the same chain of coordinated nouns, but not to connect the same pair of words. e. g.,

[1] The last element is probably a gloss, explaining the unusual terms preceding.

ሰማይና ፡ ምድር ፡ *samâi̯-nâ mĕdr* 'heaven and earth.'

መፍረስ ፡ መሰበርም ፡ *mafras masabar-m* 'destruction and devastation.'

መፍረስ ፡ ታላቅ ፡ መሰበርም ፡ *mafras tâlâq masabar-m* 'destruction and great devastation.'

የጋለሞቶች ፡ እናት ፡ የምድርም ፡ ርዙሰት ፡ ሁሉ ፡ *i̯a-gâlamôtôč 'ĕnât i̯a-mĕdr-ĕm rĕkuĕsat hûlû* 'the mother of harlots and of all wickedness of the earth.'

ኦሪትም ፡ ነቢያትም ፡ *'ôrît-ĕm nabîi̯ât-ĕm* 'the law and the prophets.'

የሥጋ ፡ መመኛት ፡ የዓይንም ፡ መመኛት ፡ የሰውም ፡ ትምክሕት ፡ *i̯a-šegâ mamañât i̯a-'âi̯n-ĕm mamañât i̯a-sau̯-m tĕmkĕḥt* 'lust of the flesh and lust of the eye and pride of life.'

አልጋ ፡ ማዕድ ፡ ወንበርና ፡ መቅረዝ ፡ *'algâ mâ'd u̯anbar-nâ maqraz* 'bed, table, chair, and candlestick.'

In Tigriña each element to be connected, including the first, is ordinarily followed by enclitic —ውን or —ን; in any one chain of nouns the connectives may be all the same, or both may be used. Sometimes —ውን or —ን[1] is used like Amharic —ም only after the element to be connected, especially if it consists of more than one word. e. g.,

አቦውን ፡ እኖውን ፡ *'abô-u̯ĕn 'ĕnô-u̯ĕn* 'father and mother.'

ደምን ፡ ማይን ፡ *dam-ĕn mâi̯-n* 'blood and water.'

መንገዲውን ፡ ኡነትውን ፡ ሕይወትን ፡ (ሕይወትውን) ፡ *mangadî-u̯ĕn 'ûnat-u̯ĕn hĕi̯u̯at-ĕn* (or *hĕi̯u̯at-u̯ĕn*) 'the way, the truth, and the life.'

ንይሁዳውን ፡ ንኣዋቶን ፡ *nĕ-i̯ĕhûdâ-u̯ĕn nĕ-ḫau̯ât-û-n*[2] 'to Judah and his brethren.'

ንቁልኣን ፡ ንኖኡውን ፡ *nĕ-qual'â-n nĕnô-'û-u̯ĕn*[2] 'to the child and its mother.'

የሱስ ፡ ደቀ ፡ መዛሙርቶውን ፡ *i̯asûs daqa mazâmûrt-û-u̯ĕn* 'Jesus and his disciples.'

Conclusion.

The various qualifications of the noun in Semitic, then, are expressed in general as follows.

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[1] No example of —ን in this use is available, but the rule in all probability applies to it as well as to —ውን.

[2] The preposition on which the first noun depends is almost always repeated as here, cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 340 f.

Both simple determination and simple indetermination are often without special means of expression. Generally speaking the Semitic languages have developed two ways of indicating simple determination, viz., by article and by possessive suffix. Simple indetermination is expressed by indefinite articles derived in some languages from an indefinite enclitic particle *ma*, but more frequently by the numeral 'one'.

Simple qualification is expressed by the descriptive adjective, which agrees with its noun in general in case, gender, number, and determination; sometimes the two are joined together in a construct chain.

The demonstrative pronouns used as adjectives express demonstrative qualification; they have rules of concord similar to those of the descriptive adjective, but tho they require their noun to be in the definite state, it is only in Hebrew that the demonstrative itself takes the definite article.

The interrogative 'which' is ordinarily expressed by an adjective; 'whose', by the genitive of 'who'; 'how much', in most cases by a word formed of a preposition meaning 'as, like' + the neuter interrogative 'what'.

Indefinite pronominal ideas are expressed sometimes by adjectives, sometimes by substantives followed by the genitive or a prepositional phrase, sometimes in other ways; at times they are expressed simply by the construction itself.

Numeral qualification is expressed by the cardinal and ordinal numerals. The cardinals may stand as adjectives or appositives, or they may take their noun in the genitive or accusative. The numbers from 'three' to 'ten' have what might be called a reversed concord of gender. The noun is sometimes singular, sometimes plural, the number depending in some cases on the numeral, in others on the noun. The ordinals may be expressed either by the ordinals proper, or by cardinals in the ordinal construction or after the noun in the genitive.

Case relation between two nouns may be expressed by the construct chain, by joining the two nouns by a preposition, by a combination of these two methods, or by using instead of a simple preposition, a combination of relative pronoun and preposition. The construct chain is the oldest method, the others become more common in the later development of the individual languages, in some of them completely replacing the construct chain.

Personal pronominal qualification is expressed by possessive pronominal suffixes added to the noun.

Appositives are of two kinds, viz., (a) a common noun denoting class, measure, content, etc., standing as appositive to another common noun; (b) a common noun used as an appositive to a proper.

Adverbial qualification is expressed by an appositive in accusative or nominative, or by certain adverbial and pronominal particles.

A noun may be modified by a relative clause either with or without relative pronoun, or it may stand in the construct before a following sentence which takes the place of a genitive.

Nouns may be coordinated by asyndeton, by using connectives between each two, or by using the connective only with certain pairs.

The most characteristically Semitic of these constructions are, viz., the use of the possessive suffix to express determination; the use of the article with both adjective and noun, and not once with the combination; the use of the article with noun modified by a demonstrative; the reversed concord of the cardinals from 'three' to 'ten'; the use of the cardinals in the genitive in the sense of ordinals; the construct chain; prepositional phrases derived from elliptical relative clauses; appositives denoting measure, content, and the like; the use of a whole sentence as a genitive after the construct of a noun. Generally speaking the more modern languages have, as was to be expected, given up many characteristic old Semitic constructions and adopted many new ones. To judge from the constructions treated in the present paper, the members of the Abyssinian group have departed farthest from the ancient Semitic norm, Amharic being the most extreme example of this phenomenon, while in Arabic and Hebrew, we have, all things considered, perhaps the truest picture of the syntactical conditions of the primitive Semitic speech.

Addenda.

References.

C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Gram. der semitischen Sprachen*, Bd. II. Syntax (Lief. 1. u. 2, 1911) [Brock. *Syn.*]

The statements with regard to Modern Hebrew are made

on the authority of Dr. Aaron Ember of Johns Hopkins University.

Transliteration.

In the modern Abyssinian languages, the transliteration is not meant to give an absolutely accurate representation of the pronunciation, but is intended chiefly to show what characters are employed; it is the same as in Ethiopic for the characters which these languages have in common with Ethiopic, e. g., ሠ is transliterated *š* (not *s* as pronounced), and the vowel written *ê* appears as *ê* (pronounced *iê* in Amharic).

Add the modern Aramaic dialect of Tur-Abdin to the list of languages appearing only in transliteration, cf. p. 138.

Determination.

The determinative construction with pleonastic suffix described on pp. 145—148[1] is found also in Tigre, at least when the determining word is a noun or verb; the preposition እግል ፡ is used here just as ለ is in Ethiopic (cf. Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 225, n. at end): e. g.,

ወልዱ ፡ እግላ ፡ ደኻራ ፡ *ṯald-û 'ĕgĕl-lâ dakhârâ* 'the son of the praised-one.'

እግል ፡ እማ ፡ ቴላ ፡ *'ĕgĕl 'ĕmm-â têl-â* 'to her mother she spoke.'

In Ethiopic a suffix after a preposition is sometimes resumed by the same preposition, just as in Syriac [cf. pp. 146, 151], instead of by ለ, e. g.,

ቦቱ ፡ በንጽሕናሁ ፡ *bôtû ba-nĕçĕḥnâ-hû* 'in (it in) his purity.'

On page 149 in the second paragraph, South Arabic is to be understood as meaning Mineo-Sabean, Mehri, of course, having no article.

Simple Qualification.

Sometimes an adjective is separated from its noun by other words, cf. Brock. *Syn.* p. 201 f. [cf. p. 158 f.].

An adjective of praise or blame may precede its noun in Classical and Modern Egyptian Arabic; the Assyrian adjectives that precede the noun seem also to belong to this class, cf.

[1] In Coptic a pleonastic suffix is sometimes employed, as in Semitic to specially determine a dependent noun. When one of the few nouns which still take possessive suffixes is followed by a genitive, the noun usually takes a pleonastic suffix, cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 40, 80.

Brock. *Syn.* p. 203 [cf. p. 159]. For cases in which the Assyrian adjective precedes its noun, see, besides p. 159, pp. 223 f., 240.

Certain classes of adjectives in Arabic, Classical and Modern Egyptian, and foreign adjectives in Modern Syriac are without inflection for gender and number, cf. Brock. *Syn.* pp. 204, 208 [cf. pp. 160—164].

For cases in Classical Arabic in which the determination of noun + adjective is apparently indicated by the article with the adjective alone, cf. Brock. *Syn.* pp. 208, 209 [cf. pp. 165, 167].

In Tigre the article is sometimes employed with both noun and adjective, sometimes only with the second of the two [cf. p. 166], e. g.,

ለእናስ ፡ ለግሙጹ ፡ *la-'ĕnâs la-gĕmûç* 'the poor man.'

ካልእ ፡ ለሐርሶም ፡ *kâlĕ' la-ḥars-ôm* 'their second ploughing.'

In Biblical Aramaic as in Hebrew and Modern Arabic an adjective modifying a dual stands in the plural [cf. p. 164], e. g.,

וְשִׁנַּיִן דִּי־פַרְזֶל לַהּ רַבְרָבָן 'and it had great iron teeth' (Dan. 7, 7).

Demonstrative Qualification.

A demonstrative adjective in Mehri sometimes precedes its noun, e. g., *dime reheiṯmet* 'this pretty girl' (cf. pp. 169, 180).

Indefinite Qualification.

In Mehri the word for 'all' seems to stand after the noun with or without suffix. In Tigre it stands with suffix before or after the noun. e. g.,

Meh. *ḥabanthe kall* 'all his daughters.'
hâbû kallhem 'all people.'

Te. ላሊ ፡ ክለ ፡ *lâlî kĕlla* 'all night.'
ኩሉ ፡ ሎሀይ ፡ መዋቅል ፡ *kûllû lôhaị maṵâqĕl* 'all the hillocks there.'

In the dialect of Tlemsen *el-kull* may stand before the definite noun, as well as after it [cf. p. 185], e. g.,

الكل الناس *el-kull en-nâs* 'all the people.'

With this construction is to be compared the Biblical Aramaic

שְׁלָמָא כֹלָּא 'all hail' (Ez. 5, 7).

In Biblical Hebrew the pleonastic Mishnic construction [cf. p. 185] occurs in at least one passage, viz.,

כָּל־מַלְכֵי גוֹיִם כֻּלָּם 'all the kings of the Gentiles' (Is. 14, 18).

In Hebrew the idea of 'self' may be indicated by a personal pronoun in apposition to a preceding noun, e. g.,

לָכֵן יִתֵּן אֲדֹנָי הוּא לָכֶם אוֹת 'therefore my Lord himself will give you a sign' (Is. 7, 14).

In Modern Hebrew the idea of 'various' is indicated by the participle שׁוֹנִים, e. g.,

דְּבָרִים שׁוֹנִים 'various things.'

Numeral Qualification.

In Modern Hebrew a noun modified by the cardinals from ten' (inclusive) upward, stands in the singular [cf. pp. 205, 206].

To examples of the omission of the article with ordinals (cf. p. 215), add,

Bibl. Aram. מַלְכוּ תְלִיתָיָא 'a third kingdom.'

Nominal Qualification.

In Tigre, as in Ethiopic, it is possible to insert a modifier of the *nomen rectum* between the *regens* and the *rectum* [cf. p. 221]. It is also possible for a construct governing a definite noun to take an article itself [cf. pp. 218, 219, 220]. e. g.,

እት ፡ አፈት ፡ ለመርዓት ፡ ለሀሌት ፡ እታ ፡ ቤት ፡ *'ĕt 'affêt la* (article)-*mar'ât la*(relative)-*hallêt 'ĕttâ bêt* 'at the door of the-in-which-the-bride-is house.'

ለስሌት ፡ ለወእት ፡ *la-selêt la-ṯa'at* 'the placenta of the cow.'

In Amharic an adjective modifying a noun with preceding genitive may stand before the genitive or between genitive and noun (cf. p. 227), e. g.,

ታላቅ ፡ የደንጊያ ፡ ክምር ፡ *tâlâq ja-dangîjâ kĕmr* } 'a great heap
የደንጊያ ፡ ታላቅ ፡ ክምር ፡ *ja-dangîjâ tâlâq kĕmr* } of stone.'

In the Modern Arabic of Hadramaut a noun modified by a determinate genitive is not necessarily determinate, and may take the indefinite article, e. g.,

ṯaḥdah bit š-šêbah 'a daughter of the old man' (cf. Brock. *Syn.* p. 236) [cf. the Mod. Syr. construction, p. 240].

In the genitive combination in Syriac, ܕܝ + suffix may be used instead of, or in addition to the pleonastic suffix on the *regens*; in this case the *rectum* has usually the added meaning of 'the well known,' 'already mentioned:' e. g.,

אַחֵי דִילָהּ דְּדַיְרָא ܐܚܝ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܕܝܪܐ 'the brethren of the cloister itself.'

דָּרְתָּהּ דִּילַהּ דְּהֵיכְלָא ܕܪܬܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ 'the court of the (already mentioned) temple.'

In addition to the ways of expressing nominal qualification already enumerated, viz., the construct chain, various kinds of prepositional phrases, and combinations of these constructions, a noun may be modified by another noun standing in the accusative. The accusative form is apparent only in Arabic, but there are a number of passages in Hebrew which are probably to be classed here, tho they are hardly to be distinguished from cases of apposition, e. g.,

Arab. البدر ليلة تمامه *al-badru laiḷata tamâmihi* 'the moon on the night of its fullness.'

جبتك خزا *jubbatuka ḫazza*ⁿ 'thy jocket of silk.'

راقود خلا *râqûduⁿ ḫallaⁿ* 'a vessel of vinegar.'

Heb. עַל־דֶּרֶךְ תִּמְנָתָה 'on the way to Timnath' (Gen. 38, 14).

הַכְּרוּבִים זָהָב 'the cherubim of gold' (1 Chr. 28, 18).

שְׁלֹשׁ סְאִים קֶמַח 'three *seahs* of meal' (Gen. 18, 6).

Personal Pronominal Qualification.

In the Aramaic dialect of Tur Abdin a noun with suffix may take the article as in Tigre and Maltese, cf. Brock. *Syn.* p. 259 [cf. p. 239].

Nominal Apposition.

For examples illustrating the agreement of the appositive with its noun in case, especially in Arabic and Amharic, cf. Brock. *Syn.* pp. 217, 219. For additional examples of the repetition of the preposition governing the modified noun, cf. Brock. *Syn.* pp. 220, 221. [cf. p. 247; to the languages there given are to be added Arabic, Tigre, and Syriac].

An appositive does not necessarily agree with its noun in determination, e. g.,

Arab. عن سليمان ... رجل من اهل مكة *ʿan sulaiḷmâna ... rajuliⁿ min ʾahli makkata* 'from Suleiman ... a man of the people of Mecca.'

الى صراط مستقيم صراط الله *ʾilâ çirâṭiⁿ mustaqîmiⁿ çirâti ʾllâhi* 'to a straight path, the path of God.'

Adverbial Qualification.

In addition to the adverbial ideas described above, a noun in Semitic is sometimes modified by an adverb of place, e. g.,

Arab. على تل عال هناك *ʿalâ talliⁿ ʿâliⁿ hunâka* 'on a high hill there.'

Das Sendschreiben des Patriarchen Barschuschan an den Catholicus der Armenier.[1] By Otto Lichti, Ph. D., Ansonia, Conn.

Die vorliegende Handschrift ist der erste Teil der sogenannten *Handschrift Sachau* 60 der Handschriften-Abteilung der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin. Durch die Freundlichkeit der Herren Direktoren Harnack und Stern genannter Bibliothek wurde es mir ermöglicht, die Handschrift zu kopieren und schließlich auch zu übersetzen. Inwiefern mir letzteres gelungen ist, mögen die geneigten Leser selbst entscheiden.

Unsere Handschrift ist ein Sendschreiben eines auch sonst in der syrischen Literatur bekannten Patriarchen Johannes, oder Jēschū', Barschūschan (Susanna), an den Catholicus der Armenier, mit einem Begleitschreiben des unterzeichneten Patriarchen, Ignatius von Antiochien, genannt Matthäus aus Mardin. Die Sachlage ist wohl die, daß Ignatius den Brief des Bar Schuschan mit einem Zusatz von sich selbst an den Catholicus geschickt hat.

Nach Wright (*A short History of Syriac Literature,* p. 225—227) wurde Johannes Barschuschan von den Bischöfen des Ostens zum Gegenpatriarchen des Hāyē, oder Athanasius VI, unter dem Namen Johann X, gewählt im Jahre 1058 (Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.* I. 437 ff., B. O. II. 141. 354). Er dankte jedoch bald ab, und zog sich zurück in ein Kloster und widmete sich dem Studium. Beim Tode des Athanasius wurde er wieder erwählt zum Patriarchen 1064 und wirkte nun in dieser Kapazität bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1073. Wie uns Bar-Hebraeus berichtet, hat Johannes Barschuschan mit dem Patriarchen von Alexandrien, Christodulus, längere Auseinandersetzungen wegen der Mischung von Salz und Öl mit dem eucharistischen Brote nach syrischer Weise gehabt. Er

[1] An investigation which was completed in May 1911, at Yale University.

scheint überhaupt ein sehr schreibseliger Mann gewesen zu sein, da er eine Unmasse von Schriften, alle kontroversioneller Natur, hinterließ.

Durch Herausgabe der Werke Ephraems und des Isaak von Antiochien suchte Johannes Barschuschan die syrische Nationalliteratur wieder zu beleben. Er trat selbst als Dichter auf und besang in ergreifender Weise das Schicksal der Stadt Melitene, das dieselbe im Jahre 1058 bei ihrer Erstürmung und Plünderung durch die Türken erlitt, in vier Gedichten (Bar Heb., *Chron. Syr.* p. 252).

Am Schlusse unseres Sendschreibens ist der Abdruck von dem Siegel eines Jakobitischen Patriarchen eingeklebt. Die Unterschrift lautet: Ignatius, Patriarch von Antiochien genannt Matthäus (der Rest ist verwischt), nach der Liste der 33. der Jakobitischen Patriarchen, Matthäus aus Mardin. Aus dieser Unterschrift, die ganz verschieden von der Überschrift ist, erhellt natürlich, daß wir zwei Briefe in einen zusammen geschweißt vor uns haben: einen von Johannnes bar Schuschan, den ersten Teil der Handschrift bildend, und einen von Ignatius von Antiochien.[1] So wie die Handschrift heute vorliegt, ist sie von einem Diakonus ʿAbd-Elwâhid zu Mosul nach 1859 abgeschrieben worden, wie Prof. Sachau glaubt.

An dieser Stelle möchte ich auch meinem verehrten Lehrer, Prof. C. C. Torrey, für seine freundlichen Winke, womit er mich von Zeit zu Zeit bedachte und für seine Bereitwilligkeit, mir allezeit mit Rat und Tat beizustehen und über die schwierigsten Klippen hinwegzuhelfen, meinen herzlichsten Dank aussprechen.

Einleitung.

Wir haben zunächst die Überschrift, die nicht vom Verfasser des Briefes stammt, sondern jedenfalls von dem Abschreiber.

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[1] Ignatius (Lazarus) war Maphrian zu Matthäi und wird im dritten Teil des Chronicon des Barhebräus angeführt als der 33. Maphrian der Chaldäer. Es war der Sohn des Presbyters Hasan und seit 1142 Mönch im Kloster Sergii. Gestorben ist er 1163 (v. *Jos. S. Assemanus Orientalische Bibliothek, in einem Auszug gebracht* von A. F. Pfeiffer, Erlangen 1776. p. 305). Dieser Ignatius ist ohne Zweifel identisch mit unserem Sender des Briefes von Barschuschan, der dazu seinen Kommentar gemacht hat. Die Titel Maphrian, Metropolit, Catholicus, sind wohl zu verschiedenen Zeiten identisch gewesen, obwohl der Maphrian ursprünglich ein untergeordneter Kleriker war (siehe dazu Pfeiffer).

Sie lautet: „Sendschreiben des hl. Patriarchen, Mar Johanan, Barschuschan, an den Katholikus der Armenier.“ Hierauf folgt der eigentliche Anfang des Briefes, welcher in den üblichen, biblischen (möchte man sagen) Einführungsworten besteht: „Johannes, ein Knecht Jesu Christ und durch die Gnade Gottes Oberhirte.“ Dem folgt ein ehrerbietiger Gruß: „Ein hl. Gruß an Eure Reinheit.“ Hierauf folgt ein inniges Gebet, worin der Patriarch seine Freude darüber ausdrückt, daß er mit dem Katholikus auf so freundschaftlichem Fuße steht. Hierauf folgt in farbenreicher Sprache eine Darstellung der herzlichen Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Herren, gewürzt mit etlichen Schmeicheleien.

1[b] bringt dann eine Auseinandersetzung über die hl. Dreieinigkeit, die mit dem Schlagwort zusammengefaßt wird:

„Eins in Drei und Drei Eins.“ Dabei warnt der Verfasser fleißig vor Sabellianismus, Arianismus und Judaismus, welche alle drei die hl. Trinität leugnen, wie er sie versteht. Auf Paulus und das Nicänum, wie auf Gregor den Theologen begründet er seine Lehre. Er bediente sich dabei der sonderbarsten Bilder. Die Trinität wird erklärt, wie schon von andern vor und nach ihm, durch Bilder, die uns heute kindlich (um nicht kindisch sagen zu müssen) vorkommen, wie dies: Es sind drei Personen, wie z. B. Adam, Seth und Eva; oder die Sonne, ihr Licht und ihre Hitze; oder Verstand, Vernunft und Geist; oder die Pflanze, ihr Duft und ihre Farbe. (1[b]).

2[a] folgt dann ein Bekenntnis über die Menschwerdung Christi und über die Naturen in der Trinität und in Christo. Das Stichwort hier ist erstens ܒܚܕ ܩܢܘܡܐ ܕܬܠܬܐ „Eine Natur in drei Personen“, und zweitens: ܕܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ ܩܢܘܡ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܦܓܪܐ. „Darüber daß bekannt werden soll eine Natur des Gotteslogos, welcher Fleisch wurde“, (*μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένου*). Nachdem Barschuschan den heidnischen Wahn des Sabellius abgewehrt und den Ketzer Arius abgefertigt hat, beruft er sich auf den Theologen Gregorius als Autorität für seine Glaubenslehre. Es gibt nur eine Gottheit, aber drei Personen (Qnomi) oder Hypostasen. Die nächsten Sätze bilden den Übergang zum eigentlichen Thema des Briefes — „den hassenswerten Gebräuchen“ der Armenier, das im großen und ganzen maßvoll behandelt wird.

3[b] wird zuerst die Benützung von Salz und Öl und dann

auch von Sauerteig in der Eucharistie (Abendmahl) behandelt. Diese Erläuterungen erstrecken sich bis 8[b]. Barschuschan ist der Überzeugung, daß diese Dinge zur Seligkeit nützlich sind. Adam wurde von Wasser, Luft, Feuer, Erde und Geist gebildet, also von 5 Substanzen. Jesus muß daher in der Eucharistie auch vollkommen, als aus 5 Elementen bestehend, dargestellt werden unter Mehl, Wasser, Sauerteig, Salz und Öl. Jesus ist eine besondere Spezies (Art) zwischen Gott und Menschen, die mit seinem Tod am Kreuze wieder erloschen ist. Der Gegner seiner Dogmen gedenkt unser Autor fleißig. Nestorius und Theodor von Mopsueste werden der Gottlosigkeit bezichtigt, ebenso Leo und die Räubersynode, Chalcedon. Cyrill dagegen ist ihm ein rechtgläubiger Vater. Gregor Thaumaturgus ist er nicht abhold, obwohl dieser den Ausspruch tat: „Gott hat gelitten, aber ohne das Leiden zu empfinden, auf unsterbliche und leidensunfähige Weise."

8[b] folgt dann eine Notiz über das Wasser, das wir im Weinbecher mischen.

9—10 wendet sich dann gegen die Unsitte des Taufens der Kreuze und Nakuschen, oder Schallbretter-Klingel weihen, wie andere übersetzen. 10 spricht vom Sündenbekenntnis, das bei den Armeniern nicht richtig geübt wird.

Sodann wird darüber gehandelt, ob man den Tag am Abend oder am Morgen beginnen sollte. Die Syrer, wie die Juden, rechnen vom Abend, deshalb fasten sie auch schon Donnerstags; die Armenier dagegen fasten nur Freitags, da sie den Tag am Morgen beginnen, was nach Barschuschan's Ansicht zu verwerfen ist. 11[b]—13[b] ist nach Ansicht von Ter-Minassiantz, (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur*, Bd. 26: „Die Armenische Kirche", von E. Ter-Minassiantz p. 100, 4) das letzte Stück des Briefes des Patriarchen Barschuschan an den Catholicus; dem ich auch gerne beistimme, da, wie auch er bemerkt, die nun folgenden Beschuldigungen nicht unbeantwortet geblieben wären, wenn der Catholicus sie gelesen hätte, d. h. wenn sie im Briefe des Barschuschan gestanden hätten.

Es ist nämlich ein Brief eines armenischen Catholicus Georg vorhanden, der scheinbar eine Antwort ist auf unsern Brief. Dieser Brief ist in dem sogenannten „Buch der Briefe" (vgl. Girk Tchtoz, *Buch der Briefe*, S. 335—357) enthalten. Die Überschrift lautet: „Des Herrn Georg, des Oberaufsehers der

Armenier und des geistesbegnadeten Philosophen, Antwort auf den Brief des syrischen Patriarchen Johannes.“ Daß dieser Brief eine Antwort auf unsern Brief ist, hat Ter-Minassiantz bewiesen durch seine Parallelstellen aus beiden Briefen, von welchen ich hier nur zwei folgen lasse.

α *Johannes X. Barschuschan.* Ihr fragt wegen des Sauerteigs, den wir wie alle christlichen Völker gebrauchen (in der Eucharistie), was das bedeuten solle, und auch das Salz und das Öl ... So nehmen wir Wasser als Zeichen des ursprünglichen Wassers; Mehl als Zeichen des Staubes; Sauerteig als Zeichen der Luft; und Salz als Zeichen des Feuers.

β *Georg, Catholicus der Armenier.* Denn Ihr habt geschrieben wegen des Sauerteigs, des Salzes und des Öls (in der Eucharistie), und nach Schaffung Adams aus vier Materien sagt Ihr, daß Ihr den Leib Christi vollkommen macht, und nehmt als Zeichen des Wassers, Wasser; als Zeichen des Staubes (Erde) Mehl; als Zeichen der Luft, Sauerteig; und als Zeichen des Feuers, Salz.

11ᵇ—13ᵇ handelt „von dem Fest der Geburt Christi, welches die Armenier nicht so feiern, wie alle Völker der Welt.“ Der Verfasser versucht zu beweisen, daß die Sitte, das Fest der Geburt am 25. Dezember und Epiphanien am 6. Januar zu feiern, die einzig richtige ist, und daß die Armenier keine Argumente aufbringen können für ihre Sitte, die beiden Feste an einem Tag, am 6. Januar, zu feiern.

Wie oben bemerkt, hat hier wohl der Brief des Barschuschan geschlossen. Was nun noch folgt, ist jedenfalls Zusatz von Isaak von Antiochien, dessen Unterschrift unser Schreiben trägt. Außerdem ist es ja auch aus dem Schreiben selbst ersichtlich, wie auch schon T. M. bemerkt hat, daß der letzte Teil nicht von Barschuschan stammt. Da heißt es nämlich auf Blatt 20ᵃ: „Wie wir durch das Sendschreiben des Patriarchen Mar Johanan oben gezeigt haben“ (siehe S. 295, 15).

Wie auch schon T. M. bemerkte, wird nun die ganze Schreibweise anders. Barschuschan war ein gemäßigter Apologet, dagegen tadelt der nach Blatt 13 schreibende Verfasser, wo er nur etwas zu tadeln weiß; sucht scheinbar nach Mißbräuchen in der armenischen Kirche, um dagegen losziehen zu können. So ähnlich meint wenigstens Ter-Minassiantz. Ich kann mich der Ansicht nicht so ohne weiteres anschließen. Lassen doch

die Mißbräuche, die in den Schriften verschiedener Patriarchen, Lehrer und Väter gerügt werden, nicht den Schluß zu, daß die Unsitten wirklich nicht in der armenischen Kirche Eingang gefunden hatten. Daß ganz haarsträubende Dinge zu gewissen Zeiten, die nur durch obige Schriftstücke näher bestimmt werden können, in der armenischen Kirche verübt wurden, ist wohl Tatsache.

Für die Zusammenstellung der syrischen Dokumente dieser Art darf ich jedoch keinen Kredit beanspruchen, da sie von Professor Brockelmann gesammelt wurden, welcher sie mir vorletzten Winter (1910) nach Berlin schickte. Ich habe sie nur übersetzt und auf die freundliche Aufforderung von Professor Brockelmann hin nun veröffentlicht, was ich von Herzen gern getan, und Professor Brockelmann hiermit gebührend danken möchte.

So wirft Mar Jaʿqob von Edessa († 708) den Armeniern vor, daß sie noch im alten Judentum stecken und animalische Opfer darbringen.[1] Wie sollte Mar Jaʿqob auf diesen Gedanken gekommen sein, wenn die Armenier nicht wirklich blutige Opfer gebracht haben? „Jeder der erlöst ist mit dem Opfer des Sohnes Gottes, wird nicht einführen Opfer, damit er nicht verdammt werde von der Justitia“ (v. p. 299, 1 f.). „Wer aber heute noch vorsätzlich Opfer bringt, der ist ein Jude“ (v. p. 299, 17). „Am besten ist es für den, der heute noch Opfer bringt, daß er auch den Sohn verleugnet und hält sich gut mit den Juden“. „Verflucht ist, wer nach diesem (Opfer Christi) noch Opfer bringt“ (v. p. 300, 14 f., 17).

Jaʿqob von Edessa wirft den Armeniern vor, daß sie von Anfang an sittenlos dahinlebten (v. p. 303). „Einige ihrer Lehrer sind einerseits Juden, andre andrerseits Phantasten. Deswegen folgen sie den Juden darin, daß sie Lamm, Ungesäuertes und reinen (nicht mit Wasser gemischten) Wein opfern . . .“ (v. p. 303, 16 ff.).

Aus diesen Zitaten und den übrigen Zeugnissen dieser Patriarchen und Lehrer geht doch wohl hervor, daß die Beschuldigungen nicht so ohne Grund gewesen sein können, wenn man vielleicht als guter Armenier auch nichts davon weiß! Man kann doch kaum annehmen, daß diese sonst ehrenwerten Patriarchen und Lehrer sich in leeren Phrasen ergangen haben.

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[1] Siehe Wright, *A Short History of Syriac* Literatur, p. 146, unten.

Ich meine, die von Professor Brockelmann mir überlassenen Zeugnisse beweisen aufs klarste, daß der Verfasser des zweiten Teiles unseres Briefes nicht ins Blaue geredet hat, und daß wirklich Tieropfer bei den christlichen Armeniern stattfanden, um die besagte Zeit.

Von 13[b] bis zum Schluße unseres Schreibens haben wir jedenfalls den Zusatz des unterzeichneten Ignatius von Antiochien, dem 133. Jakobitischen Patriarchen der Syrer vor uns, welcher den Brief des Barschuschan an den Catholicus der Armenier sandte mit seinen eignen Ansichten über die Mißbräuche in der armenischen Kirche. Ignatius ist viel schärfer als Barschuschan, doch ist auch er nicht so verdammungssüchtig, wie manche seiner würdigen Vorgänger, die ihre Adressaten als „dickköpfige und hartnäckige Leute“ bezeichnen (siehe T. M. p. 118).

Von 13[b]—15[b] ist die Rede davon, „wie die Alten den Palmsonntag, das Passah und die Taufe nicht jedes Jahr, sondern alle 30 Jahre feierten.“

Nun geht der Verfasser auf ausserkirchliche Sitten über, die er scharf tadelt. 15[b]—16[a] „darüber, daß der Priester den Bischof segnet, obgleich dieser doch höher steht, als jener.“ Es ist bei ihnen auch ein andrer häßlicher Gebrauch; d. i. „wenn ein Bischof und ein Priester sich treffen und der Priester vom Bischof gesegnet wird, so wendet sich sogleich der Priester, segnet den Bischof und legt die Hand auf seinen Kopf.“ Diese Sitte wird natürlich von Ignatius verworfen, denn nach den Kanones kann ein Bischof wohl einen Priester ordinieren, aber ein Bischof darf jedoch nur ordiniert werden, wenn ein Patriarch oder Metropolit mit zwei Bischöfen zugegen ist. Darf aber ein Priester nicht helfen, einen Bischof zu ordinieren, so hat er kein Recht, ihm die unheiligen Hände aufs würdige Haupt zu legen. Nach Ter-Minassiantz ist dieser Bericht recht eigentümlich; seines Wissens haben wir in der armenischen Literatur kein Zeugnis für die genannte Sitte. T. M. fragt, ob dieser Vorwurf vielleicht ein Irrtum sei? Ich glaube nicht. Jedenfalls hat diese Sitte bestanden, sonst würde Ignatius sie nicht so scharf angegriffen haben. Übrigens wird man auch über manche der übrigen, genannten Gebräuche unter den Armeniern kein Zeugnis finden; um so mehr aber bei den syrischen Patriarchen und Lehrern, wie Professor Brockelmanns Zeugnisse zur Genüge beweisen. Ter-Minassiantz wird

schwerlich zugestehen, daß in der armenischen Kirche auch Tieropfer gebracht wurden, und doch liegt das klar auf der Hand, wenn man die oben genannten Sätze liest (v. p. 273). Ein argumentum e silentio hat wenig Wert, einen Beweis zu liefern, oder Hypothesen aufzubauschen. Hierauf wird die Disziplin in der armenischen Kirche gerügt, die sehr disziplinlos gewesen sein muß. T. M. meint hierzu, „wenn man dem Verfasser Glauben schenken wollte, so müßte der Zustand der armenischen Kirche damals trostlos gewesen sein. Es ist zwar nicht zu leugnen, daß die noch zu nennenden Mißbräuche vorkamen (Also doch!), bedingt durch die unstäte und unruhige Lage des Landes und der armenischen Catholici; wir können aber doch den syrischen Schriftsteller von Übertreibungen nicht freisprechen.“ Wie steht's damit? Zuerst gibt T. M. zu, daß die Mißbräuche wirklich gang und gäbe waren, und dann meinte er, er könne doch den Verfasser nicht freisprechen von Übertreibungen. Also bestanden diese Unsitten doch! Und wenn man alles wüßte, dann wäre die Sachlage jedenfalls noch viel trauriger und trüber darzustellen, als dies schon so der Fall ist. Die Intriguen, die damals in der Kirche gespielt wurden, und auch heute noch gebraucht werden, würden jedenfalls noch ein viel schieferes Licht auf die Kirche werfen, wenn sie alle bekannt wären.

16[a]—17[a] bespricht zunächst die Zustände, die unter den Bischöfen herrschend waren: „Darüber, daß ihre Bischöfe durch Geld und Bestechung eingesetzt werden, und die Gemeinden von einander an sich reißen.“ Nicht besser sieht es in den Klöstern aus. Wer Abt sein will, bezahlt dem Ortsbeamten einfach den höchsten Preis, und er bekommt die Stelle. Kommt dann ein andrer und bietet dem Bürgermeister mehr, so wird ersterer verjagt, und der Herzugelaufene bekommt die Abtei. „In diesen Schilderungen liegt ein Körnchen Wahrheit, sie sind aber natürlich stark übertrieben, wie es eben in den polemischen Schriften gar nicht anders zu erwarten ist“ (Ter-Min. p. 110).

17[af] wird dann die erbliche Succession der Catholici in Armenien getadelt, weil diese Sitte bei keinem andern Volk der Erde gefunden wird, außer bei den Arabern, deren Kalife auch erblich aufeinander folgen.

Ter-Minassiantz meint hierzu folgendes: Zur Zeit des Johannes Barschuschan (1064—1073) war erst der erste Pahlawani,

Wahram, der Sohn des Gregor Magistros, auf den Catholicusthron erhoben worden, und er regierte bis 1105, nach der gewöhnlichen Annahme, die freilich nicht ganz einwandfrei ist. Sicher ist dagegen, daß zur Zeit Johannes X. (Barschuschan) noch kein zweiter aus dem Geschlechte Gregors des Erleuchters (die Pahlawanier ließen sich von ihm ableiten) auf den Thron erhoben worden ist. Die Art und Weise aber, wie der Syrer diese Sitte tadelt zeigt uns, daß mindestens 2—3 auf einander gefolgt sein müssen aus demselben Geschlecht. Ist dem so, dann kann dies Stück erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts geschrieben worden sein.

So weit T. M. Ich möchte nur darauf erwidern, daß (1) Barschuschan hier gar nicht in Betracht kommt, da ja Ignatius von Antiochien dies geschrieben hat, wie T. M. auch schon früher zugestanden hat; und (2) hat jedenfalls Ignatius die Verhältnisse besser gekannt, als wir.

17[b] handelt von dem Mißbrauch, „daß Priester ordiniert werden, ohne daß sie eine Stelle haben.“ Von diesen wird auch Bestechung genommen.

18[a] handelt von dem Sündenbekenntnis der Armenier, siehe allda (p. 293).

19[a] wird die Heuchelei der Armenier gerügt, die hauptsächlich in Selbstgerechtigkeit besteht. Die Armenier beteiligen sich nicht am Abendmahl, wenn sie Mönche werden. Das Mönchtum wird auch scharf mitgenommen. „Vollkommene Mönche, bei ihnen ist unter tausend nicht einer zu finden ...“ Das Patenamt bei der Taufsalbung wird von den Armeniern nicht gebührend beachtet, usw.

19[a]—20[b] wird noch einmal klar dargelegt, daß nur die Armenier unter allen Völkern das Weihnachtsfest und Epiphanien am 6. Januar feiern. Selbst wenn man früher das Weihnachtsfest am 6. Januar gefeiert hat, so haben die hl. Väter dieses Datum, wie so viele Dinge, geändert: z. B. durften die Bischöfe früher heiraten, wie auch „euer“ Gregorius, jetzt nicht mehr, usw. 20[b]—23[a] wird die Bewahrung jüdischer Gesetze behandelt. Noch einmal kommt Weihnachten und Epiphanien aufs Tapet. Christus ist wirklich am 25. Dezember geboren und 30 Jahre später am 6. Januar getauft worden.

Damit schließt unser Schriftstück. Man sieht, daß um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts in Armenien und Syrien die Gemüter erregt waren. Bar Hebräus berichtet aus dieser Zeit

eine Rede Gregors, des Catholicus der Armenier, die ich folgen lasse. Assemani BO. 11, S. 360[b]: „In jener Zeit verfaßte Gregor, der Catholicus der Armenier, eine Rede und schmähte darin die Syrer, weil sie mit einem Finger das Kreuz schlagen, und wegen des gesäuerten Brotes, und weil sie den Wein und den Honig und das Ol, nachdem eine Maus in dieselben gefallen war, doch segneten und dann aßen und tranken. Und diese Rede wurde dem Kloster der Armenier in Cilicien, welches Drasark hieß, übergeben. Als aber Barandreas hörte, daß die armenischen Mönche sie zu jeder Zeit lasen und die Syrer verspotteten, da wurde er von Eifer erfaßt, wechselte seine Gewänder und ging in das genannte Kloster der Armenier und ließ sich dort nieder, wie einer von ihnen, und verhöhnte die Armenier, daß sie sich auf jüdische Weise benähmen. Und er legte die Abhandlung in ihrer Bibliothek nieder. Nach einiger Zeit aber fanden sie den Traktat, und sie schickten ihn dem Catholicus und taten ihm kund die Hinterlistigkeit, die jener Syrer mit ihnen getrieben hatte. Der Catholicus aber ließ jene beiden Traktate verbrennen, den seinen so wohl, wie den des Barandreas“[1] usw. Man sieht daraus, daß wirklich Mißbräuche in beiden Kirchen Armeniens sowohl, wie auch Syriens bestanden.

Syrische Texte

A. *Sendschreiben des Barschūschān* (Cod. Berlin. Sachau 60)

fol. 1[a]

ܐܝܟܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܠܝܛܐ ܕܗܘ ܓܪܓܘܪ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ
ܕܐܪܡܢܝܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟܠܗ ܚܒܪ ܗܢܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܪܡܢܝܐ
ܕܟܬ ܥܡ ܡܢܐ ܕܚܒܐ.

§ I.

ܒܙܡܢܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܢܫ ܥܒܪܐ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܗܘܝܢ.
ܡܫܝ ܚܒܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܕܒܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܢܫܬܒܚ
ܡܢܗ ܕܡܢܚܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܗ ܚܕ ܕܥܘܡܐ ܦܠܝܛܐ. ܐܟܐ ܕܥܒܕ
ܟܕܡܬܐ ܡܢܗ.
ܡܢܝ ܗܘ ܩܪܝܐ ܕܐܪܡܢܝ ܕܡܢ ܥܒܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܚܠܐ ܪܓ
ܒܝܬܐ ܚܒ ܠܟ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܕܒܗ ܕܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ

[1] Siehe darüber Ter-Minnassiantz, p. 113 f., in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur*, Bd. 26.

ܠܡ ܕܡܬܟܪܝܢ. ܐܦܝ ܠܐܘܝܐ ܠܚܢܢ ܡܫܝܚ ܠܡ ܚܫܘܢܐ ܚܢܢܐ
ܐܦܝ ܠܥܠ ܚܛܝܐܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡ ܚܫܘܢ. ܡܚܝܢܐ ܡܠܝܢܗܘܢ
ܡܕܝܐ ܠܝܗ ܠܡ ܚܫܝܢܐ ܒܚܢܢ ܚܢܢ ܒܚܢܢ ܒܚܢܢ ܒܚܢܢ
ܠܟܢܫ ܚܢܢܗ ܢܝܢܐ ܐܦ ܒܚܢܢ ܐܦܝ ܒܚܢܢ ܚܢܢ ܒܚܢܢ
ܡܢܢܢ ܚܢܢ ܡ ܡܢܢܢ ܡܢܢ ܡܢܢ ܡܢܢ ܡܢܢ ܡܢܢ ܡܢܢ
ܚܢܢ ܚܢܢ ܡ ܡ ܡ

ܠܗܘܢ ܚܕܡܕܐ ܚܕܠܐ ܐܝ ܢܗܪ ܡܢܗ ܚܢܐ ܐܢܐ. ܘܡܕܡܐ
ܚܢܢ ܐܝ ܗܢܘܢܐ ܢܚܐ ܚܐ ܡܥܟܢܐ. ܚܝ ܢܗ ܐܪܟܚ
ܡܢܐ ܚܘܘ ܪܐ ܕܐ ܐܝܟ. ܐ ܡܝ ܡܗܕ ܚܥܢܐ ܚܡܢܐ.
ܡܢܘ ܕܝ ܚܕ ܕܐ ܚܝ ܢܟܢܐ ܡܟܢܐ. ܐܝ ܚܢ ܡܟ
ܡܕܐ ܕܝ ܚܕ ܕܐ ܚܕ ܡܥܟܢܐ ܡܢ ܚܢ ܡܢ ܚܢ ܡ*

§ III.

ܚܕ ܐܝ ܕܝ ܚܢ ܡܢ ܡܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܡܢ ܡ.

fol. 2b

ܐ ܕ ܐܝ ܚܢ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܡ ܢ ܡ ܐ ܡ ܡ ܡ

fol. 3a ܐܝܟ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܘܠܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܐܦܝܣܛܘܦܐ ܕܐܠܦܝܢ ܡܪܝܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܐܠܦܝܢ ܡܪܝܐ. ܒܝ ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܦܫܗ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܢܘܢ. ܡܢ ܕܡܟܠܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܡܕܝܢ. ܡܢ ܫܝܠܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܫܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܫܝܠܐ ܚܝܢ. ܡܠܐ ܕܝ ܕܐܝܟ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܪܟܝܠܐ. ܐܦܠܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܥܡܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܥܝܢ ܚܝܢ ܚܝܢ. ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܡܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܐܝܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܠܐ ܢܡܪ ܕܚܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕܗ ܚܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܥܢܐ. ܟܠ ܐܝ ܡܢ ܡܚܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝ ܡܚܝܢܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ.

§ IV.

fol. 3b ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܢܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܥܒܕ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܚܝܠܐ.

ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܢܝ ܕܚܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܚܝܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܒܕ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܚܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܚܝܠܐ. ܡܥܝܢ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܐ. ܡܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ

ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܗ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܘܬ

ܐܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܕܗܘ ܠܐ ܡܚܡܐ ܠܟ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܟܬܒ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܢܫܐܬܐ. ܟܡܬܘܠ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܣܒܩܐ
ܕܟܬܒ ܡܫܟܚܢܐ ܡܢ ܟܘ ܟܬܒ ܡܢ ܟܢܗܝܢܐ ܡܢܗ
ܡܢܗܝܢܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܐܢܘܢܐ. ܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܢ[1] ܠܐ ܟܢܗܝܢ
ܥܬܝܐ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܡܡܡܟܬܒ ܐܠܗܘܬ. ܐܡܬ ܕܐ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ.
ܡܬܒ ܐܝ ܡܢܬ ܡܢ ܐܡ ܟܬܟܢܝܘܬ ܕܐܡܬܢ ܡܢܟܬܘ
ܟܬܒ ܕܡܝܢ. ܟܘܬ ܕܐܡ ܠܐ ܢܟܦ ܟܘ ܟܬܟܘ ܡܢܕ
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ܟܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܠܐ ܟܬܒ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܟܬ ܡܟܡܡܢܬܐ ܟܬ ܟܘ.
ܡܟܟ ܡ ܟܘ ܬܡ ܬܡ ܡܟܬ ܡ ܡܢ ܡ ܡ ܡ

ܗܘ ܚܕܝܐ. ܡܕܗ ܟܬܒܗ ܠܟ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ. ܐܡܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܬܠܐ ܠܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬ

ܘܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܬܗ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܠܐ. ܠܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܦܠܐ ܡܢ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܚܘܝܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܡ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܡܐ. ܫܪܐ ܕܝ ܥܡ ܡܪܝܡ ܫܠܡܐ ܡܢܐ ܕܥܕܠ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝܬܝ ܚܝܐܘܬܐ ܕܢܫܬܐ. ܡܢ ܗܝ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܡܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܬܪܝܨ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܦܫ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܝ ܡܢ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܚܝܐ. ܕܝ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܝܡܪ ܠܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܚܝܐ. ܡܝܢ ܚܝ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܢܗ ܐܚܐ. ܡܫܝܚ. ܡܫܝܚ ܗܢܝ ܐܝ ܡܫܝܚ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ.

§ V.

fol. 8a

ܡܫܝܚ ܡܬܝ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܚܝܐ.

ܡܫܝܚ ܡܬܝ ܕܢܫܬܐ ܚܝܐ ܕܢܦܫ ܡܫܝܚ. ܡܫܝܚ ܠܐ ܚܝ ܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܕܢܦܫ ܡܫܝܚ ܕܢܦܫ ܡܫܝܚ. ܡܫܝܚ ܕܢܦܫ ܡܫܝܚ. ܕ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ. ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ

ܐܢܘܢ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܝܠܐ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪܘܬܐ ܕܥܢܝܢܘܬܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܥܒܕ. ܕܐܠܥܘܗܝ ܠܟ ܥܠܬܐ ܕܐܚܪܢܐ ܡܝܠܐ.
ܗܘ ܡܠܦܢܝ ܡܪܝܡܢܐ ܡܪܝܡܢܐ ܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܪܝܡܢܐ. ܡܚܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܡܐ. ܐܠܗ
ܕܥܡܝܢܐ ܥܡܝܢܐ ܥܡܝܢܐ ܥܡܝܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܝ
ܕܟܬܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܥܡܝܢܐ ܥܡܝܢܐ. ܟܝ ܥܡܝܢܐ ܥܡܝܢܐ
ܥܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܠܐ. ܐܘ ܕܡܪܝܡܐ ܐܘ ܥܕܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܢ ܥܡ
ܕܠܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܡܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܥܡܝܢ. ܠܐ ܥܠܐ ܥܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚ. ܡܝ ܕܟܬܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ ܕܥܡܝܢ. ܥܡ ܡܪܝܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܐܢܘܢ. ܐܘ ܕܡܪܝܡܐ ܐܘ ܠܐܝܟܐ ܐܘܐ. ܠܐܠܥܘ ܥܡܝܢܐ ܥܡ ܡܝ
ܡܪܝܡܐ ܡܝܠܐ. ܕܗܘ ܡܪܝܡ ܐܝ ܐܝܟ ܥܡܝܢ. ܡܝ ܕܟܬܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ
ܡܩܝܡܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܥܡܝܢ. ܡܢ ܥܡ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚ. ܡܝ ܕܟܬܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ ܕܥܡ ܡܪܝܡ. ܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܫܝܚ
ܕܡܫܝܚ ܡܝ ܕܟܬܐ ܡܪܝܡ

ܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ. ܡܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܚܠ ܡܕܝ. ܟܕܐ ܕܐܡܪܬܐ ܡܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܕܐܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܢܗ. ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܕܝ ܕܡܢܐ. ܕܐܢ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܡܕܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܢܗ. ܟܕ ܦܟܚ ܕܡܢܐ. ܕܐܢ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܟܕܬܐ. ܟܕ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܢܗ. ܕܐܢ ܕܡܢܬ ܡܕܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܢܗ. ܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܢܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܢ

ܕܢܗ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܠܟ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܡܢܬܐ. ܡܢܝ
ܡܢܢ ܕܡܐ ܟܪܝܙܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܕܡܐ. ܘܢܟ ܢܫܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܐ
ܠܥܢܝ ܘܪܥܝܢ ܟܝܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܢܟܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܪܘܡ ܟܬܝܒ ܡܐ
ܕܢܡܐ ܐܝ ܟܝ ܡܐ ܠܡܕܡܐ. ܐܡܕܐ ܡܢ ܢ ܡܐܐܡܪ ܡܢ
ܕܢܗ ܒܡܕܐ ܟܪܝܙܐ. ܡܐܡܐ ܕܢ ܠܟܐ ܐܡܕܐ ܐܝܟܐ. ܐܘ
ܟܡܢ ܐܬܐ ܥܠܐ ܟܡܐ. ܡܟܐܡܐ ܡܟܪܙܐ ܕܐܬܐ
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ܕܢ ܐܝ ܗܘ ܗܢܢܐ ܥܢܝܐ ܟܡܟܐ ܟܐ ܗܘ ܡܟ ܗܘ ܡܟ
ܐܢܝܐ. fol. 11 b

§ IX.

ܡܠܟܐ ܟܪܝ ܕܟܝ ܕܐ ܟܬܝܒ[1] ܟܗ ܐܢ ܡܟܗܘ ܟܡܩܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܟ

ܡܠܟܐ ܟܪܝ ܕܟܝ ܡܢܐ ܘܢܢܐ ܕܐܝܐ ܡܡܡܟ ܐܠܗ ܟܗ
ܐܢ ܟܝ ܟܡܐ. ܕܐ ܟܝ ܡܢ. ܕܡܟܡܢ ܗܘ ܡܟܗܘ
ܡܡܡܐ. ܐ ܡ ܡܐ ܕܗܡܢܐ ܡܡܐ. ܐ ܡ ܟܝ ܐ ܡ ܡܐ.
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ܡܡܐܡܐ ܐ ܡܢܐ ܐ ܡܐ. ܡ ܡܐ ܕ ܡ.
ܡܟܘܐ ܡܡ ܡܡܐ. ܡܡܐ. ܡܡܐ ܡ ܡܟܝ ܡ ܡ
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[1] Ms. ܟܬܝ.

ܒܝܡܐ ܟܕܐ ܚܕܝ. ܒܗ ܡܥܡܠܢܝ ܗܘܕܝܐ ܒܟܝܐ ܐܬܘܐ. ܐܠܗ ܢܝܢ ܡܥܡܠܐ. ܒܗܘܕܝ ܒܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝ ܟܗܢܝ ܟܗܘܕܝ ܒܢܗ. ܐܦ ܐܢܥܕ ܥܡ ܐܦܐ ܒܝܡܐ ܟܕܐ ܟܢܝ ܡܝܡ. ܟ̈ ܢܝܢ ܠܥܬ. ܐܦܐ ܕܗܘ ܪܚܐ ܟܝܐ ܒܦܝܡ. ܐܠܗܐ ܟܕܐ ܟܢܝ ܡܝܡ. ܟܐܠ ܒܝ ܗܘܕܝ ܒܢܝ. ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܦܝܡ. ܕܟܗܢ ܟܐܝܡ ܟܐܠ ܟܝܐ. ܐܘܗ ܒܝ ܒܝ ܗܘܕܝ. ܡܐܝ ܢܝܢ ܡܥܡܠܐ ܢܝܢܘܢ ܡܟܐܝܢܘܢ ܒܝ ܗܘܕܝ ܡܐܢܥܢ. ܐܝܠܐ ܐܝܠ ܡܝ ܟܐܝܡ ܢܝܢ ܟܟܐܝܡ ܒܦܝܡ. ܐܠܗ ܢܝܢ. ܐܘܡܐ ܡܝ ܡܝܟܝ ܢܝܢ ܐܘܢ ܟܝ ܟܢܝܢ. ܟܡܝܟܝ ܐܢ ܐܘܢ ܟܕܐ ܟܢܝ ܡܝܡ. ܐܠܗ ܢܝܢ ܡܥܡܠ ܐܝ. ܠܐ ܒܝ ܡܬܢܐ ܡܝܩܐ ܡܟܝܐ ܡܬܝ ܡܟܡܩܐ. ܡܡܐܢܩܢ ܟܢܡܐܗ ܒܦܡܟܐ. ܟܗ ܟܗܐ ܡܡܐ ܒܦܐ ܟܢܝ ܡܝܡ ܟܟܝ ܟܐ ܟܐ ܟܐ

§ X.

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܝܠܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܟܡܠܟܗܘܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܘ ܠܗ. ܘܠܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܐܢܘ. fol. 13b

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܚܝܠ ܕܝܢ ܡܢܝܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܠܐ ܕܢܝܢ ܚܝܠ ܠܐ ܚܝܠ ܠܐ ܡܠ ܠܡܠܟ ܡܢܝ. ܐܝܟܐ ܚܝܠ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܡܢ ܚܝܠ ܕܡܠܟ ܕܝ ܚܝܠ ܡܢ ܡܠܟ ܕܝ ܡܢ ܚܝܠ. ܟܝܢ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܚܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܝ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܡܢ

ܐܝܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܠܗ ܟܡܐ ܕܡܫܬܐ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܒܗ.
ܗܘܝܐ ܡܬܪܥܡ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܪܫܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܝܒ
ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܟܡܐ ܕܪܫܘܬܐ. ܡܢܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܟܡܐ ܕܪܫܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܬܚܝܒ
ܕܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܠܗ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܠܗ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܠܗ ܡܬܚܝܒ
ܕܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ. ܘܡܢܐ ܐܝ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܠܗ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ
ܕܡܬܚܝܒ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܝܒ. ܢܡܝ ܐܬܐ ܠܐܦܝܟܘ ܕܪܘܫ ܠܡܚܫܒܬܐ
ܡܫܬܡܥ ܡܬܚܝܒ. ܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܕܐܝ. ܪܚܘܢ
ܟܬܘܒ ܡܢܝܡܝ ܡܢܝܡܝ. ܡܝ ܡܢ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ
ܡܫܬܡܥ ܟܡܬܚܝܒ. ܐܡ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ. ܐܡܪ ܕܐ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܡܢ
ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ[1] ܡܝܢ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ. ܐܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܬܝ.
ܐܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܡܢܬܐ. ܐܡ ܕܐ. ܡܬܚܝܒ ܟܬܒ
ܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ. ܡܬܚܝܒ ܐܡܪ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ.
ܡܢ ܕܐܡ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܕܡܬܚܝܒ. ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ
ܟܬܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ. ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ
ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܡܬܚܝܒ

ܒܫܢܬ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܬܐ. ܐܦܠܐ ܕܟܬܒܝܢܢ ܕܟܬܒܘܗܝ ܡܪܝ ܒܫܢܬ.
ܟܠܗ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܬܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܐܝ ܠܐܝ ܒܫܢܬ ܟܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܒܫܢ
ܟܡܢܐ. ܒܐܪܒܥܡܐܬܐ ܥܡ ܠܟܐ ܐܪܒܥܡܐ ܡܢܗܢܢ ܐܝ ܥܡ ܠܐܝ.
ܡܢܝܐ ܟܡܢܐ ܒܝ ܕܟܬܒܝܢܢ. ܐܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܟܢܐ. ܐܪܒܥܡܐܬܐ ܒܝ
ܡܪܝ ܒܫܢܬ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܩܥܐ ܡܥܩܒܢܐ ܟܬܒܘܗܝ. ܟܝ ܠܐ ܡܢܬ
ܐܪܒܥܡܐܬܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܟܡܢ. ܡܢܐ ܐܝ ܡܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܟܡܢܐ. ܟܡܢܐ
ܡܟܡܢܐܡܐ ܡܟ ܥܢܝܢ ܒܝ ܐܝ ܟܬܒܘܢ. ܟܡܢܐ ܟܡ
ܐܪܒܥܡܐܬܐ ܒܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܟܢܐ. ܐܝ ܗܢܐ ܐܝ ܡܥܢܝܢ. fol. 16a

§ XII.

ܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܬܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܡܥܡ ܐܝ ܟܥܢܝ. ܡܥܡܗܝ
ܒܝ ܟܠ ܒܝ ܕܝܢܥ ܥܡ ܡܢܟܢܐ ܒܢܝ.

ܠܡܢ ܐܝ ܟܡ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܗܢ ܥܡ ܟܡܢ. ܐܡܢ ܒܡܗܢܐ
ܡܢܟܢܐ ܟܠ ܐܪܒܥܡܐ. ܐܝ ܠܐ ܡܢܬ ܡܢ ܒܡܗܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܒܒܢ. ܠܐ ܡܢܗܢܢ. ܡܢ ܐܝ ܟܡ ܒܢ ܡܢ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܒܝ ܡܢ
ܡܢܗ ܡܢܗܢܢ. ܗܢ ܥܡ ܡܢ ܒܝ ܒܝ ܐܝ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܢ.
ܡܟ ܒܡܗ ܐܪ ܡܢܗܢܢ ܐܝ ܟܡܢܟܢ. ܥܡ ܟܡ
ܡܢ ܐܝ ܟܠ ܐܢ. ܡܢܢ. ܡܟ ܒܡܟ ܡܢܟ ܟܡ ܡܢ
ܐܝ ܟ ܐܝ ܡܢ ܟ ܡ ܟ ܢ. ܐ ܐ ܢ ܡ ܢ ܡ ܟ ܡ ܢ ܟ ܡ ܢ ܟ ܡ ܢ

ܐܪܚܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܟܬܝܒ. ܟܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܟܠܐ ܠܐ
ܢܥܒܝܕ ܟܝܢܐ ܡܕܡ. ܐܡܬܝܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܢ ܟܬܒܢܐ ܟܬܒܢܐ. ܡܢܥܡ
ܡܢ ܡܢܐ ܟܝܢܐ. ܟܬܒ ܡܟܠܐ ܠܝ ܠܐ ܐܢܝܢ ܡܢܢ ܡܕܐ ܟܬܟܠܐ
ܕܐܠܦ. ܕܢܥ ܟܡܝܡܐ ܡܢܥܬ ܟܝܡܬܐ. ܡܡܡܐ ܟܡܕ ܟܬܟܬܐ
ܐܢܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܐ.

§ XIV.

fol. 17 b ܟܠ ܡܢܬܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܝܬܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܡܬܟܠ ܟܝܢܐ ܡܡܡܐ ܐܝ

ܡܢܬܐ ܡܬܟܠ ܕܥܡܐ ܡܕܡܐ ܕܡܡܐ.

ܐܡܢ ܐܝ ܕܝ ܕܡܠܐܟܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܡܡܬܐ ܐܝܬ. ܐܝ ܕܟܝܢܐ
ܡܡܬܟܝ ܟܬ ܢܝ ܡܢ ܢܝ. ܡܡܢ ܟܡ ܕܡܬܟܝ ܡܢ ܕܥܡ ܕܡܥܐ
ܕܥܝܢܬܐ. ܡܡ ܕܟܝܢ ܐܢ ܕܐܬܡܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ. ܡܕܐ ܠܐ
ܡܟܬ ܕܝ ܢܝ ܡܢ ܕܡܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ. ܡܠܟܡ ܕܡܡܬܠ
ܕܡܬܐ ܡܟܬܐ ܐܝܬ ܕܡܢ ܠܡܬܡܐ ܠܐ ܡܟܝ ܠܡܡܡܬܐ ܕܡܕܐ
ܡܡܡܐ ܠܐܢܝ. ܐܠ ܟܝܢ ܕܡܟܝ ܡܢ ܕܡܬ ܡܕܥ. ܡܡܬܐ
ܟܡܡܢܝܬ ܕܥܐ. ܡܕ ܟܝܐ ܐܝ ܟܡ ܟܡ ܡܕܥ ܢܝ ܟܝܡ.
ܕܡܡ ܟܡܡ ܕܥܐ ܐܡܐ ܟܡܡ ܡܡܡ ܐܝ ܕܥܝܢܐ. ܡ ܡܡ
ܕܡܬܟܝ ܡ ܡܡܡ ܕܡܬ. ܟܡ ܕܥܡܐ ܕ ܡܢ ܠܐ
ܡܬܐ ܡܕ ܟܝ ܡ ܟܡ. ܐܠܐ ܕܝ ܡܡ *ܡ ܡܬܡܡ[1] ܡ
ܡܡܡ ܕܡܡ ܐܡܡ ܕܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡ ܡ ܡ
ܡ ܡ ܡ

§ XVI.

ܟܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܝܗܒܢܐ

fol. 18ª

ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܫܝܢ ܟܘܢ ܐܢܘ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܚܫܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܟܬܘܒܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܚܟܡܬܐ. ܘܐܠܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ. ܡܢ ܙܒܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܚܫܘܟܝܢ ܘܡܬܚܠܝܢ ܠܡܚܠܐ. ܟܕ ܡܬܥܠ ܡܢܐ ܟܬܘܒܐ ܕܟܬܘܒ ܕܟܬܘܒ ܕܚܝܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܟܘ ܘܐܠܐ ܗܝܢ. ܡܠܟܬܐ ܕܝ ܘܐܠܐ ܥܩܝܡ ܟܘ. ܘܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܡܢܝ ܟܠ ܟܘ. ܡܢ ܕܡ ܡܢܝ ܟܘܢ ܡܬܡܠܐ ܕܟܬܘܒ ܕܟܬܘܒ ܕܟܬܘܒ

ܐܝܡܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܢܨܝܚܘܬܐ. ܐܡܪ ܥܠܝ ܢܨܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܢܨܝܚ. ܗܘܝܠ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܟܬܒܘܬ ܡܠܟܘܬ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

§ XVII.

fol. 19a

ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ.

ܐܡܪ ܒܝ ܡܪܝ ܗܘܝ ܕܢܝܢܘܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܫܘܦܪܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܕܡܫܝܚ. ܡܢ ܟܝ ܕܐܝ ܕܢܬܢܝ ܡܫܝܚ ܫܘܦܪܐ. ܡܢ ܕܢܬܢ ܡܪܝ ܕܢܬܢ ܡܪܝ

ܐܝܟ ܕܢܫܬܘܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܕܢܟܬܘܢ ܟܕܐ ܕܡܟܬܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ.
ܠܐ ܐܬܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܝܬܘܬܗ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܟܕ ܡܒܥܐ ܫܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ
ܠܐ ܡܢܝ ܕܐܟܬܒܝܢܘܬܐ. ܡܟܐ ܕܠܐܠܐܟܬܒܐ ܐܝܟ. ܗܘܢܐ
ܗܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܟܐܦܟ. ܡܕܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܦܬܐ. ܐܝܡܬܐ
ܕܐܠܦܬܐ ܟܕܐ ܕܗܘܬܐ ܕܢܬܘܬܐ ܕܢܬܘܬܐ. ܕܐܝܩܘܦܬܐ
ܕܢܩܦܐ ܡܬܟܬܐ ܕܢܩܒܐ ܬܬܡܢ ܐܠܬܐ. ܕܐ ܪܒ ܐܬܬܐ ܕܟܝܗ fol. 20 a
ܡܢ ܐܬܩܡܘܢ ܕܡܢܟܝ ܟܕܐ. ܡܟܐ ܐܬܬܐ ܕܟܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܟܝ.
ܡܟܐ ܟܐܪܬܐ[1] ܕܕܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܦܦܐܠ. ܡܟܐ ܐܐܝܢܬܐ
ܡܟܘܢܬܐ ܡܟܟܐ. ܡܢܐ ܕܟܡܩܐ ܡܟܐ ܕܐܡܬܐ ܕܟܟܐ
ܐܝܟܟܐ. ܡܟܐ ܐܟܝ ܟܟܐ ܡܒܥܐ ܕܟܐ ܟܝ ܡܐ
ܡܡܟܟܝ. ܟܟܐ ܟܟܐ ܡܒܡ. ܡܟܝܬܐ ܟܐ ܟܟܐ ܐܬܒ.
ܐܬܟ ܐܟܝ ܟܢܡ ܡܢ ܟܟܐ. ܡܟܬܘܢ ܡܡܟܟܝ ܟܟܐ
ܡܟܝܬܐ ܟܝ ܡܐ. ܐܝ ܐܡܢ ܕܟܐ ܐܐ ܟܟܐ. ܐܐܟܐ ܟܟܝ
ܐܐ ܡܒܐ. ܐܡܢ ܟܟ ܟܟܐ ܡܒܥܐ ܕܟܐ ܡܢ ܐܡܬܡܡܐ
ܡܢ ܟܟ. ܡܡܟ ܐ ܐ ܟ ܟ ܟ

ܕܠܟܘ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܦܝ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܟܕܝܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܝܢܝܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܗܠ ܕܒܩܝܠ ܕܒܢܝܢܘܢ ܗܘܬܢܐ
ܐܠܗܘܬܐ. ܡܢܟܘ ܕܝ ܟܝܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܟܝܢܘܬܐ
ܕܟܝܢܐ ܐܢܬ. ܡܟܝܢ ܕܟܝܢ ܟܠܗ ܟܝ ܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܟܝܢܐ ܐܢܬ.
ܡܟܝܢ ܕܕܕ ܟܝ ܟܝܢܐ ܟܠܗ ܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܟܠܐ ܥܠ. ܟܝܢܝܢܐ ܡܢ
ܡܕܝܢܝ ܕܕܕ ܟܝ ܟܝܢܐ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ. ܡܟܝ ܟܝܢ ܡܢܟܝܢ
ܕܕ ܡܢ ܟܝ ܟܝܢ ܡܢܟܝ ܕܕ ܟܝܢܝܢ. ܡܡܠܝܢ ܟܝ
fol. 21a ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢܘܬ ܡܢܟܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܠ ܗܠܡ. ܟܝܢ
ܡܕܝܢܝ ܕܕ ܠܘ ܟܝܢ ܟܠ ܡܢܝ ܢܘܬ. ܕܡܠ ܟܝ ܕܕ
ܟܝܡ ܟܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܢܝܢ ܕܡܡ ܕܕܕ. ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ ܕܕ ܐܠܗܝ ܐܢ
ܡܟܝ ܐܝܢ ܕܡ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ. ܟܝ ܟܝ ܕܕ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ.
ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܟ
ܟ ܟ ܟ

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܡܪܝ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܢܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ

ܒܪܘܚܐ ܩܪܝܠܐ ܒܫܘܝܠܐ ܐܘܡܬܐ ܫܘܡܠܐ ܘܐܬܚܕܗܢܐ ܚܕܘܢܐ ܒܫܡܝ.
ܘܐ ܒܗ ܚܝܐ ܘܘܘ ܚܘܝܢܐ ܒܡܥܡܩܐ ܒܝ ܡܪܝܡ. ܘܒܡܠܠܐ
ܡܫܚܠܐ ܘܐܪܝܒ ܡܚܢ ܡܢ ܐܬܚܘܝܘ ܒܗ ܒܚܝܠ ܘܘܘ ܐܡܢ.
ܘܡܢܗܘܝ ܘܘܘ ܐܟܝ ܚܩܠܐ ܡܕ ܒܫܥܐ. ܡܢܐ ܒܗ ܚܩܪܝܠ
ܒܫܘܝܠܐ ܘܡܘܡܠܐ ܘܐܬܚܕܗܢܐ ܒܗ ܡܢܒܚܝܢ ܘܘ ܐܡܢ. ܐܒܚܝܢ
ܐܡܢ ܫܠ ܒܟܘܠ. ܠܐ ܢܫ ܡܢܗ ܒܪܟܚܐ.

ܚܢܢ ܒܝ ܥܡܥܢܐ ܐܠܗܝܬ ܚܝܐ ܕܐܒ ܢܢܐ. ܚܘܡܐ ܒܗ
ܐܗܕܢ ܚܝܢ. ܚܘ ܐܡܟ ܪܥܘ. ܘܐ ܟܡ ܬܘܡܐ ܡܢܐ
ܢܝܢ ܡܚܝܬ ܚܡܘܝܢܚ ܕܒܐ ܘܘ ܐܡܢ ÷

B. *Zusätze aus verschiedenen Quellen.*

1.[1] (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 139 r. b.*)

ܐܘ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܡܚܡܘܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܚܢ.

ܡܝܢܘ ܘܘܘ ܐܡܢ ܐܡܢ ܐܡܢ ܫܠ ܒܟܘܠܐ.
ܕܘܐ ܕܚܢ ܡܢܗܪ ܐܢܝ ܡܢ ܕܚܢܐ . . .
ܘܐ ܟܘܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܪܐ ܕܒܚܢ ܕܒܗ.
ܒܟܘ ܪܝܢ ܘܘܘ ܕܚܢ ܕܚܡܡܐ[2] ܐܝ ܡܡܬܐ . . .
ܚܕ ܕܘܐ ܕܚܢ ܕܐܠ ܡܟܝ ܡܢܬܐ:
ܕܚܢ ܐܢܐ ܡܢܘ ܡܟܐ ܐܐ ܡܚܡܐ . . .
ܚܕܐ ܡܡܝ ܟܘ ܡܕܐܡ[3] ܕܚܢ ܕܚܢܐ.
ܐܐ ܕܚܢ ܝܢܘ ܘܕܘ ܕܒ ܟܘܠ . . .
ܐܡܝ ܕܟܘ ܫܒܐ ܡܪܐ ܝܢܘ.
ܘܐ ܐܡ ܚܐ ܕܚܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܐ ܐܘ . . .
ܝܡܢܝ ܕܐܪ ܘܐ ܐܡ ܘܘܘ ܕܚܢ ܡܡ . .
ܕܒ ܟܘܠ ܕܚܢ ܚܚܟܐ ܠܐ ܫܢ ܡܢܗ÷
ܐܢ ܕܡܘ[4] ܒܚܢ ܐܢܐ ܟܐ ܡ ܡܢܐ
ܐܐ ܗܘ ܢܚܒ ܕܚܢ ܡܡ ܝܢܐ . . .
ܐ ܟܐ ܐܢ ܘܢܚ ܕܚܢ ܐܝ ܡܘܐ.
ܚܢ ܟܘ ܡܝ ܚܚܟܘ ܢܩܘܒ ܕܫܒܐ.
ܡܟܡ ܕܩܢ ܒܚܫܘܐ ܕܒ ܟܘܠ.

[1] Die folgenden Stücke sind aus dem Kodex Bibl. Mediceae Palatinae num. 298, antea 111 (cat. p. 197). Wie oben gesagt, habe ich die Abschrift vom Herrn Professor Brockelmann benutzt.

[2] Im Kodex steht hier ܚܡܡ.

[3] Im Kodex steht hier ܡܐܡ.

[4] v. a. beginnt nun.

ܕܢܐ ܡܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܟܠܝܠ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ . . .
ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܠ ܡܕܡ ܐܢܐ ܢܬܟ ܡܬܟܠܝܢ.
ܕܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ . . .
ܡܕܡ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܠ ܕܥܠ ܟܡܢܘܢ ܟܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ . .
ܘܐܝܟ ܕܥܠ ܡܢܗ ܢܟܝܐ ܕܥܬܝܕ . . .
ܒ ܡܬܟܝܡ ܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.
ܡܬܬܡܠܐ ܟܝܢ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܠ . . .
ܕܢܐ ܡܢ ܕܥܠ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ.
ܡܬܬܟܠ ܟܠ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܥܒܕ ܕܡܬܬܕܝܢܐ[1]
ܡܬܬܝ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܕܢܬܠ ܐܠܗ ܟܠ.
ܡܬܟܠ ܟܠ ܟܡ ܬܕܝܐ ܩܕܝܫ ܟܬܐ . . .
ܒ ܕܥܠ ܐܠܗ ܟܡ ܬܕܝܐ ܡܬܟܠ ܐܠܗ.
ܕܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܐ ܡܬܟܝܒ ܕܥܠ ܠܐ ܡܕܝܒ ܟܠ . . .
ܬܕܝܐ ܒܝ ܡܬܬܐ ܟܝܠ ܠܐ ܡܬܬܐ.
ܡܬܝ ܕܥܠ[2] ܕܪܘܢ ܕܡܬܐ ܕܐܡܝ ܐܐ.
ܗܘ ܕܡܝܬ ܕܥܠ ܬܡ ܕܗ ܟܪܝܬܐ.
ܗܘ ܬܕܝ ܕܐܝ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܥܠ . . .
ܐܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܬܠ ܟܡܬܐ
ܕܐܠܗ[3] ܟܝܠ ܡܕ ܟܝ ܕܥܠ . . .
ܒܝ ܟܠ ܕܥ ܟܡ ܟܬܒܐ ܡܬܟ ܗܘ ܕܥ.
ܐܝ ܟܠ ܕܥ ܟܝ ܐܠܗ ܥܠ ܡܢ . . .
ܐܢܐ ܕܥ ܟܠ ܡܬܐ ܕܐܡܐ ܐ ܥܡܢ.
ܟܬܒ ܟܬܐ ܟܝ ܐܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܡܬܐ . . .
ܡܬܟ ܕܥ ܟܝ ܡܬܟ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܬ.
ܟ ܐܠܗ ܟܠ ܕܥܠ ܠܐ ܐܝ ܕܥ.
ܡܢ ܡܬܝ ܕܥ ܡܬ ܕܥ ܟܠ ܡܬ.
ܒ ܡܬܝ ܐܢ ܡܬ ܕܥ ܟܠ ܡܬ.
ܐܢܬ ܟܬ ܟܬܒ ܕܥ ܕܥ . . .
ܡܕ ܕܥ ܒ ܟ ܐܢ ܡܬ ܕܥ.
ܐܠ ܠ ܐܠ ܡܢ ܕܥ ܡܬ[4] ܟ . . .
ܐܢ ܐܡܐ ܕܥ ܐܡ ܡ ܟ ܐ.[5]

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[1] Kodex hat da ܡܬ.
[2] v. b. beginnt nun.
[3] Im Kodex steht ܐܠ.
[4] Im Original ܡ.
[5] Im Original ܐ.

ܡܫܡܥ ܢܥܒܪ ܕܙܟܝܐ ܢܗܘܝܐ ܠܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܟܝ . . .
ܢܫ ܟܝ ܟܝܐ ܕܝܐ ܟܝ ܡܥܡ ܕܟܝ ܐܝܟܐ.
ܐܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܟܝ ܟܐ ܕܐܘܬܝ . . .
ܗܘ ܕܟܝ ܕܡܝ ܟܝ ܡܥܐ ܕܝ ܕܝܢ ܟܝ.
ܢܪ ܐ ܟܝܝ[1] ܕܟܝ ܐܝܟܐ ܐܐ ܐܝܐ . . .
ܗܘ ܕܟܝ ܢܥܐ ܟܐ ܕܟܝܟܐ ܢܟܝ ܢܟܬܐ.
ܐܝܐ ܕܕܟ ܕܟܝ ܐܝܟܐ ܐ ܡܟܡܟܐ . . .
ܥܕܐ ܕܝ ܟܝܢ ܗܗ ܟܝܐ ܕܟܝ ܐܝ ܗܗ.
ܡܟܐ ܗܗ ܕܟܝ ܕܟܝ ܕܐ ܢܟܝ ܟܝ . . .
ܟܝܐ ܕܝܐ ܕܝܥܐ ܕܟܝܬܐ ܕܐ ܢܗܗ ܟܝ.
ܕܝܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܗ ܕܟܝ ܕܟܝ ܕܟܝ . . .
ܡܕܝܢܐ ܗܗ ܕܟܝ ܡܟܡ ܟܐ ܡܟܝܢܐ.
ܐܟܝ ܕܐܟܝ ܕܐ ܕܝ ܡܗ ܟܝܢܐ ܡܗ ܟܝܟܝܢ . .
ܡܡ ܗܗ ܟܝ ܐܐ ܕܕܟ ܕܟܝ ܡܥܡ.
ܕܟܡܥ ܟܝܐ ܡܥܐ ܢܥܐ ܟܡ ܥܕܐ . . .
ܡ ܗܗ ܕܟܝ ܕܝ ܐܝܡܟ ܟܟܡ ܡܟܝ.
ܡܟܝ ܗܗ ܐܐ ܕܟܝ ܕܟܝ ܕܟ ܗܗ . . .
ܕܡܐ ܟܝܐ ܐܐ ܕܟܝ ܕܟܝ ܕܟܝ ܡܥܡ
ܐܐ ܡܡܟܐ ܟܝ ܟ ܢܥܕܐ ܗܗ ܟܟܟܝܐ:

2. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 r. b.*)

ܡ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܕܟܝ ܐܝܟܝ ܐܝ ܕ ܡܡ ܡ ܕܕ ܕ ܕ

3. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 r. b.*)

ܡܢܬ ܐܢܫܐ.[1]

ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܝܠ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. ܐܦܠܐ ܡܟܬܒܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܨܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܐ ܟܬܒܬ ܠܡܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܕܢܫܬܐ ܡܟܬܒܬ ܥܠܬܐ . . . ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܝܠ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܕܢܫܬܐ ܡܫܟܚܐ. ܒܡܐ ܕܢܫܬܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܡܬܩܢܡ . . . ܡܢܐ ܕܢܫܬܐ ܡܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܡܬܩܢܡ ܡܢ ܟܠܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܢܫܬܐ ܡܫܟܚ

حمر ܐܘܢ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܕܡܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ
ܥܡ ܬܡܗܗܐ.

7. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 v. a.*)

ܐܡܪܝܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ[1]

ܟܕܐ ܕܚܟܡܐ ܡܕܡܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܬܬܝܒ ܐܝܟ. ܡܢܐ
ܕܐܝܬ ܡܕܡܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܝ ܠܐ ܡܬܝܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܬܝܒ
ܡܬܝܒܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ[2] ܕܡܬܝܠܐ.

8. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 v. b.*)

ܕܡܬܬܗܝܢܝܢ ܐܝܟ[3]

ܠܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܚܝܢ ܕܬܥܒܕܘܢ ܒܝ ܥܡ ܬܐܪܐ ܕܚܝܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܚܝܢܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܕܡܝܢ ܩܝܡܐ ܚܝܠ ܚܝ ܕܚܝܐ. ܒ ܡܢܬܐ
ܠܐ ܡܕܡܢܝܬ ܕܡܝܢ ܢܝܐ[4] ܫܡܥ ܐܝܠ. ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܚܟܝܡ ܐܬܡܝܠ.
ܘܠܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܥܡ ܪܡܥܐܘ ܕܡܢ ܡܕܡܢܝܬ ܕܗܝܢ ܐ ܐܝܟ ܚܡܢܬܐ.
ܡܕܐ ܕܡܢܝܬ ܚܝܡ ܢܝܠ ܐܠܗܘܢ ܚܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܚܡܢܝܠ
ܕܠܐ. ܡܢܗܝܠ ܕܚܝ ܐܬܚܝ ܡܩܡܝ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܠܐ ܕܕܘܢ
ܚܟܝ ܥܡ ܐܝܠ. ܚܕ ܡܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܬ ܕܡܢܝܬ ܡܟܬܘܢ
ܡܢܬܐ ܡܕܐ ܕܘ ܚܫܐ ܟܪ ܡܬܝ ܥܡ ܡܬܬܐ ܕܕܘܢ.
ܘܐܡ ܐܝ ܕܐ ܡܬܐ ܕܘܬ ܠܐܝ ܕܠܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܝ ܡܢ
ܚܘܡܪ ܐ ܠܐ:

9. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 v. b.*)

ܡܢ ܗܐܡܢ[5]

ܡܪ ܐ ܚܢܗܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܬ ܡܬܬ ܢܚܝܢ. ܒܝ ܚܕ
ܚܝ ܪܥܝܐ ܕܢܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܝ. ܡܪ ܐ ܡܚܝ ܕܡܢ ܚܝ
ܚܡܟܟܘܢ ܐܘ ܕܐ. ܚܘܐ ܚܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܚܢ ܚܕ ܚ
ܡܟܘ ܡܢ. ܡܟܘ ܚܢ ܕܐܝ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܠܐ ܡܢܘ ܥܡ
ܚܢܐ. ܡܚܡ ܚܟܘ ܪܥܝ ܩܕ ܩܢ. ܡܕ ܐܘ ܡܘܡ
ܕܚܝ ܕܚ ܩ ܩܢ. ܡܟܝ ܕܐ ܡܢ. ܚܝ ܚܟܘ
ܪܥܝ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܡܪ. ܡܝ ܕ ܡܟ ܠ ܢܥ ܕ ܚ ܕ ܡܢܗܝܢ
ܐܝ ܚ ܚ.

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[1] Rot. [2] Fol. beginnt hier. [3] Rot.
[4] Im Kodex ܢܝܠ. [5] Rot.

10. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 141 r.*)

ܬܚܠܐ ܕܐܘܢܝܐ[1]

ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܚܝܡܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܩܕܡ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܡܬܝܡܐ
ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܢܐ. ܠܐ ܢܫܟܚ ܡܢܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܠܐ. ܡܢܟ ܟܕ ܡܫܟܚ
ܒܐܝܟ ܬܡܢܐ ܟܠ ܟܬܒܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܫܟ ܕܩܪܝܢ ܩܕܡܝܐ
ܠܟܬܒܐ. ܡܢܟ ܟܕ ܡܫܟܚܢܐ ܡܢ ܟܕ ܡܫܟ ܐܝܟܐ ܐܝܟܐ. ܐܝܟ
ܡܫܟܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܒܪܡܐ ܟܕܢ. ܡܫܟ ܠܐ ܢܫܟ ܕܡܫܟ.
ܡܫܟ ܕܩܕܡ ܡܬܩܕ ܕܡܢ ܟܕ ܟܬܒܬܐ ܕܩܕܡܝܐ.
ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܟ ܕܡܫܟ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ. ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܟ ܕܪܡ
ܠܡܬܩܕܡ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ[2] ܟܕ ܪܕܡܐ ܕܡܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܕܩܢܝ
ܡܬܩܕܡ ܡ ܡܬܩ ܡܩܕ ܕܡܢ. ܐܝܟ ܪܡ ܕܡܬܩܕ
ܡܩܕ ܡ ܡܬܩ ܡܩܕ ܕܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܩ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܬ
ܡܬܩ ܕܡܢ ܡ ܡܬ ܡܩ ܕ ܡ ܡ ܡ

ܗܘܝܗ ܐܡܪܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܢܐ ܕܚܝܠ ܕܚܬܐ. ܡܕܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܐ
ܡܢܝܪ ܠܐܚܪܐ. ܡܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܟܕ ܚܡܝܡܪ[1] ܡܢ ܐܚܪܐ[2]
ܕܢܚܘܢ ܕܚܝܠ ܚܠ ܡܢܐ ܚܡܪ ܡܠܐ *ܐܦ ܕܡܢܐ ܚܝܢ
ܚܡܪ ܕܡܢܢ.[3] ܡܫܟܚܐ[4] ܢܡܗ ܢܢܢ ܐܢܐ[5] ܡܢܡܢ ܡܢ
ܚܝܢ ܡ÷

12 (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 141 r.*)

ܡܢ ܐܡܐܢܐ[6]

ܡܢܚܝ ܐܡܢ ܡܩܢ ܕܢܡ ܕܡܢ. ܠܐ ܡܫܟ ܠܐܢܗܝܢ
ܕܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܡܢܢ ܕܠܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܬ ܚܡ ܩܕܡ. ܚܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ
ܕܐܢܢ. ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܢܐ ܡܐܡܚܐ ܕܢܡܢ ܚܩܕ
ܕܡܢ ܕܚܝܢ ܩܕܡ ܢܕ. ܚܢܢ ܡ ܡܚܩܠܐ ܡܢܡ.
ܡܢ ܕܟ ܕܚܕܐ ܐܢ ܡܚܝܚܡ ܕܟ ܚܩܕ.
ܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܟ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܡ ܡ ܡ

ܕܢܗ ܒܥܕܬܗ[1] ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܥܘܬܐ. ܐܦܝܠܘ ܕܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܝܢܐ
ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܠܗ ܡܠܦܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܬܐ. ܗܘܐ
ܫܠܝܡ ܕܥܠ ܡܢ ܡܕܡܐ. ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܐ ܕܥܘܬܐ. ܡܛܠ
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Übersetzung

fol. 1a A. *Sendschreiben des Patriarchen, Johannes Barschuschan, an den Catholicus der Armenier über einige hassenswerte, den Kanones der Kirche widersprechende Gebräuche, welche unter den Armeniern aufgekommen waren.*

§ I.

Erstens, über den Glauben des orthodoxen Volkes der Syrer.

Johannes, ein Knecht Jesu Christi, durch die Gnade Gottes Oberhirte und Herr der Gemeinde, das heißt, durch das erlösende Blut Patriarch geworden, sendet Eurer Heiligkeit einen heiligen Gruß.

Gesegnet sei Gott, der Vater unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, der uns allzeit labt mit seiner Liebe und uns offenbart den Glanz seiner Erkenntnis in unsern Herzen; welcher uns tröstet in unsern Nöten. Wie das Licht die Augen, so einigt Er uns mit Seiner geistlichen Liebe; und wie die Seele in den Gliedern, so verbindet Er uns mit Liebe. Gleich dem magnetischen Stein zieht er uns zum freudigen Verkehr mit Euch, daß wir, wie in Seele und Leib, so auch in wirklichen Worten, durch Papier und Tinte, mit Eurer Heiligkeit verbunden werden, und unsere Augen uns erleuchtet werden von Eurer Gelehrsamkeit, und erhöhet werde das Horn unsrer Armut
fol. 1b durch die Demut dessen, dem da sei Ehre und Preis jetzt und in Ewigkeit, Amen.

Es ist ein Gott, der überall und in uns allen ist, o geistlicher und heiliger Vater! und ein Herr, Jesus Christus, in welchem alles beschlossen ist, nach den Apostolischen Definitionen des göttlichen Paulus und der heiligen Väter des *Nicaenums*[1]; und ein Heiliger Geist, der überall ist. Einer und einer und einer, also drei[2]; nicht in allem; wohl in Namen und Hypostasen, in den Prosopen, in charakteristischen Eigenschaften der heiligen Personen; aber eins dem Wesen (*οὐσία*) nach. Nicht von gleichem Wesen in allem, damit nicht ein-

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[1] Konzil von Nicäa (325).

[2] Wir haben hier jedenfalls eine Anspielung auf Gregor des Großen Wort: Wenn Gott und Gott und Gott ist, sagen sie (die Arianer und die Eunomianer), sind dann nicht drei Götter? Und verehren wir nicht eine göttliche Vielherrschaft? (Orat. XXXI. 13⁰, 14).

dringe bei uns der heidnische Wahn des Sabellius[1]), und wir am Ende gar tun nach Art der Juden. Auch nicht drei nach dem Schisma des Arius[2]; oder nach Stufe und Maß von groß, größer, am größten. Das Böse ist gleich frevelhaft, und Gedanke und Wille sind gottlos. Also ziemt es sich zu bekennen: fol. 2a
Eins in drei, und drei sind Eins, wie Gregorius der Theologe lehrte.

Der Vater ist Vater ohne Anfang, das heißt ohne Zeugung. Der Sohn ist Sohn und nicht ohne Anfang; denn er ist vom Vater gezeugt worden. Der Heilige Geist ist ausgegangen vom Vater und mit dem Sohne. Ein Wesen, eine Gottheit, ein Reich, eine Obrigkeit, ein Wille, (und) eine Macht und eine Tätigkeit.[3] Nicht drei Substanzen, oder drei Götter, oder drei leitende Prinzipien, oder gar verschiedene und sich gegenüberstehende; sondern es ist ein Gott nach Natur und Wesen[4]; aber drei *Qnomi*, i. e. getrennte Eigenschaften der heiligen Persönlichkeiten; wie ja auch Adam und Seth und Eva, zum Beispiel; und die Sonne, ihr Licht und ihre Hitze; und Verstand und Vernunft und Geist[5]; und die Pflanze, ihr Duft und ihre Farbe usw.; obwohl es gibt nichts in den natürlichen Beispielen, das dem Herrn ähnlich wäre oder sich vergleichen

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[1] Sabellius (ca. 225).

[2] Arius (256—336).

[3] Eigentlich sagt Gregor so: Die Eigenschaften (Gottes) sind: des Vaters, daß er ohne Prinzip und Anfang ist und heißt Prinzip als das Ursächliche, als die Quelle, als das ewige Licht; des Sohnes, daß er zwar keineswegs ohne Prinzip, aber doch das schöpferische Prinzip des Weltalls ist. (Orat. XX. 8 p. 380.)

Bezüglich des Heiligen Geistes lehrte Gregor, indem er Johannes 1 : 9 auf die drei Hypostasen der Gottheit anwandte, und sagte: Es war Licht und Licht und Licht, aber ein Licht, nämlich ein Gott. Was auch dem David vorschwebte, wenn er sagt: In deinem Lichte sehen wir das Licht. Denn jetzt schauen und verkündigen wir es auch, indem wir aus dem Lichte, dem Vater, das Licht, den Sohn in dem Lichte, dem Heiligen Geist erkennen. (Ullmann, Gregorius von Nazianz; Orat. XXXI. 3 p. 557.)

[4] Gregors Definition hierzu ist folgende: *μίαν φύσιν ἐν τρισὶν ἰδιότησ, νοεραῖς, τελείαις, καθ' ἑαυτὰς ὑφεστώσαις, ἀριθμῷ διαρεταῖς, καὶ οὐ διαιρεταῖς θεότητι*, in welcher zugleich der Ausdruck *ὑπόστοσις* durch die Worte *καθ ἑαυτὰς ὑφεστώσαις* seine beste Erklärung findet. (Orat. XXXIII. 16 p. 614.)

[5] Einen ähnlichen Ausdruck finden wir in Gregors Reden: „Wir wollen eine und dieselbe Natur der Gottheit festhalten, welche in dem Hervorgehenden erkannt wird, wie unser Inneres in dem Verstande, der Vernunft und dem Geiste". (Orat. XXIII. 11 p. 431.)

ließe, unter den Söhnen der Engel, wie der Prophet David sagt.[1] Dies sind in kurzen Worten die charakteristischen Merkmale, wie die herrliche Trinität beschaffen ist.

§ II.

Einer aber von dieser heiligen Dreieinigkeit[2] kam vom Himmel herab, unverändert, nämlich der Sohn, der vom Vater gezeugt war im geistlichen Sinne. Er ward Mensch[3], gleich wie wir, um unsertwillen ohne Unterschied, da er seiner Natur nach Gott blieb und bewahrte so die Jungfrau jungfräulich, wenn er auch von ihr an sich nahm menschliches Fleisch. Er, der auch die Gestalt unserer Leiden annahm, nach den prophetischen und den apostolischen Zeugnissen, da er litt und gekreuzigt wurde, und starb in derselben Weise, wie er gezeugt worden war. Auch ist er auferstanden und aufgefahren in die Herrlichkeit zum Himmel; und mit diesem selben Leib wird er wiederkommen, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten, wie die Stimme des Engels den heiligen Aposteln verkündigte; wie dies ja in der Schrift der Acta Apostolorum geschrieben steht.[4]

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[1] Psalm 89:7 heißt es: „Denn wer in den Wolken ist mit Jehovah zu vergleichen? Wer ist Jehovah gleich unter den Söhnen der Starken?“

[2] Randglosse: „Darüber, daß eine Natur in 3 *Qnōmen* ist; eine Herrschaft; aber einer in dreien und die 3 sind eins.“

[3] Über die Menschwerdung sagt Sahak III, nach Ter-Minassiantz p. 137: Er (Christus) stieg hinab in den Mutterleib der unverderbten Jungfrau, und von ihr menschlichen Leib und Seele und Verstand annehmend, mischte und vereinigte er sie mit dem Feuer seiner Gottheit UND MACHTE SIE VOLLKOMMEN ZU GOTT UND ZUR GÖTTLICHEN NATUR. Nicht, indem er ihn (den Leib) aufhob oder vernichtet und nicht, indem er ihn in Unleiblichkeit verwandelte, sondern er ließ den Leib in seinem Wesen, so daß die Apostel ihn betasten konnten; aber er machte ihn im Mutterleibe der Heiligen Jungfrau vollständig nach der Natur seiner Göttlichkeit, und er ließ den Leib nicht nach seinem Wesen bleiben in der Mischung und Vereinigung, in ihr schwach und kraftlos, wie manche in falscher Meinung glauben, sondern in unverständlicher und unaussprechlicher Eiligkeit verwandelte er ihn von den irdischem zum feurigen, von den menschlichen zum göttlichen, von dem geschaffenen zum schöpferischen ..., von dem sündigen zum sündlosen, und von dem verderblichen zum unverderblichen ... (Buch der Briefe, p. 421.)

[4] Acta 10:42.

§ III.

Darüber, daß bekannt werden soll eine Natur des göttlichen Logos, welcher Fleisch geworden ist. fol. 2b

Nicht zwei Naturen und Personen, nach dem Frevel des Nestorius,[1] des Theodorus,[2] und ihrer Konsorten; die nämlich Gott und Mensch vereinigen in einer zufälligen Union und zwei Naturen einführen; verehren das Geschöpf mit dem, Schöpfer, und den Knecht mit dem Herrn; und achten den Menschen, Gott zu sein; machen also die Trinität zu einer Quarternität, und erneuern damit die jüdische und heidnische Religion. Noch bekennen wir eine Person des einen Christus mit zwei Naturen, zwei Willen und zwei Funktionen, wie die gottlose Schrift Leo's[3] lehrt, und die verbrecherische Synode von Chalcedon[4] bestimmte; noch akzeptieren wir eine Person und eine Natur in Wesensgleichheit und Vermischung, wie der ruchlose Eutyches[5] sagt und eine Schar fanatischer Gotteslästerer.

Aber es gibt nur einen Christus, einen eingebornen Sohn, einen Logos, der Fleisch geworden ist, eine zusammengesetzte Natur und Person (Qnōm), in welcher bewahrt wurde das Merkmal der natürlichen Verschiedenheit der Personen, die ungeteilt und unberechenbar, unvermischt, und unverflüchtigt waren; ebenso wie auch die Seele und dieser unser Menschenleib; wie der heilige Cyrill[6] lehrt, und ebenso alle die heiligen und rechtgläubigen Väter. Denn die Union des Logos[7] mit

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[1] Nestorius, † 451.

[2] Theodor von Mopsueste (350—428 o. 429).

[3] Papst Leo I. (440—461). [4] Konzil zu Chalcedon (451).

[5] Eutyches, † 458. [6] Cyrill † 444.

[7] Auch hier ist unser Autor wieder Gregor gefolgt, der an zwei verschiedenen Stellen ungefähr dasselbe sagt: „Der LOGOS Gottes, der ewige, unsichtbare, unbegreifliche, unkörperliche, das Grundwesen aus dem Grundwesen, das Licht aus dem Licht, die Quelle des Lebens und der Unsterblichkeit, der Abdruck der urbildlichen Schönheit, das feste Siegel, das unwandelbare Bild, die Begrenzung und das Wort des Vaters — ER läßt sich herab zu seinem eigenem Bilde, nimmt das Fleisch an sich um des Fleisches willen, das Gleiche durch das Gleiche reinigend, und wird Mensch in jeder Beziehung, ausgenommen die Sünde; er ward empfangen von einer Jungfrau, nachdem die Seele und der Körper derselben vorher gereinigt war durch den Geist; denn auch die Geburt mußte geehrt, die Jungfrauschaft aber höher geehrt werden; und so ging er Gott hervor mit dem Angenommenen: Eines aus zwei Entgegengesetzten, dem Fleische

dem Fleische der Heiligen Jungfrau ist nicht eine der Majestät und Macht, sodaß man an ihm zählet die Naturen und Personen, die Willen und Funktionen, sondern es ist eine persönliche und natürliche Verbindung, da ja auch Seele und Leib nicht vor der Vereinigung zwei und nicht nach der Vereinigung zwei waren; aber der Logos ist nicht Fleisch geworden, wenn man zwei Naturen an ihm bekennt nach der Verbindung. Denn nicht vier verehren wir, sagt der heilige Gregorius Thamaturgus[1]: Gott und den Sohn Gottes, den Heiligen Geist und den Menschen von der Heilgen Jungfrau; sondern wir verdammen jene, die so gottlos reden und den Menschen zu göttlicher Ehre erheben. Dies denn ist für uns Syrer die Definition des christlichen Glaubens.

fol. 3a O, du Heiliger Gottes! Wir schreiben in wenigen Worten an Eure große Weisheit, als an den Lehrer des geistlichen Israels, und unterbreiten Argument und Begründung Eurem theoretischen Wissen. Durch Eure, von dem Heiligen Geiste angehauchten, Schriften wurden wir erleuchtet, und wir bringen Euch von dem Eurigen dar. Von der Menge von Argumenten vieler Lehrer haben wir uns abgewandt. Weil aber, wie der Himmel mit Strahlen, und die Erde mit schönen Blumen, Euer verehrtes Schreiben mit Fragen, die nicht notwendig, sondern gewohnheitsmäßig sind, geschmückt ist, so bezahlen wir die Schuld in der brüderlichen Liebe, welche die Erfüllung des Gesetzes und der Propheten ist.

Aber ich bitte Eure Weisheit, wir dürfen nicht unsern Willen als Gesetz der Wahrheit gegenüberstellen und nicht Gegner werden in der Leidenschaft des Stolzes, und uns nicht einreden lassen, den halsstarrigen Juden ähnlich zu werden.

§ IV.

fol. 3b *Über den Sauerteig, Salz und Öl, welche wir in der Eucharistie verwenden.*

Ihr fragt, was das gesäuerte Brot[2] symbolisiere, welches wir, wie alle christlichen Nationen, machen; und das Salz und

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und dem Geiste, von denen das Eine vergöttlichte, das Andere vergöttlicht wurde. O der neuen Verbindung, o der wunderbaren Vermischung!" (Orat. XXXVIII 13. p. 671; XLV. 9 p. 851.)

[1] Gregorius Thaumaturgus (210—270).

[2] Bei den Armeniern wird beim Abendmahl Ungesäuertes (Brot) genossen. Man gebraucht meistens kleine, runde Cakes, mit der Figur

Öl, welches wir beim Opfer verwenden d. h. in der Eucharistie; und die andern Fragen, welche unten angegeben sind.

Wir sagen also zu Eurer mathematischen Weisheit, daß, wie das Alte das Neue symbolisiert; ich meine, wie das Volk der Juden die christlichen Völker; der Sabbat den Sonntag; die Beschneidung die Taufe; süßes Brot das gesäuerte; das Passahlamm Christum, und der Rest des Gesetzes Mosis; und wie auch der erste irdische Adam, welcher von Erde ist, den zweiten Adam symbolisiert, welcher der Herr vom Himmel ist, sagt Paulus[1]; aus diesem Grund ist der Logos Fleisch geworden, d. h. Mensch, wie Adam, damit er im Leibe Adams rettete den Adam, der gesündigt hatte. Und weil Adam aus vier Substanzen oder Elementen (ich meine: Erde, Wasser, Feuer und Luft) und einer vernünftigen Seele bestand, so, daß seine ursprünglichen Bestandteile fünf waren, so auch Christus, der ein Mensch war wie Adam, wurde notwendigerweise und wahrhaftiglich erfunden als einer, der aus fünf Bestandteilen zusammengesetzt war, wie Adam; damit Christus nichts fehlte von dem, was Adam hatte. Wenn jeder Leib aus vier Substanzen besteht, wie ist es dann möglich, daß Adam aus vier Substanzen vollkommen war? Da er doch an der vernünftigen Seele allein anderen Wesen, den lebendigen und den nicht lebendigen, überlegen war. Also bringt die Kirche den Leib und das Blut Christi dar zum Gedächtnis seines Todes, wie er im Obergemach zeigte, und seinen Jüngern offenbarte.[2] Wohl und geziemend also nehmen wir Sauerteig, Salz und Ol in Mehl und Wasser, damit nicht der Leib Christi der Vollendung ermangele, und wir Mangel hätten am Heil Christi; denn Wasser und Mehl bilden noch nicht den Leib Christi in der Vollständigkeit. Auch nicht die beiden Elemente, Staub und Wasser, konnten oder können den Leib Adams dar-

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Christi aufgestempelt, die vom Priester am frühen Morgen gebacken werden. Dafür ist ein kleiner Ofen an die Kirche angebaut. Wenn der Bischof die Eucharistie feiert, backt die Cakes einer der Diakonen.

Der Wein, der beim Abendmahl gebraucht wird, ist der persische Schiraz-Wein, der reiner, vergorener Traubensaft (nicht mit Wasser gemischt) ist.

Die Eucharistie wird nicht am Nachmittag oder Abend gefeiert, sondern am Vormittag; außer am Weihnachts- und Ostersonntagsabend und am Gründonnerstag Nachmittag.

[1] I Kor. 15 : 47; Röm. 5 : 12 f.

[2] Mat. 26 : 26.

stellen. Denn sie sind defekt, aber am Leibe Christi ist kein Mangel. Adam wurde von vier Substanzen (Elementen) geschaffen, d. h. so wurde er hergestellt am Anfang seiner Schöpfung. Auch der Messias ist von vier Elementen gebildet worden im Schoß der Jungfrau als Neuschöpfung Adams. Also ungesäuertes Brot ist mangelhaft, aber gesäuertes Brot von Salz, Sauerteig und Öl ist vollkommen. Weil nun auch die heiligen Lehrer dies befahlen, und die Apostel lehrten dasselbe alle Völker, uns befreiend von der Ausübung des jüdischen Gesetzes und von dem Fluch, der auf ihnen (lag), deshalb nehmen wir Wasser als Symbol vom ursprünglichen Wasser; Mehl als Symbol für Staub; Sauerteig für Luft; Salz für Feuer. Öl wiederum ist ein Typus der Liebe Gottes, in welcher Er den ersten Menschen gemacht hat. Endlich sagt auch der heilige Ephräm,[1] und der heilige Cyrill, in der Erklärung der Schöpfung: Sauerteig bedeutet den Glauben an die heilige Dreieinigkeit; denn wie der Sauerteig schnell die ganze Masse des Teiges bringt zu seinem eigenen Wohlgeruch und Geschmack, und sie würzt, so zieht auch Christus, durch den von ihm angenommenen Leib, in welchem er Schmerzen, Kreuz und den Tod erlitt, jedermann zum Glauben an sich, seinen Vater und den Heiligen Geist; wie er sagt: „Ich aber, wenn ich erhöht worden bin von der Erde, will ich sie alle zu mir ziehen.“[2] Daß aber Sauerteig Christus bedeutet, siehe im Evangelium heißt es: „Welche Hausfrau“, usw.[3] Also ziemt es sich, Sauerteig zu nehmen in Eucharistie. Salz wiederum ist das Symbol der Liebe Gottes zu uns. Denn es steht geschrieben:[4] „Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt, daß Er seinen eingeborenen Sohn an seiner Statt dahingegeben hat“.[5] „Ihr seid das Salz der Erde“ sagt Christus zu seinen Jüngern.[6] „Jedes Opfer soll mit Salz gesalzen werden“, befahl Gott Mose im Levitikus[7], und Markus, der Evangelist, in seinem Evangelium[8]. Also ist es notwendig, daß im Leib Christi, dem

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[1] Ephräm Syrus (306—373 o. 379).

[2] Joh. 12 : 32.

[3] Matt. 13 : 33, usw.

[4] Joh. 3 : 16.

[5] Sonderbar ist das an seiner Statt. Ich weiß nicht, in welchem Texte das zu finden wäre.

[6] Matt. 5 : 13. [7] Lev. 2 : 13.

[8] Mk. 9 : 50.

lebendigen und lebengebenden Opfer, das Salz, das Vorbild seiner Liebe, hineingesetzt sei; mehr als bei den unvernünftigen Opfern vom Gesetz Mosis, welche überhaupt nicht die Opfernden sühnen (entsündigen) konnten. So sind auch diejenigen töricht, die ein Opfer ohne Salz darbringen, und fern sind ihre Opfergaben von der Liebe Christi und von dem Vorbild der heiligen Apostel. Denn nicht soll man unschmackhaft, ohne Salz essen, sagt Hiob.[1] Ich aber sage: Kein gekochtes Essen ohne Salz ist angenehm, ebenso kein Wein ohne Wasser; ebensowenig ist ein Opfer ohne Salz annehmbar; nicht im alten Gesetz Mosis, welche die heilige Eucharistie symbolisiert, und auch nicht in diesem neuen (Gesetz), das Christus seiner Kirche überliefert hat. Denn sie erlaubt nicht, daß wir verlassen irgend etwas von dem, was er bestimmt hat, — es sei denn, daß derjenige, der opfert, Jude sei und kein Christ. Denn in den Bestimmungen der heidnischen Weisen und Philosophen gebraucht man hier den Terminus: „*definita affirmativa* (προσδιοριστικὰ καταφατικά) universell einschließend".[2] Denn *kull* und *lā kull* sind große Definitiones, allgemein und einander entgegensetzt, gerade wie auch *ḫad* und *lā ḫad* partiell sind. Also sagt Christus unser Herr zu seinen Jüngern: „Sagt und lehrt *alles*, was ich euch befohlen habe".[3] Da er nun „alles" sagt, so schließt er damit all die Kanones und Gebote ein. Dies ist alles, was er sagte über das Opfer, das gebracht wird. Es gibt also keine geschmacklosere Opfergabe (Oblate), als die, woran kein erfrischendes Salz ist. Diese Worte nun — wenig anstatt viel — über diesen Gegenstand mögen genug sein.

Über Olivenöl.

Wir gebrauchen Olivenöl auf den Oblaten als Symbol der Barmherzigkeit Gottes zu uns Sündern; denn so meint (tut) es auch das alttestamentliche Gesetz mit den ungesäuerten Broten, welche mit Öl bestrichen wurden, und mit den Leuchtern und den Lichtern.[4] Ebenso war das Olivenblatt, welches die Taube[5] dem gerechten Noah zur Abendzeit brachte, ein Zeichen des Endes der Flut. Die Kinder[6], welche ihm fol. 6a

[1] Hiob 6 : 6.
[2] Nämlich in der Terminologie der Logik.
[3] Matt. 28 : 19.
[4] Ex. 29 : 2.
[5] Gen. 8 : 3.
[6] Matt. 21 : 15.

zugejauchzt haben mit Ölzweigen, symbolisierten die Barmherzigkeit Gottes und das Heil, das er selbst brachte von der Flut der Sünde. Auch der Samariter [1], welcher sich des unter die Räuber Gefallenen erbarmte, als dieser hinabging von Jerusalem nach Jericho, ist Christus, welcher die Menschen rettete mit seinem Blute. Mit Wein und Öl verband er seine Wunden und heilte ihn.[2] Aber auch der Menschensohn wurde gesalbt für uns, von seiner Mutter [3] und den andern Weibern, dreimal; da der Evangelist Lukas [4] bezeugt über eine, und die andern Evangelisten (bezeugen) über eine andere, welche ihn salbte.[5] Also dürfen wir auch Öl darbringen beim lebendigen Opfer, dem Abendmahl Christi; wie auch Salz ein Symbol der Liebe und Barmherzigkeit Gottes für die Menschheit ist. Aber wenn einem Priester an Glauben mangelt, und er dabei unbarmherzig ist, so ist er kein Priester. Auch der Laie, der eins von diesen Dingen nicht hat, ist kein Christ. Also Glaube, Liebe und Barmherzigkeit sind die Erfüllung des Christentums; und Sauerteig, Salz und Öl sind die Vollendung des Leibes Christi denen, welchen das Evangelium Christi nicht
fol. verborgen ist. Wer aber eins von diesen entbehrt, des Herz
7a ist mit Unwissenheit verfinstert.

Über das alttestamentliche Ungesäuerte, welches unser Herr aß und abschaffte und mit einem neuen Sauerteig begann.

Über das ungesäuerte Brot, welches Christus am Abend der Eucharistie [6] aß; wie Ihr gewiß glaubt, O, du Heiliger Gottes. Daß er am Abend davon gegessen und es in jenem Moment abgeschafft hat: „Geht, den Ort uns zu bereiten, damit ich mit euch das Passahlamm esse, ehe ich leide,“ [7] sagt Christus zu seinen Jüngern. Und nachdem sie gegangen waren und zubereitet hatten, kam Jesus und legte sich zu Tische; und als er gegessen hatte Lamm und ungesäuertes Brot und die bitteren Kräuter, wie das Gesetz Mosis befiehlt, sagte er: „Seht, es ist vollbracht“; [8] und damit besiegelte er vollständig

[1] Luk. 10 : 33. [2] Luk. 10 : 34.

[3] Joh. 12 : 3? Daß Maria, die Mutter Jesu, ihn salbte, nimmt unser Autor jedenfalls aus obiger Stelle, wo Jesus im Hause der Martha ist, und es nun heißt: Da nahm Maria ein Pfund Salbe von echter, sehr kostbarer Narde und salbte die Füße Jesu und trocknete sie mit ihren Haaren.

[4] Luk. 4 : 37—38. [5] Mk. 17 : 3; Matt. 26 : 7 f.

[6] Matt. 26 : 26. [7] Luk. 22 : 8. [8] Luk. 22 : 16, 37.

das alte Bündnis. Darauf nahm er das Brot in seine Hände, und nachdem er gedankt hatte, brach er es, aß, und gab seinen Jüngern auch zu essen. Siehe, er nennt es „Brot“ (*laḫmā*), nicht „Ungesäuertes“ (*paṭṭīrā*); denn wie es geschrieben steht, also ziemt uns zu glauben, damit wir ohne Falsch erscheinen. „Brot“, sagen die Heiligen, die Evangelisten, die Apostel und Paulus, nicht „Ungesäuertes.[1] Brot (*Ḫammīā*) wird nicht Ungesäuertes genannt, und das Ungesäuerte nicht Brot. Ich habe nicht ausgeschrieben das Zeugnis der heiligen Lehrer, um die Sache nicht zu sehr in die Länge zu ziehen. Wenn Ihr aber sagt, daß unser Herr Ungesäuertes gegessen und das A. T. erfüllt hat, und daß er dann, Ungesäuertes essend, mit dem N. T. angefangen hat, so geht das nicht an. Ungesäuertes im A. T. und ebenso im N. T.? Wo ist also das Neue in Christo? Da er aber „*alles*“ sagte, so ließ er nichts ohne es in dem Wort einzuschließen. Wie entkommt dies Ungesäuerte, welches in Christo nicht erneuert worden ist? Das alttestamentliche Lamm ist abgeschafft worden darin,[2] daß wir fortan keine Tiere mehr opfern, nachdem das Lamm Gottes selbst abgeschafft hat alle Opfer mit seinem Opfer, welches für die Welt ist. Wenn Moses abgeschafft ist mit Christo, und die Torah mit dem Evangelium, und der Sabbat mit dem heiligen Sonntag, so ist notwendigerweise auch Ungesäuertes abgeschafft worden. Wenn Ungesäuertes besteht, und das Lamm noch Berechtigung[3] hat, so ist also bis jetzt der Gesalbte Gottes noch nicht getötet worden, und redet Paulus falsch, wenn er sagt: „Unser Passahlamm ist Christus, geschlachtet und geopfert für uns.“[4] Wenn jetzt noch das jüdische Ungesäuerte besteht, so ist unser A. T. nicht erneuert worden, und der erste Adam ist noch in seiner Sünde. Und wahr würde das schriftliche Wort der Juden, Töter Gottes, daß bis jetzt Christus noch nicht gekommen ist. Für Christen ziemt es sich, einem zu folgen: entweder Mose mit Opferlamm und alttestamentlichem Ungesäuerten, oder Paulus mit Brot und Wein im N. T. Wenn Ihr nun sagen solltet: Woher hatten sie gesäuertes

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[1] Vgl. auch die Argumente p. 116 ff.

[2] Randglosse: „Diese wurden erneuert, Und Verheißung auf Verheißung wurde uns gegeben. ‚Abgeschafft‘ steht geschieben an der Stelle wo: ‚Erneuert ist das Alte‘.“

[3] Dies deutet doch wohl auf Lammopfer hin.

[4] Kor. 5 : 7.

Brot damals in Jerusalem? Wegen Zeit, Ruf und Personen. Einerseits, die Zeit; da ihre Herrschaft ein Ende hatte, und sie nicht mehr Autorität hatten, ihre Feste frei zu feiern, wie vormals. Andrerseits, Ruf und die Personen; daß Herodes und Pilatus und die andren Tetrarche, welche in Jerusalem regierten, und in Judäa und in Galiläa, wie sagt der Evangelist Lukas, ließen nicht zu, daß sie ihre Feste feierten, wie ihnen befohlen war, weder mit Anbetung, noch mit dem Opfer, noch mit Ungesäuertem. Die Römer und die fremden Völker, die da wohnten, aßen nicht Ungesäuertes, da das Volk der Juden verachtet war. Für sieben Tage war ihnen befohlen, Ungesäuertes zu essen,[1] zum Gedächtnis des Auszugs aus der Knechtschaft Ägyptens. Wir aber, die wir von dem Agypten der Sünde, dem eisernen Feuerofen, durch Christum befreit worden sind zur Freiheit des neuen Lebens, warum sollten wir's denn noch nötig haben, zum ungläubigen Ungesäuerten der Juden zurückzukehren; von der Jugend, welche wir in Christo erhalten haben, zum Greisenalter des Mosaismus, den wir verlassen haben? Denn Paulus sagt den Galatern, die sich wollten beschneiden lassen nach der Taufe: Siehe, ich Paulus sage euch: ‚Wenn ihr beschnitten werdet, wird euch Christus nichts nützen".[2] Also auch jeder, der Ungesäuertes ißt und den Sabbat hält, usw., des Dienst und Hoffnung ist nichtig in bezug auf Christum. Dies bis hierher, genügt vollständig.

§ V.

fol. 8a

Über das Wasser, das wir im Kelch mischen.

Über das Wasser, das wir im Kelch des Blutes mischen. Also lehrte uns Christus, und der Apostel Johannes,[3] der Theologe, daß aus des Herrn Seite Blut und Wasser floß. Blut bedeutet sein Leben, Wasser aber seinen Tod. Wenn wir also durch seinen Tod erlöst worden sind, und die gläubige Gemeinde das Gedächtnis seines Todes in der Eucharistie feiert, wie er auch sagte: „Dies tut zum Gedächtnis meines Todes",[4] dann verleugnen diejenigen, welche nur reinen Wein machen und auf dem Altar darbringen, seine Leiden und seinen stellvertretenden Tod, da sie ja nur sein Leben predigen. Denn die Heiden Harans und die Juden allenthalben opfern reinen

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[1] Dtn. 16 : 3. [2] Gal. 5 : 2. [3] Joh. 19 : 34.
[4] Meines Todes steht nicht dabei.

Wein bei ihren Opfern, welche ausgeschlossen sind vom christlichen Glauben. Auch sind sie ausgeschlossen vom wahren Leben, welches die Christen haben durch seinen Tod. Also ziemt es sich, Wein und Wasser zu opfern im Geist des Glaubens nach dem Apostel. Denn der heilige Mar Ephräm sagt:[1] „Wasser schreit ‚Gott ist getötet worden' und Blut verkündet, daß er lebt in seiner Natur". Dies Wenige über diese Sache genügt uns.

§ VI.

Wegen der Taufe von Kreuzen und Nakuschen.[2]

Wegen der Taufe von Kreuzen und Nakuschen, welche ihr vollzieht. Die Apostel lehrten solches nicht, die Lehrer taten es auch nicht, und in der Schrift steht es auch nicht; in den Kanones wird es auch nicht genannt. „Geht und lehrt alle Völker" sagt Christus,[3] „und taufet sie auf den Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes, und des Heiligen Geistes". Das ist die wahre Regel des (rechtgläubigen) orthodoxen Glaubens, welchen uns die Apostel und die heiligen Väter überlieferten. Und darin unterscheiden sich die Gläubigen von den Ungläubigen und die Kinder von den Fremden. „Ihr aber, die ihr auf Christum getauft seid, habt Christum angezogen", sagt Paulus.[4] Also Kreuze und Schallbretter, oder Steine und Holz, haben Christum in der heiligen Taufe angezogen? das ist der Wahrheit fremd und verdammungswürdig. „Wer nämlich nicht geboren ist aus Wasser und Geist", sagt Christus, „geht nicht ein ins Himmelreich".[5] Also sind Kreuze und Klingeln, welche sie taufen, Kinder des Himmelreichs![6] Das ist eine heidnische Lehre! Wir aber werden angenommen an Kindesstatt durch die heilige Taufe, durch welche wir rufen: Abba, unser Vater. Also sind nach ihnen Kreuz, Steine und Holz, und der Rest der Dinge, die sie taufen, Kinder des himmlischen Vaters. Das ist dem Glauben der wahren Christen ganz fremd. Durch die Taufe werden wir Brüder Christi in fol. 8b

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[1] Sancti Ephraem Syri Opera Tom. I. p. 13 f.

[2] Das Nakuscha ist ein dickes Brett mit Löchern, das mit einem Schlegel geschlagen wird um die Leute zum Gebet zu rufen. (Miss. Herald, 1848 Dez. p. 416.)

[3] Mat. 28 : 19. [4] Gal. 3 : 27. [5] Joh. 3 : 5.

[6] Auch wieder so eine rabbinische Schlußfolgerung. Welche Spiegelfechterei doch die Polemik erzeugt!

der Gemeinschaft des Heiligen Geistes. Also jedes Kreuz, Schallbrett, Stein soll ein Bruder Christi in der Gemeinschaft des Heiligen Geistes sein. Das wird verworfen vom göttlichen Gesetz. Denn ein Kreuz Christi ist vollkommen und erfüllt alles. Wenn es aber mangelhaft ist, daß es vollendet werden sollte von einem andern, so ist es nicht ein Kreuz. Ein Kreuz gibt dem andern nichts, da nicht einmal ein Bischof dem andern was gibt, oder ein Priester dem andern, wegen der gleichen Gnade des Amtes und der Gleichheit des Priestertums. Denn wie der eine Leib, der ans Kreuz geschlagen wurde bei Jerusalem, alle geistlichen Opfer vollständig heiligte, so auch das *eine* Kreuz, welches mit seinem Zeichen lebendig
fol. macht, alle Kreuze irgendwelcher Art heiligt, ohne daß sie
9a der Taufe bedürfen. Demnach ist es heidnisch, Steine und Holz und tote Dinge mit heiligem Chrisam[1] zu taufen, welcher dem Christus gehört, wie geschrieben steht. Soviel darüber!

§ VII.

Über das Bekenntnis der Sünde, d. h., *ḫosdovānūtūn.*[2]

Ist es nicht schön, sogar sehr lieblich? Aber nur wenn es nach seiner Ordnung vollführt wird. Johannes der Täufer zeigte dies, wo er die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer taufte zur Buße.[3] „Bringet", sagte er, „würdige Früchte der Buße", usw. Denn wenn ein Mensch sündigt und sich bekehren, und aufstehen und fallen, und bauen und wieder einreißen, und sich vom Kot der Sünde baden und wieder zurückkehren sollte, so ist in ihm die Eigenschaft des Schweines, sagt die Heilige Schrift, und des Hundes, „der sich zu seinem Auswurf wendet".[4] Wenn einer sich gereinigt hat von einem Toten und geht wieder zu ihm zurück, was nützt das?[5] Der Prophet David sündigte und bekehrte sich, und die Art seiner Buße zeigt er

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[1] Die Salbung mit Chrisam (heiligem Öl) bedeutet, daß der Getaufte teil hat an der Salbung des gottmenschlichen Hauptes und zum auserwählten, priesterlichen Volke Gottes berufen ist. Diese Salbung soll gegen Verderbnis der Sünde schützen und Bewahrung der Taufgnade wirken.

[2] Armenisch für die Beichte.

[3] Mat. 3 : 8.

[4] 2 Petri 2 : 22: „Der Hund kehrte um zu seinem eigenen Gespei, und die gewaschene Sau zum Wälzen im Kot".

[5] Sirach 31 (34): 30.

durch den Ernst des Gebetes, welches er darbrachte.[1]. Simon Petrus verleugnete und bekehrte sich und ward wieder angenommen.[2] Und es heißt nicht, daß er nochmals sündigte. So die Zöllner und Huren und der Räuber,[3] der sich am Kreuze bekehrte, siehe das sind Vorbilder und Exempla für den, der sich in Wahrheit bekehrt. Verlaß dich nicht auf die Vergebung,[4] sagt die Schrift, welche nur im Wort ist, damit du nicht Sünde auf Sünde häufst. Also ist die Beichte nicht fol. 10b
schön, welche nicht aus der Wahrheit, sondern aus der Falschheit ist. Diese ziemt sich weder den Priestern, noch den Diakonen, noch den Laien. Dies genügt uns soweit.

§ VIII.

Über den Abend des Mittwoch und Freitag.

Wegen des Abends vom Mittwoch und Freitag. Das ist eine törichte, in der Schrift nicht vorgeschriebene, Gewohnheit. Denn alle Tage sind gleich geachtet in Berechnung und Herrlichkeit der Schöpfung, und keiner von ihnen ist herrlicher, als der heilige Sonntag. Wenn auch Heiden ihn verehren wegen des Zeichens der Sonne[5], so doch die Christen ob des Glaubens. Denn an ihm war alles im Anfang geschaffen, und an ihm war alles erneuert in der Vollendung, da er auferstand aus dem Grabe.[6] Daß einer faste an diesen Abenden, oder esse, ist Sache der Gewohnheit, nichts mehr, und nicht der klugen Berechnung. Denn Speise erhebt uns nicht zu Gott, sagt der Apostel. Wir profitieren nichts, wenn wir essen, und verlieren nichts, wenn wir nicht essen.[7] Darüber nun, daß wir daran festhalten, daß der Anfang des Tages vom Abend und nicht vom Morgen ist. Es ist zu ersehen aus dem, das

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[1] 2 Sam. 12 : 16.

[2] Mat. 26 : 70. [3] Luk. 23 : 42.

[4] Sir. 34 : 23; Röm. 6 : 2 f.

[5] Randglosse: „Die Magier aber achten, der Sonntag sei genannt nach der Sonne, welche über die ganze Schöpfung ist; der Montag nach dem Mond; der Dienstag nach dem Mars; der Mittwoch nach Merkur; der Donnerstag nach Jupiter; der Freitag nach Venus; und der Samstag nach Saturn. Diese Notiz ist von fremden Weisen.“

[6] Luk. 24 : 1 ff.

[7] Paulus sagt etwas anders: „Speise aber empfiehlt uns Gott nicht; weder sind wir, wenn wir nicht essen, geringer, noch sind wir, wenn wir essen, vorzüglicher“. (1 Kor. 8 : 8).

Christus sagte denen, die ein Zeichen forderten: „Wie Jonas drei Tage und drei Nächte im Bauch des Fisches war, so wird auch der Menschensohn drei Tage und drei Nächte im Busen der Erde sein".[1] Wenn du rechnest vom Morgen nach dem Freitag, in deinem Zählen, so geht deine Berechnung aus auf den Montag, welcher auf den Sonntag folgt. In dieser Nacht ist aber Christus nicht auferstanden. Denn er ist auferstanden in der frühesten Morgendämmerung des Sonntags, sagt der heilige Mar Ephräm.[2] Der Sonntag wird der (Tag) der Auferstehung genannt. Sehr richtig rechnest du deine Zahlen von der Zeit, da unser Herr seinen Leib brach im Obergemach; so geht die Rechnung richtig und genau aus. Wie durch ein Geheimnis und Wunder ist unser Herr gestorben von der Zeit, als er seinen Jüngern seinen Leib verteilte. So haben uns die heiligen Väter überliefert. Also geht der Abend dem Morgen voraus, und die Nacht dem Tage. Unsere Rechnung ist genau, daß wir vom Abend ab wachen und am Mittwoch und Freitag fasten. Aber man muß den Unterschied kennen zwischen Tag und Tageszeit. Denn Tageszeit sagt man (natürlich) vom Aufgang der Sonne bis zu ihrem Untergang; Tag aber ist Nacht- und Tageszeit zusammen, oder 24 Stunden, und mit den Zunahmen und Abnahmen der vier Jahreszeiten. Dies ist das Argument über den Abend des Mittwoch und
fol. 11b Freitag; während es viele Wahrheiten gibt, für den, der über dies und andere Dinge schreibt.

§ IX.

Über das Fest der Geburt, welches sie nicht feiern wie alle Völker der ganzen Erde.[3]

Über das heilige Weihnachtsfest und Epiphanien, welches Ihr an einem Tage feiert, nach alter Gewohnheit. Wisse,

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[1] Mat. 12 : 40.

[2] Sancti Ephraem Syri Opera Tom I. p. 13 ff.

[3] Das Weihnachtsfest. Dionysius Barsalibi sagt über das armenische Weihnachtsfest: „In den orientalischen Ländern und im Norden feierte man dieses Fest bis auf die Zeiten des Königs Arkadius und des Mar Johannes am 6. Januar und nannte es Geburtstagsfest, das ist auch Epiphanias, wie der heilige Theolog in der Rede über die Geburt es nannte. Doch wird aber in den römischen Provinzen und in ganz Italien und in Palästina von der Zeit der Apostel bis auf den heutigen Tag am 25. Dezember das Geburtsfest gefeiert. Und jene Ordnung und jene genaue

Herr, daß alles, worüber Ungewißheit ist, entweder von der Natur der Sache, oder von der Gewohnheit, oder von der Schrift festgestellt wird. 1. Von der Natur: die Empfängnis, Geburt und Erziehung; 2. von der Gewohnheit: die Lehre der Grammatik, oder Zimmermannskunst, oder Schmiedekunst; 3. von der Schrift, endlich: die Beschreibung der Geburt Jesu Christi, usw. Zu der Natur und der Gewohnheit gesellt sich einerseits die durch die Sinnen gewonnene Erkenntnis; aber dem Wort der Schrift ist andrerseits der Glaube erforderlich. So war es Sitte der Nationen vormals einerseits am 25. Dezember das Fest der Geburt zu feiern, andrerseits am 6. Januar das Fest der Erscheinung unseres Herrn. Nicht zufällig oder in Unwissenheit ist dieser Gebrauch festgestellt worden, in der Kirche der Römer und Griechen, der Ägypter und unsrer Syrer, usw.; sondern die frühern Gelehrten haben es erstens vom Gesetz der Natur abgeleitet, daß die Geburt des Menschen zuerst geschieht, und er dann getauft wird. Von der Schrift dann lernten sie dieses, daß zuerst Christus am 25. Dezember geboren wurde, aber getauft am 6. Januar. Denn der Evangelist Lukas sagt wirklich also: „Aber im sechsten Monat erschien der Engel Gabriel",[1] usw. Der sechste Monat verkündet aber die Empfängnis des Johannis; denn also sagte der Engel zur heiligen Jungfrau Maria, Gebärerin Gottes, als sie wegen der Empfängnis zweifelte: „Siehe, Elisabeth deine Verwandte ist auch schwanger, im Alter, und dies ist der sechste Monat für sie", usw.[2] Denn die Empfängnis Johannis geschah

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Sitte beobachten das ganze Morgenland und der Norden, mit Ausnahme der Armenier, jener dickköpfigen und hartnäckigen Leute, die nicht zur Wahrheit überredet werden; so daß sie nach der alten Sitte am 6. Januar die beiden Feste begehen". (Assemani, BO, II, S. 163 f.)

Dazu hat ein Unbekannter die Armenier in Schutz nehmend an den Rand geschrieben: „Am 6. Januar ist der Herr geboren, an demselben Tage, an welchen wir Epiphanien feiern. Deshalb begingen die Alten an einem und demselben Tage das Fest der Geburt und der Epiphanien. Denn an dem Tage, an dem er geboren wurde, wurde er auch getauft. Darum feiern die Armenier noch heute die beiden Feste an einem Tage." (Assemani, Bibl. Orient. II, S. 164.)

Die Armenier feierten nach alter Sitte, Geburt und Epiphanien am selben Tage. Der Vortrag ist der Verkündigung und Empfängnis gewidmet, die Nachtfeier der Geburt, der Haupttag der Taufe. (v. Usener: *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* I, 208 ff.)

[1] Luk. 1 : 26. [2] Luk. 1 : 36.

im Monat Oktober (Tišrin), am elften; nachdem Zacharias, seinem Vater, die frohe Botschaft überbracht worden war, nach dem Sonnenjahre berechnet, am 23. September, an welchem Tage wir und die Griechen das Fest der Verkündigung des Zacharias feiern; und wenn du zählst und rechnest von da ab bis zum 25. März, wo wir die Verkündigung der Gottesgebärerin feiern, so wirst du sechs Monate finden. (Nach dem Monde berechnet aber ist es der Zehnte im Monat Nisan). Rechnest du nun von hier bis zum 25. Dezember, so erhältst du neun Monate. In dieser Zeit war die Geburt unseres Heilandes. Er erschien am 25. Dezember; nach dem Monde berechnet aber am 6. Januar; wie der heilige Mar Ephräm sagt: „Am Zehnten seine Empfängnis, am Sechsten seine Geburt". Nach dem Monde berechnet, nämlich, weil die Juden in der Berechnung ihrer Monate und Feste sich des Mondes bedienten. Und wie es sechs Monate waren von der Empfängnis des Johannis bis zur Empfängnis unseres Heilandes, ebenso auch von der Geburt Johannis, am 24. Juni, bis zur Geburt unseres Herrn, welche geschah am 25. Dezember, findest du sechs Monate. Wiederum aber die Heiden, und die Magier, und die Chaldäer, die den Tierkreis messen, und sich der Gesetze der Sterne bedienen, feierten an diesem Tage, am 25. Dezember ein großes Fest, das Sonnenfest, weil da die Sonne wieder umkehrt zum Aufstieg auf die höchste Stufe. So war's ja auch prophezeit von der großen Sonne der Gerechtigkeit, welche an diesem herrlichen und heiligen Tag erschienen ist und gebracht hat das Geheimnis der Erlösung, und wiederum erhoben hat den Menschen auf die höchste Stufe und an seine frühere Stelle. Also, unser Herr wurde sicherlich am 25. Dezember geboren; nach dem Mond am Sechsten des Januar; im Jahr 309 nach griechischer Zeitrechnung, und im 41. Jahre des Augustus Caesar. Getauft wurde er im Jahr 339, nach dem griechischen Kalender, und im 15. Jahre des Kaisers Tiberias, am 6. Januar, nach der Sonne; und nach dem Monde fand seine Geburt ebenfalls am 6. Januar statt, wie auch für seine Geburt der Sechste bestimmt war im Monde des Januar. Aus diesem Grund also, nämlich der Berechnung nach dem Monde, da sie vorhanden war zur Zeit der Geburt, welche mit der Zeit der Taufe übereinstimmte, so entstand diese Gewohnheit in den Tagen unserer Vorfahren, und man feierte die zwei Feste zusammen, wie Ihr

sie feiert, bis zur Zeit des Königs Arkadius[1] und des Mar Johannes Chrysostomos,[2] welche zur selben Zeit lebten. Auf einmal nun wurde ein große Untersuchung darüber veranstaltet. Die heiligen Väter urteilten richtig, daß zuerst das Fest der heiligen Geburt, und dann das der Erscheinung sein sollte. Von damals bis heute wurden die heiligen Feste der Geburt und der Erscheinung festgestellt, jedes für sich, nach der schönen Sitte, welche die heiligen Väter bestimmten durch den Einfluß des Heiligen Geistes, welcher sie lehrte und weise machte, nach der Macht der Wahrheit und der Genauigkeit des Geheimnisses; wie ja auch bestimmt war die Zeit der Geburt unseres Heilandes, und die göttliche Erscheinung. Dies ist das Argument für das heilige Fest der Geburt und der Erscheinung (Weihnachten und Epiphanien),[3] welche wir feiern jedes für sich. Diese schöne Sitte ist wohl begründet und in der katholischen Kirche aller Völker akzeptiert.

§ X.

Darüber, daß die Väter viel Passendes an der kirchlichen Ordnung veränderten und in der Kirche ohne Verweis zur Geltung brachten. fol. 13b

Darüber, daß sie früher nicht feierten das Fest Palmarum, und nicht das Osterfest in jedem Jahr, und die Taufe nur alle 30 Jahre; während das Fest Palmarum zu keiner Zeit gefeiert wurde. Deshalb verfaßte der heilige Gregorius, der Theologe, keine festliche Predigt darüber (Palmarum), wie er tat über Weihnachten und Epiphanien. Nicht einmal die heilige Charwoche und das Osterfest hielten sie zuerst, außer alle 30 Jahre einmal. Auf einmal verordneten es die Väter jedes Jahr am Ende des Fastens; das war sehr schön; ebenso das heilige Fasten von 40 Tagen, jedermann, wann er wollte, und in welcher Zeit er's gerade wünschte. Die Sache der Mehrheit siegt; und siehe, alle christlichen Völker feiern das

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[1] Römischer Kaiser (383—408 A. D.).

[2] Chrysostomos (345. 347—407).

[3] Epiphanien wird zuerst von Clemens von Alexandrien genannt als das jährliche Gedächtnisfest der Geburt und Taufe Christi, welches am 6. Januar gefeiert wurde. Im Occident wurde es später ein Fest für verschiedene Ereignisse — Anbetung der Magier, Hochzeit zu Kana, Speisung der 5000 usw.

heilige Fest der Geburt, und sie gießen Wasser in den Abendmahlswein, indem sie den Kelch der Danksagung mischen; auch nehmen sie Wein und Salz in der Eucharistie. Eins von diesen tun jene nicht, mit vielen andern Dingen. Nicht nur feiern sie das Fest nicht an seinem Tage, sondern sie feiern es am Sonntag. Es ziemt sich aber gar nicht, daß an ihm noch ein Fest gefeiert werde, außer dem Gedächtnis der Auferstehung. Deswegen ist dieser Tag groß und namhaft, heilig und herrlich. Wenn aber an diesem Tag ein anderes Fest veranstaltet wird, so werde es gefeiert nach der Ordnung der Auferstehung; Dienst und Gedächtnis der Auferstehung sollen nicht aufhören an ihm. Wegen der großartigen und herrlichen Auferstehung ist es, daß wir ihn beobachten und feierlich und lobpreisend verehren. Also auch in diesem Stück sind sie nicht treu, daß sie das Fest am Sonntag feiern. Wenn wir aber die heilige Feier am Schluß des Mittwoch und Freitag anfangen, so haben wir dafür kräftige Beweise und wahrhaftige Zeugnisse. Erstens, daß das erste Volk, welches Gott kannte und sowohl nach der Ordnung, wie nach den Gesetzen wandelte, war das Volk der Kinder Israel. Vom Munde Gottes wurde ihnen anbefohlen durch Mose, daß sie am Abend anfangen sollten, ihr Fest zu feiern und ihre Sabbate zu halten, und so tun sie bis zum heutigen Tag. Zweitens aber, da der Sonntag der Tag der Auferstehung ist, und um 9 Uhr am Sabbat beginnt der Sonntag. Und das Licht, welches über Jerusalem herabfloß, zeugt und bestätigt es. Wiederum drittens, daß am Charfreitag der Kreuzigung, in der Nacht, in welcher der Freitag dämmert, alle Völker sehr früh aufstehen und Gebet und Andenken der heilbringenden Passion begehen; nicht in der Nacht, die den Freitag beschließt; weil die Nacht vor dem Sabbat die der Verkündigung heißt, wie die darauffolgende, vor dem Sonntag, die der Auferstehung. Also wahr ist es, daß wir vom Abend den nächstfolgenden Tag bestimmen. Viertens aber, daß alle Völker am Abend vor dem Fest, oder dem Sonntag anfangen, das Fest zu feiern und den Tag des Festes zu ehren. Also bestätigen wir, daß wir am Abend vor dem Freitag anfangen, den Tag der erlösenden Passion mit Fasten und Gebet zu feiern. Ebenso auch der König oder der Regent, wenn es gerade passiert, daß er in ein Dorf oder in eine Stadt einzieht, da ziehen die Leute aus ihm entgegen in feierlicher Prozession, mit Pomp und Pracht, und ehren so seinen Einzug.

Wenn er aber aufbricht, geht er ganz schlicht, nur wenige bemerken seine Abreise. Also tun wir wohl, daß wir zuerst den Einzug feiern, mehr als den Abschied. So wie wir auch die Geburt unseres Herrn sehr ehren und vorher fasten; sei es nun, daß man 40 Tage fastet, oder 30, oder zwei Wochen, oder 25 Tage; worüber eine Menge von Kanones, Lieder und Hymnen verfaßt sind, auch Predigten, und Homilien und Weissagungen, mehr als über den Tag der Himmelfahrt. Denn jener ist die Ankunft Gottes bei uns im Fleische; dieser ist der Abschied. Fünftens endlich, daß jeder vollkommene Tag aus Nachtzeit und Tageszeit besteht, und in 24 Stunden beendigt wird. Wir feiern also den heiligen Tag Freitag in der ganzen Nacht- und Tageszeit von 24 Stunden; von Sonnenuntergang vor dem Freitag bis zum folgenden Sonnenuntergang vor dem Sabbat. Doch gibt es noch viele Gründe dafür, daß der Tag oder das Fest bei seinem Eingang mehr als bei seinem Ausgang gefeiert wird. Also haben wir Recht darin, daß wir fol. 15b die Feier des Freitags bei seinem Eintritt beginnen.

§ XI.

Darüber, daß ein Priester den Bischof segnet, obwohl der höher steht als jener.

Es ist bei ihnen eine andere häßliche Sitte, nämlich, wenn ein Bischof zufällig einem Priester begegnet, sobald der Priester vom Bischof gesegnet worden ist, segnet der Priester wiederum den Bischof und legt die Hand auf sein Haupt. Sag mir: Woher hat der Priester die Autorität, daß er dem Bischof etwas geben sollte? Und wenn ein Priester noch mangelhaft und bedürftig ist, daß er von einem Priester den Segen und Handauflegung empfange, wie denn weiht er Priester und Diakonen, und heiligt den Myron und den Altar und die Kirche? Das ist eine häßliche Sitte, und ganz fremd der priesterlichen Ordnung. Der Bischof mag wohl den Priester segnen, sagen die Kanones; aber es ziemt sich nicht, daß er vom Priester gesegnet wird; aber noch mehr: Nicht einmal von seinem bischöflichen Genossen, sondern nur von Patriarchen, welcher größer ist als er; weil ein Bischof einen andern Bischof nicht ordinieren kann; nicht einmal ein Patriarch kann allein ihn ordinieren, wenn nicht ein andrer Bischof, oder zwei mit ihm sein sollten, wie es in den Kanones befohlen ist. Ein

Bischof wird von drei Bischöfen ordiniert, oder von zweien, mit welchen entweder ein Patriarch, oder Metropolit sein soll. Ein Bischof kann viele Priester und Diakonen allein ordinieren, wenn kein andrer Bischof in seiner Nähe ist. Deswegen ist er befugt, Priester und Diakone usw. zu segnen und die Hände auf sie zu legen. Der Priester hat aber keine Befugnis, den
fol. 16a Bischof zu segnen. Das ist häßlich und verkehrt.

§ XII.

Darüber, daß ihre Bischöfe durch Geld und Bestechungen[1] *eingesetzt werden und einer überbietet den andern, und sie jagen einander von der Herde weg.*

Wiederum haben sie was anderes, welches am aller schimpflichsten ist. Wenn ein Sprengel eines Bischofs bedarf und derjenige, der kandidiert, nicht viel Geld gibt, so wird er nicht erwählt. Derjenige, welcher Geld hat, wenn er auch schlecht ist in seinem Lebenswandel, wird berufen und erwählt eher, als der, welcher fromm und tugendhaft ist, aber kein Geld gibt. Nachdem jemand berufen und erwählt und zum Sprengel gegangen, legt man jedes Jahr eine beliebige Summe Tribut auf ihn; und nachdem er ein Jahr oder zwei oder ein wenig mehr in dem Sprengel gestanden ist, kommt ein anderer, und wenn er ihn 10 oder 20 Denare überbietet, wird der erste vertrieben und der andere eingesetzt. Und ebenso wird dieser über ein Weilchen vertrieben; ein andrer kommt, jagt ihn fort und nimmt seinen Sprengel. Und so geschieht es, ohne Hindernis, daß ein Sprengel eine Menge Bischöfe hat; und wenn einer den Sprengel erhält, da überlaufen die anderen andere Sprengel, damit sie andern ebenso tun.

§ XIII.

fol. 17a *Auch die Aufsicht der Klöster und Konvente ist ebenso beschaffen.*

Irgendein Mönch geht und gibt dem Ortsvorsteher Geld, ob der Machthaber ein Heide oder ein Christ ist, und reißt an sich das Archimandritenamt, das heißt, die Aufsicht des

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[1] Noch im 15. Jahrhundert wurden die Bischöfsstühle an den Höchstbietenden verkauft. Die Kleriker erpressten Geld vom Volk, um die

Klosters, was es auch sei, und ist fortan Herr des Platzes und Machthaber in allem. Er kauft und verkauft, baut und zerstört, und er macht zu seinem Erben, wen er will. Er unterwirft seine Mitbrüder wie Sklaven, so daß sie überhaupt keine Autorität mit ihm haben in der Leitung des Klosters. Aber jeden Tag wird jedem für seinen Bedarf Speise gegeben, einfach und kärglich. Der Abt behält, wen er will, und jagt fort, wen er will. Und die Brüder selbst, weil sie im Kloster nichts gelten, laufen beständig von einem Ort zum andern und wechseln von einem Kloster zum andern. Wenn aber über ein Weilchen ein andrer kommt, und dem Herrn des Ortes mehr Geld gibt, wirft er den vorigen hinaus und nimmt seine Stelle. Und so stecken sie in dieser Verwirrung ohne Ende.

§ XIV.

Über den Thron des Katholikats, welchen sie durch erbliche Nachfolge einander übertragen, ebenso den erhabenen Thron ihres Pontifikats. fol. 17b

Ich aber sage, daß das Katholikat im Irrtum ist, insofern einer dem andern überliefert haben soll durch erbliche Nachfolge; nämlich, daß sie vom Geschlecht des heiligen Gregorius abstammen, welcher sie selbst belehrt habe durch leibliche Verwandtschaft. Dies findet man bei keinem christlichen Volke mehr, und steht vielmehr in Widerspruch zu den apostolischen Kanones,[1] welche befehlen, daß kein Bischof Autorität besitzt, seinen Stuhl einem andern zu vermachen, außer dem, der erwählt ist vom Heiligen Geist und von der Heiligen Synode gebilligt worden ist. Diese Sitte haben nur die Araber, daß bei ihnen ein Herrscher, nämlich ein Kalife, durch erbliche Nachfolge eingesetzt wird, von denen, die von der Familie des Muḥammed stammen sollen. Bei Christen findet sich dies überhaupt nicht bei irgendeiner Nation. Sonst wäre es ganz in Ordnung, daß die Jerusalemiten beständig einen von der

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Gelder dafür aufzubringen. Darüber erfahren wir auch von Matthäus von Urhai, der die Zustände der armenischen Kirche am Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts als schlecht bezeichnet und auch speziell von der Bestechung und von den Unwürdigen redet. (Kronik Etschmiadzin, 1898, S. 229.)

[1] In den apostolischen Kanones war es nämlich verboten, daß ein Bischof seinen Stuhl irgend jemand vermachen kann.

Familie des Jakobus, des Bruders unseres Herrn, als Oberhaupt einsetzte (jener Jakobus war dort der erste Patriarch); oder von der Familie des Matthäus, welcher ihnen das Evangelium verkündigte und auch ganz Palästina. Und ebenso den Antiochenern und Aramäern geziemt einer von der Familie des Petrus; den Ephesern, von Johannes; den Edessenern, von Addai; den Bewohnern von Indien, von Thomas; und den übrigen Völkern, welche das Evangelium gelehrt wurden, von der Familie dessen, der sie zuerst belehrte. Das ist gar nicht möglich, noch ist es abzuleiten vom apostolischen Gebrauch.

§ XV.

Über Priester, welche ordiniert werden, ohne daß sie eine Stelle haben.

Ebenso, wenn sie einen Priester einsetzen, nehmen sie von ihm große Bestechung und entlassen ihn, daß er umherirre und diene, wo er will. Sie ordinieren ihn also nicht über ein bestimmtes Heiligtum, wie es in den Kanones befohlen ist; auch ist seine Stelle ganz unbekannt.

§ XVI.

fol. 18a *Über die Art des Bekenntnisses bei ihnen, welche nicht schön ist.*

Wiederum aber bezüglich des Bekenntnisses, dessen sie sich nicht bedienen, wie es ordnungsgemäß ist. Aber es stehen da niedergeschrieben alle Arten der Sünde, welche in der Welt getan und auch nicht getan werden. Wenn jemand seine Sünden bekennen und sich bekehren will, so sitzt der Priester da und verliest ihm alle, die er je getan und auch nie getan hat, ja sogar solche, wovon er nie gehört und welche nie in seinen Sinn gekommen wären; und dabei kämpft mit ihm der böse Gedanke von diesen Dingen, welche er hörte, welche nun existierten und geschrieben standen, und die er auch lernte zu tun. Wiederum aber auch der Priester, der solch schändliche Arten von Sünden verliest, der überhaupt auch niemanden hat, der sie anhört, so kommen sie in seinen Sinn und Schaden ihm viel, indem sie seinen Sinn verstören, und beständig halten sie sich auf in seinen Gedanken.

Wiederum hat ihr Bekenntnis und ihre Lehre viel Ähnliches

mit der Häresie der Novatianer,[1] welche nicht annehmen die Bekehrung von der Sünde. Und wenn irgendein Kleriker in Hurerei, im Betrug, oder in Begierde und Wollust des Leibes gefallen ist, wenn er, wie David und Manasse,[2] Buße tut durchs ganze Leben, wird er doch nie wieder aufgenommen in das Amt, worin er einst stand. Wie (sagen sie) ein gläsernes Gefäß, wenn es zerbrochen ist, nicht wieder zusammengefügt und ineinander gepaßt wird, wie es einmal war, so ist's mit dem Menschen, der seinen Leib verunreinigt hat, er kann nicht wieder sein, was er war. So sagen sie. Es widerlegt sie die Sünderin, welche angenommen wurde, begleitete beständig den, der alles heiligt, und im Evangelium gerühmt wurde als Predigerin des Evangeliums.[3] Und der Zöllner, welcher gerechtfertigt wurde, ward ein Apostel, und stieg auf und wurde erhöht zum Rang der Zwölfe, und schrieb das heilige Evangelium. Wiederum auch David, nach seiner unreinen Begierde, und seinem Ehebruch und verbrecherischen Mordtat, wurde durch die Buße erhöht zur höchsten Stufe der Prophetie, und er wurde genannt: Herz Gottes und Vater Christi. Und so auch die anderen Sünder, welche sich bekehrten und angenommen wurden, die wieder aufstiegen und ihren Rang und ihren Dienst einnahmen.

Aber eine Menge von ihnen erlauben nicht, daß solche (bekehrte Sünder) am Mysterion Christi teilnehmen. Also kommt es vor, daß einer eine Zeit von 20, 30, 40 und 50 Jahren bleibt, ohne überhaupt je teilzunehmen am heiligen Kelch. Auch von der Ordnung der Priester und Mönche, bleiben ebenso manche jahrelang, ohne daß sie teilnehmen: dazu viele der Bischöfe. Wiederum gibt es viele Bischöfe, welche kein Opfer bringen, oder teilnehmen an den heiligen Sakramenten; jedoch ordiniert man Priester, Kirchen und Altäre weiht man ein, man tauft, und segnet und auch das übrige. Diese große Dummheit ist doch wunderbar. Wer nicht wert ist, Gaben zu opfern, wie sollte der würdig sein, einen Priester zu ordinieren, daß er opfern kann? Oder einen Altar (einzuweihen), worauf das sühnende Opfer dargebracht und vollendet wird?

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[1] Novatian (c. 200—255).
[2] Manasse 2 Chr. 33 : 13.
[3] Matt. 26 : 13.

§ XVII.

fol. 19a

Über die Heuchelei.

Wiederum ist bei ihnen ein Anderes, daß all ihr Verkehr, ihr Lebenswandel und ihre Tätigkeit mit Gepränge und Ostentation, nicht in Wahrheit und Aufrichtigkeit ist. Äußerlich und vor den Leuten zeigen sie sich gerecht, Abstinenzler, Naziräer, keusch und heilig; aber inwendig ist ihre Lebensweise liederlich. Über sie ist vollbracht die Beschuldigung, die im heiligen Evangelium steht.

§ XVIII.

Darüber, daß sie nicht teilnehmen am heiligen Abendmahl, wenn sie (Mönche) werden, wie wir tun.

Diese scheinbaren Mönche, in ihren Gewändern, sind eigentlich keine Mönche; man hält nicht einmal geistlichen Gesang und Gebet über sie. Aber jeder einzelne, wenn es ihm paßt, legt das Mönchsgewand an, und ißt Fleisch zu jeder Zeit ohne Hindernis oder Maß. Aber vollkommene Mönche, nicht einer unter tausend ist bei ihnen zu finden; der den Talar genommen hätte mit Gebeten und geistlichen Lobgesängen nach der Ordnung der Tonsur.

§ XIX.

fol. 19b *Darüber, daß sie nicht achten auf das Patenamt bei der heiligen Taufsalbung.*

Über die Sache des Patenamtes bei der heiligen Taufe Vieles verwirren sie und achten nicht die Ehre des heiligen Myron. Wer (den) Täufling annimmt, nimmt ihn im heiligen Vertrag als seinen Sohn, oder seinen Bruder, usw. Sie wahren überhaupt nicht die Ordnung. Jedermann nimmt von der Taufe weg den Sohn seines Bruders, oder den Sohn seiner Schwester, und die übrigen seiner Verwandten.

§ XX.

Über das Fest der Geburt.

Über das Fest der heiligen Geburt, welches sie nicht gleichwie jedermann feiern, sondern dabei ihre eigentümliche Sitte halten, apart von allen Völkern, welche den Gekreuzigten

verehren. Sie waren nicht die ersten, die das Evangelium akzeptierten, daß sie nun wünschen, ihr Eigenes aufzurichten, und die Gewohnheit, welche sie empfingen von den Aposteln, preiszugeben. Sie waren im Gegenteil die allerletzten, die an das Evangelium glaubten, durch den heiligen Gregorius im Jahre 863 des Alexander. Nachdem sie Christen geworden waren, kamen viele Synoden zustande in der Welt; und alles was sie beschlossen und überlieferten, wurde angenommen und fol. 20a angeordnet in der Kirche der Syrer, Griechen, Römer, Ägypter Nubier, Äthiopier und Inder, der fernen Länder; wie auch bei den Anbaren, welche im Innern des Landes und ihre Nachbarn sind; und bei den Alanen, welche im Norden von diesen wohnen; bei den Chazaren und Russen (welche Skythen sind), und bei den Ungarn, Bulgaren und Balkern, und den übrigen Völkern und Nationen, welche glaubten an die evangelische Botschaft. All diese feiern das Fest der Geburt (Weihnachtsfest) am selben Tag, am 25. Dezember, und Epiphanien am selben Tage, am 6. Januar. Wie kommt es nun, daß jene (die Armenier) so verschieden sind von allen anderen? Nur sie feiern die Geburt und Erscheinung am selben Tag; und wenn sie behaupten, daß das eine alte Sitte ist, so auch die Altvordern gepflegt haben, so behaupten wir: viele von den früheren Gebräuchen sind von den Vätern und Lehrern geändert worden, wie wir oben zeigten im Briefe des Patriarchen, des Mar Johannes.[1] Vieles ist abgeschafft worden, und vieles wurde erneuert. So hat man abgeschafft, daß man sich taufen läßt 30 Jahre alt. Auch dies, daß Bischöfe Weiber und Kinder hatten, als sie in der Welt (Laien) waren; späterhin schickten sie die Frauen weg und wurden Bischöfe, wie auch euer Gregor und viele. Und dies, daß sie dienende Frauen ordinierten, welche salbten die Frauen, welche mit uns waren. Und vieles wie dieses hat man auch erneuert. Zum Beispiel das, daß sie junge Kinder taufen; und das, daß sie jedes Jahr die Passion und Ostern (Passah) feiern; und dies, daß alle Menschen, welche das heilige Kreuz verehren, fasten sollen 40 Tage zusammen vor Ostern; da früher jeder 40 Tage fastete, wann es ihm beliebte im Jahr. Sie erneuerten auch Palmarum, welches überhaupt nicht mehr gefeiert wurde, und das Laub-

[1] Hier steht also ausdrücklich, daß nicht das ganze Schreiben von Joh. Barschuschan ist. Siehe Vorwort, p. 2.

fol. 20 b hüttenfest auf dem Berg Tabor. Auch das heilige Weihnachtsfest ordneten sie in seiner Zeit, mit vielem Examinieren, und Forschen von vielen, und Berechnungen, welche mit größter Genauigkeit und mit Erlaubnis des heiligen Geistes ausgeführt wurden.

§ XXI.

Über die Wahrung des jüdischen Gesetzes.

Darüber, daß die ersten Christen viele Gebräuche der jüdidischen Gesetzesbeobachtung hielten, welche die heiligen Apostel und ihre Jünger aufhoben und entfernten sich von ihnen; obwohl sie die Sitte dieses Festes, nach Berechnung des Mondes, festhielten nach Ordnung der Juden, welche Mondmonate haben. Sie akzeptieren durch Tradition, daß unser Herr geboren wurde am Sechsten im Monat Januar; und ebenso getauft wurde am Sechsten des Monats Januar. Und sie feierten das Fest jedes Jahr am Sechsten des Monats. Am Abend zwar feierten sie das Fest in Bethlehem; und gleich darauf brachen sie auf von Bethlehem und stiegen hinab zum Jordan, und die ganze Nacht quälten sie sich mit Kälte und Regen und Schnee, wie fol. es im Winter an der Tagesordnung ist. Am Morgen feierten 21 a sie dann Tauffest am Jordan. So taten sie bis zur Zeit des Mar Johannes Goldmund (Chrysostomus), in den Tagen des Königs Arkadius, des Vaters Theodosius, des Jüngeren. Zu der Zeit wurden einige in Jerusalem vom Heiligen Geiste getrieben, daß sie eine Untersuchung und ein Diktum über die Geschichte der Feste verlangten, welche nicht geziemend vervollkommt seien; da man erstens das Fest der Geburt am Abend in Bethlehem feierte, und dann in aller Eile und Erschöpfung aufbrach in derselben Nacht, bis zum Jordanfluß (ging), und am Morgen Tauffest feierte, ebenso in Eile; dann eilte man zurück nach Jerusalem, um das Fest des Stephanus zu feiern, da, wo er gesteinigt und begraben wurde; weil man nach den herrlichen Festen der Geburt und Taufe das des Stephanus feierte. Und sie forschten nach, und stellten Untersuchungen an, über die Sache. Sie schickten daher Schreiben an die Patriarchen, welche damals in Rom, Konstantinopel, Alexandrien, Antiochien und den übrigen berühmten Orten standen; und überall hatte man deswegen Synoden, und die Sache wurde genau untersucht und sorgfältig darüber nach-

geforscht von allen Weisen und Gelehrten, welche damals lebten und sich darauf verstanden, die Zeiten und die Geschichte zu berechnen. Und sie gingen zurück in der Berechnung der Monate und Jahre und fanden, daß das Jahr, in welchem unser Herr geboren wurde, das 309. Jahr der Griechen ist; und sie fanden, daß der Anfang des Monats Kānūn II. (Januar) am 20. Tag des Kānūn I. (Dezember) nach der Sonnenrechnung fiel; also am 25. in diesem (Sonnen-) Monat waren es sechs Tage im Monde, welcher als Mond des Januar gerechnet wurde. Sie bestätigten genau, daß am 25. Dezember nach der Sonne unser Herr geboren wurde in diesem Jahr. Am selben Tage nun feierten die Heiden das große Sonnenfest, weil gerade zu der Zeit, am 24. und 25. im Monat, die Jahreswende ist. Ich sage im Dezember, März, Juni und September. Die Wende des Kānūn, weil die Sonne gen Süden fol. 22a
sinkt bis zum Rande des niedrigsten Grades, und dann vom 25. fängt sie wieder an, zu steigen. Da machen sie ein großes Freudenfest, genannt Fest der Sonne, welche bildlich vorstellt und symbolisiert die große Sonne der Gerechtigkeit, welche bereit war an diesem Tag zu erscheinen. Die Christen gingen zu diesem Fest der Heiden und verunreinigten sich bei ihren Opfern. Daraufhin ordneten die Väter an und bestimmten alle zusammen einmütig, daß am 25. Dezember, nach der Sonne, das heilige Fest der Geburt gefeiert werde, und abgeschafft werde die Berechnung nach dem Monde, da sie steigt und fällt, und ungenau ist; nämlich darin, daß die Summe der zwölf Mond-Monate etliche Tage weniger ist als die der zwölf Sonnenmonate des Jahres; weil der Mond immer wechselnd ab- und zunimmt, und nicht wie die Sonne beständig ist, welche überhaupt nicht wechselt, weder ab- noch zunimmt, damit sie die große Sonne, Christum, symbolisiere; welcher, obwohl er Fleisch an sich nahm und Mensch wurde und sich selbst entäußerte, dennoch sich nie veränderte, oder ab- oder zugenommen hätte. Soviel über die heilige Geburt.

§ XXII.

Wiederum untersuchten und berechneten auch die heiligen Väter, fol.
daß unser Herr im 30. Jahr getauft wurde, welches das 339. 22b
der Griechen ist, und im 15. Jahr des Kaisers Tiberius, welcher die Stadt Tiberias am galiläischen Meer baute, wo der Jordan

entspringt; darin hat er bildlich prophezeit über die feste Stadt der heiligen Taufe, welche zu jener Zeit gebaut und befestigt wurde am geistlichen Jordanflusse. Und sie fanden durch genaue Berechnung, daß in diesem Jahr der Anfang des Mond-Monats Januar mit dem des Sonnenmonats zusammen fällt, i. e., der Sechste nach dem Mond war gleich mit dem Sechsten nach dem Sonnenmonat. Da ordneten sie an, daß Epiphanien an dem Tag sein sollte, welcher der Sechste im Sonnenmonat Januar ist, und abgeschafft sei die Berechnung nach dem Monde (Mondkalender). Nachdem also festgelegt wurde, wie es sich gehört, genau und unübertrefflich, die Chronologie dieser heiligen Feste von den heiligen Vätern und den Patriarchen, welche versammelt waren mit Übereinstimmung des Heiligen Geistes, da schrieben sie und sandten nach Jerusalem und all den anderen Gegenden diese Bestimmungen, welche von ihnen unter der Mitwirkung des Heiligen Geistes verfaßt worden waren. Seitdem ist diese schöne Ordnung gefeiert worden in allen Kirchen aller Nationen und Zungen, fol. 23a ebenso auch das ¦heilige Fest, Palmarum; damals wurde es festgesetzt, und angeordnet unter Mitwirkung des Heiligen Geistes.

Seit jener Zeit haben sich die Christen nie wieder des Mondkalenders bedient, um ein Fest zu bestimmen; das Osterfest ausgenommen, welches ohne Zweifel mit dem Passah der Juden übereinstimmen sollte; i. e. der 14. Tag im Monat Nisan, der Tag, an welchem man feierte das Gedächtnis des Auszugs aus Ägypten, und des Würgengels, welcher schonend vorbeifuhr, und an den Türen vorüberging, wo man ein Lamm geopfert hatte. Und man erinnert sich dieser Dinge am heiligen Sabbat des Passion, weil an ihm, am Passah der Juden und am 14. Tage, an welchem das Lamm geopfert wurde, wurde geopfert das heilige Lamm Gottes am Querbalken des Kreuzes.

Es geschah aber im Sonnenmonat am 25. März, an dem Tage, an welchem seine Empfängnis verkündigt worden war, da gab er seinen Geist auf. Und auch bei Römern und Griechen wird diese Geschichte aufbewahrt und niedergeschrieben im Kodex der Feste.

Unterschrift:

Ignatius, Patriarch von Antiochien, genannt Matthäus, im Jahr 1111 nach der Liste der 133. der Jakobitischen Patriarchen, Matthäus aus Mardin.

B. *Zusätze aus verschiedenen Quellen.*

1.

Wiederum eine Rede des Lehrers Mar Ja'qob über Wasser.

Die Lämmer verehren das lebendige Lamm Gottes, welches ein Opfer war, das sie von Opfern befreit. Gott hat vollendet das Sakrament (der Opfer) mit dem Opfer seines Sohnes, welches die Opfer und auch die Libationen der Völker symbolisierten. Nachdem er ein großes Opfer geworden ist für die Sünder, wird ein andres Opfer, von seiner Zeit bis jetzt, nicht angenommen.

Die heutige Kirche ist doch nicht jüdisch, daß sie Opfer brächte, außer das Opfer des Leibes und Blutes des Sohnes Gottes, wie sie belehrt wurde vom Eingebornen, der seinen Leib brach. Und nicht wird wiederum ein anderes Opfer verlangt außer diesem. Die Sakramente sind vollkommen, und nicht sind wiederum heute Opfer (nötig), da der Sohn Gottes geopfert wurde auf dem Altar, am Querbalken (Kreuz). Wer aber ein anderes Opfer vertritt, ist nicht vom Herrn, da heute nicht mehr animalische Opfer gebracht werden sollen. Wenn nun, ein Mensch sich verirrt und ein Opfer bringt wie der Jude, so verleugnet er also all die Passion des Eingeborenen.

Jeder, der erlöst ist mit dem Opfer des Sohnes Gottes, wird nicht einführen Opfer, damit er nicht verurteilt werde von der Gerechtigkeit (justitia). Kein Mensch opfert heute ein Lamm für seine Übertretung, da Gott selbst abgeschafft hat die Opfer mit seinem Opfer. Christus zuerst opferte sich selbst auf Golgatha, und hat weggetan die Opfer und sühnte die Sünden der Opfernden. Wenn man nun opfert nach dem Tode des Sohnes Gottes, so ist das Verleugnung der Leiden des Sohnes. Fliehe fort vom Opfer, welches dich von Gott entfremdet, entledigt dich auch vom Zeichen der Taufe, wäscht von dir das Öl, mit welchem du gezeichnet bist, und vermengt dich mit den Juden, welche den Sohn getötet haben. Wenn du opferst, hast du Teil mit den Juden, die den Sohn gekreuzigt haben und brachten Opfer, welche ihn nicht anerkennen.

Der Jude wartet bis jetzt, daß der Messias komme, und bringt Opfer, um mit einem Bilde darzustellen, wie er kommt.

Wer aber heute noch Opfer bringt mit Vorsatz, der ist ein Jude und verläßt die Ordnung des Eingebornen. Wenn nun ein Priester Salz nimmt, um es zu segnen, damit er das Opfer essen kann vor der Zeit der Opferung, so wisse solcher Priester, daß er sich unter die Kreuziger mischt, der Elende; und auch das Priestertum des Sohnes Gottes wird von ihm genommen. Wer die Haut und auch das Fett des Lammes nimmt, verkauft damit den Sohn Gottes und mißbraucht seine Erlaubnis. Und der Elende schließt sich damit dem Gesetz des Judentums an; und der Herr des vermischten Opfers, sein Teil ist mit dem Satan. Der Sohn Gottes hat abgeschafft die Opfer, damit sie nie wieder gebracht werden; wer denn erkühnt sich, sie heute noch zu bringen? Wenn jemand wagt, ein Opfer zu bringen und verachtet das Gebot, so entfremdet er sich allen Geheimnissen des Eingebornen. Siehe zu, du Kluger, wenn ein Mensch irrt und bringt Opfer, daß du nicht issest von dem Geopferten und dich verunreinigst. Wenn du ein Opfer siehst, halte dich fern von seiner Verunreinigung, bekreuzige dich mit dem schimmernden Kreuze, und rühre es nicht an. Fern sei es dir, O Kirche, daß heute noch ein anderes Opfer in dir geschehe, außer dem Leibe und dem Blute des Sohnes auf deinem Altar. Das ist das Opfer, welches Jesus für dich bestimmte, als er dich erlöste. Siehe zu, daß du kein andres Opfer darbringst außer diesem. Er opferte sich auf Golgatha für die Sünder; wer also ein anderes Opfer bringt, wird nicht angenommen. Aber die Juden leugnen, daß der Sohn Gott sei. Deswegen bringen sie Opfer, da sie ihn nicht kennen. Die Gemeinde des Sohnes verwirft Opfer, da sie nicht in ihr sein sollen; da sie aufblickt zum Herrn, welcher ein Opfer wurde, damit er die Opfer abschaffte. Und sein Leib und sein Blut opfert er allezeit auf ihrem Altar, wie er sie auch lehrte als er seinen Leib brach und ihn seinen Jüngern gab. Am besten ist es für den, der heute Opfer bringt, daß er auch den Sohn verleugnet und hält sich gut mit den Juden. Es gibt nur ein Opfer, womit die ganze Welt gesühnt wurde. Verflucht ist der, der nach diesem ein Opfer bringt. Die Gemeinde verwirft den, der heute Opfer bringt, und nimmt ihn nicht auf, da er ihren Diensten fremd ist.

2.

Von einer Anzahl von Lehrern und rechtgläubigen Vätern.

1. Mar Ephräm.

Ein jeder, der heutzutage Opfer bringt für einen Verstorbenen; der Verstorbene wird damit verdammt, und die, welche es essen, werden dadurch verunreinigt. Der Priester, welcher Salz segnet und gibt es dem Opfernden, damit er es esse, und verlangt von ihm den Zehnten, ist ein zweiter Kaiphas, welcher unsern Herrn ans Kreuz schlug, damit die Zehnten nicht abgeschafft würden. — Jeder, der heute ein Lamm opfert, nach jenem ersten, hat keinen Anteil mehr an dem ersten, und leugnet den, welcher gekreuzigt wurde. Wer heute ein (geopfertes) Lamm ißt, schafft ab jenes Passahlamm. Wie ein toter Leib leer ist von der Seele, welche in ihm wohnte, so ist auch ungesäuertes Brot frei von dem Innewohnen des Heiligen Geistes. Nicht im toten Leibe ist die Seele, und im ungesäuerten Brot ist nicht der Heilige Geist. — Es ist den Genießenden besser, sie essen ein totes und ersticktes Lamm, als wie ein Lamm, in welchem die Leugnung der Juden versteckt ist. — Es ist besser, er esse todbringendes Gift, welches den Körper allein tötet, als daß er opfere Ungesäuertes und reinen Wein als eine Opfergabe.

3.

Mar Iṣḥaq.

Ein totes Opfer ist nicht lebendig machend für diejenigen, die in Christo schlafen. Ochsen und Schafe, die am Todestage für die Toten geopfert werden, gereichen denen, die sie essen, zur Verdammnis, und den Verstorbenen bringen sie Qualen. — Ein totes Opfer macht nicht lebendig die, die in Sünden gestorben sind. Mit dem Blute der Tiere werden heute die Verstorbenen nicht erlöst. — Und mit dem Priester, welcher Salz segnet, sollst du nicht im Gebet stehen, damit nicht die Engel dich schelten, wenn sie ihn in Gehenna stürzen.

4.

Von dem Lehrer Mar Ja'qob.

Schlechter als ein Heide ist, wer heute ein Lamm opfert; oder Ungesäuertes als Hostie anfaucht am Opferheiligtum.

Jeder, der heute ein Lamm oder Ungesäuertes darbringt, verleugnet den Vater, welcher seinen Sohn opferte, damit er ein Opfer sei.

5.

Der feurige Ignatius.

Wir beobachten die Nacht des Mittwoch, weil in ihr unser Herr den Aposteln offenbarte betreffs seines Leidens, und sie gerieten in Aufregung vor Kummer. Wir beobachten die Nacht des Freitags, weil in ihr unser Herr von den Juden gefangen genommen wurde, und auf die Wange geschlagen von dem Knecht des Hohenpriesters; und sie fesselten ihn an die Säule. Wir geben frei die Nacht des Samstags, weil in ihr Erleichterung wurde allen Seelen der Verstorbenen, die im Totenreich waren, als unser Herr zu ihnen hinabstieg.

6.

Gregorius Thaumaturgus.

Nicht kann ein Christ die Nacht des Mittwoch und Freitag aufgeben, ohne verdammt zu werden mit denen, die unsern Herrn fesselten in der Nacht des Freitags und ihn Pilatus überlieferten. Und die, welche die Nacht des Samstags wachen, werden verdammt mit denen, welche die Beine der Räuber brachen, damit der Sabbat nicht geschändet würde, und sie vom Gesetz verdammt würden.

7.

Johannes sagt:

Solange die Welt tot war, opferte man Ungesäuertes, weil Ungesäuertes tot ist. Seitdem aber Christus gekommen ist, welcher das Leben ist, opfern wir gesäuert Brot, welches Leben ist, zum Beweis der Wiederkunft Christi.

8.

Dionysius sagt:

Es findet sich durchaus nicht, daß eins von den Sakramenten des Priestertums vollkommen wäre, außer wenn die göttliche

Eucharistie hinzu kommt. Und keine Priester sind mit Gott verbunden, wenn die Opfergabe nicht geopfert wird, durch welche die Ordination eigentlich vollzogen wird. An diesen Dingen also haben die Armenier keinen Anteil. Es findet sich nicht, daß seit der Kreuzigung unseres Herrn Ungesäuertes, oder ein Lamm geopfert wurde als Opfergabe; und jeder, der sie opfert, ist noch ein Jude und wartet auf das Kommen des Messias. Ein Christ, welcher 40 Tage vorbeigehen läßt, ohne Teilnahme der Eucharistie ohne Grund, ist nach seinem Tode nicht würdig, daß für ihn gebracht werde eine Opfergabe, da er im Leben sich selbst ausgeschlossen hat von der Gemeinschaft der Sakramente. Und wiederum sagt er: Nicht soll teilnehmen lassen ein Priester jemanden ohne Bekenntnis, ob er treu ist im Glauben, oder nicht.

9.

Mar Severus.

Hab Acht, o Christ, daß nicht dein Heil mit den Juden ist. Wenn du für einen Verstorbenen die Fäulnis der toten Tiere issest, bedenke, mein Lieber, was Basilius der Große tat, mit dem Manne, der Fleisch essen ließ für seinen toten Sohn. Auch den Priester, der von jenem Ochsenfleisch aß, setzte er vom Priestertum herab, und legte auf ihn ein siebenjähriges Fasten; und auf den Gläubigen, der das Opfer brachte, ein dreijähriges; und auf jeden, der davon gegessen hatte, ein einjähres Fasten. Also, es soll überhaupt nicht geschehen, daß ein Christ für einen Verstorbenen Fleisch ißt.

10.

Rabbula von Edessa.

Nicht sollen die Geistlichen, nämlich die Priester und Diakonen und Gläubigen, beim Gedächtnis der Verstorbenen Fleisch essen, noch Wein trinken. Sonst, anstatt einer trauernden Seele, welche Gnade sucht für den Verstorbenen, lachen sie, scherzen und zürnen Gott. Anstatt, daß das Herz fleht, besitzen sie ein hartes und geiziges Herz, und werden Genossen der Juden, welche unsern Herrn gekreuzigt haben, damit er ihre Opfer nicht abschaffte. Denn die Juden, wie die Heiden,

nennen den Gedächtnisritus ihrer Toten „Opfer“; wir aber „Wachen“, weil beim Wachen kein Fleisch ist, sondern Speise, welche den Christen ziemt, wobei keine Fäulnis der toten Tiere ist. Und wie die Christen von den Juden und Heiden getrennt sind durch den Glauben, so ziemt es sich, daß bei ihren Gedächtnisfesten man sich trennt von ihnen; weil die Heiden und Juden Opfer, die Christen aber Vigilien und Opfergaben haben.

11.

Ja'qob von Edessa.

Das Volk der Armenier vom Anfang der Welt lebt ohne Gesetz. Von ihnen kommt weder ein Lehrer, noch ein Einsiedler, noch ein Gelehrter. Daher kommt es auch, daß fremde Lehrer über sie die Macht gehabt und sie vom Glauben der Wahrheit abgebracht haben. Einige ihrer Lehrer sind einerseits Juden, einige, andrerseits, Phantasten. Deswegen folgen sie den Juden darin, daß sie Lamm und Ungesäuertes und reinen Wein opfern und Salz segnen; wodurch sie Gott für unrein erklären — als ob er Unreines geschaffen hätte! da er doch sagt: „Nichts, das zum Munde eingeht, verunreinigt den Menschen.“ Den Chalcedoniern folgen sie darin, daß sie mit ihren Fingern das Kreuz machen und bekennen zwei Naturen, ohne es zu wissen. Und den Nestorianern folgen sie darin, daß sie den ganzen Vorderarm von rechts nach links vorübergehen lassen. Den Arabern folgen sie darin, daß sie drei Kniebeugungen machen gegen Süden, wenn sie opfern, oder beschneiden; und andere Dinge noch schlimmer als diese tun sie. Und den Heiden folgen sie darin, daß sie jedenfalls, wenn jemand stirbt, Opfer für ihn darbringen; und sie beleidigen hauptsächlich darin Gott, weil es nicht dem Gläubigen von Gott erlaubt ist, für einen Toten zu opfern am Todestage, oder Fleisch zu essen am Tag seines Gedächtnisfestes. Deswegen ist dies ein heidnischer Brauch und der heiligen Kirche fremd.

12.

Mar Johannes.

In diesen acht Tagen der Passion unseres Herrn ist es nicht recht, für den Christen, daß er Ungesäuertes esse, (damit er

nicht mit den Juden verdammt werde), es sei denn aus Notwendigkeit der Reise; weil, gerade wie das Essen von Gesäuertem quält die Juden am Sabbat des Ungesäuerten, welches die Juden am Tage der Passion machen, so betrübt es den Heiligen Geist und die Engel, (wenn wir Ungesäuertes essen). Denn nicht eine kleine Feindschaft ist zwischen uns und den Juden. Gott, unsern Herrn, haben sie gekreuzigt. Also jeder Gläubige, der eins der jüdischen Gesetze hält, oder an ihren Bräuchen teilnimmt (ausgenommen dies, das er in den Schriften der heiligen Propheten liest), wird bestraft von unserm Herrn. Nie wieder soll der Gläubige sich nähern den jüdischen Gebräuchen, ob klein oder groß, weil sie Gott getötet haben.

13.

Gregorius, welcher die Armenier belehrte.

Nachdem er Katholikus durch Leontius, Patriarch von Rom, geworden war, lehrte er viele Völker. Da nahm er Priester und Diakone von Sebaste in Kappadokien und ging in alle Gegenden und lehrte bis nach Ṭārūn und allen Städten der Armenier; und er kam nach Amid und Nisibis und Persien und Chorasan, bis zu den Grenzen der Alanen; und wenn immer er predigte, weissagte er über das Volk der Armenier, indem er sagte: „Nach kurzer Zeit werden zu ihnen kommen fremde Lehrer, die der Glaubenswahrheit abhold sind, und werden sie abwendig machen von der Predigt der Apostel; und, wegen ihrer Herzenshärtigkeit, da sie sich von der Wahrheit nicht überzeugen lassen, wird es zum letzten schlimmer mit ihnen als zum ersten". Und siehe da, seine Weissagung war aus der Wahrheit; weil er je 40 Tage fastete, wie auch Moses und Elias, und auf ihm war die Gabe der Weissagung. Zu seiner Zeit wurde auch Koustantin gläubig, der siegreiche König, und eins wurde der Glaube an Christum allerorts. Deshalb rühmten sich die Armenier des Gregorius, welcher sie belehrt hatte, weil er von Eusebius in Caesarea gelehrt worden war; und die Handauflegung, welche er empfing von Leontius, dem Patriarchen, geschah in Rom. Der Sohn Gregors, Arystus, war auf der Synode der 318 Väter (Nicäa). Und er nahm von ihr die Kanones und die Glaubenssätze und kam, sie seinem Vater zu zeigen, und er freute sich über den wahren Glauben. Es steht aber nicht geschrieben, daß Gregor Lamm,

oder Ungesäuertes opferte, denn es kam keine Häresie in den wahren Glauben hinein; und an vielen Orten verbot er den Kongregationen seines Volkes, den Freitag und Mittwoch frei zu geben, bis am Abend; und nicht hielten sie die Nacht des Donnerstag und des Samstag, wie sie die Armenier halten in ihrem Wahnsinn, indem er vielen von den Kongregationen des Volkes verbot, sich in der Nacht des Mittwoch und Freitag mit Fisch und Wein zu verunreinigen. Dies tat er allezeit.

Wenn in einem Lamm oder im Ungesäuerten die Kraft läge, Sünden zu vergeben und dem Übel der Welt zu widerstehen, wozu wäre dann Christus gekommen? Aber weil er sah, daß die Sünde sich mehrte, und Geiz an den Priestern klebte und die Opfer und Opferspenden nutzlos geopfert wurden, da verließ er seine himmlische Wohnung, stieg herab, sein Geschöpf zu erlösen; und anstatt eines Lammes, opferte er sich selbst, anstatt Ungesäuertem nahm er in seine heiligen Hände gesäuertes Brot und stellte dar seinen Leib; nahm Wein und Wasser und mischte sie, machte sie zu seinem lebendigen Blut, und gab sie als Leben für die Welt. Er schaffte ab das Passahlamm, Ungesäuertes, und den ganzen Gestank der Opfer.

The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Three. — Edited, with critical notes, by LeRoy Carr Barret, M. A., Ph. D., Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.

Prefatory. — This third book of the Kashmirian AV. is edited in the same manner as were the first and second books (see this Journal vol. 26 p. 197 and vol. 30 p. 187). The same freedom has been maintained in regard to the form of presenting the material, but as heretofore the transliteration is considered first in importance. An effort has been made to reduce commentary to the smallest limits; and this may have produced an appearance of assurance regarding the emended text offered, but it is rather more appearance than reality. The text as constituted is a product of textual criticism solely, and only rarely has a purely conjectural reading been suggested or a venture made towards the higher criticism. Mutilated passages might sometimes be made intelligible by free guesswork, but even moderate assurance about a reading can be felt only if similar phraseology can be cited from other Vedic Texts.

Inasmuch as this is really preliminary publication it seems proper to put it in print now rather than hold it back on account of some unsolved difficulties. A revision and republication which would have some finality may properly be undertaken when the whole, or at least half, shall have been published in this manner. The fourth book will follow this one as soon as possible.

The transliteration is given in lines which correspond to the lines of the ms.; the division of words is of course mine, based on the edited text. The abbreviations are the usual ones; except that Ç. is used to refer to the AV. of the Çāunikīya School, and ms. (*sic*) is used for manuscript. The signs of punctuation used in the ms. are fairly represented by the vertical bar (= colon) and the "z" (= period): in the trans-

literation the Roman period stands for a *virāma:* daggers are used to indicate a corrupt reading as they are used in editions of classical texts.

Introduction.

Of the ms. — This third book in the Kashmir ms. begins f. 49 a, l. 2 and ends f. 61 a, l. 3, — 12 folios: only one letter is illegible owing to peeling of the bark, on the last line of f. 52 a, and unclear signs are only four I think. It may be noted here that in this ms. a ligature which seems clearly ttr appears very frequently but not always for tr: and one ligature seems regularly to serve for nn and °r n°. In this part of the ms. most of the pages have 18 or 19 lines of script.

Punctuation and numbering. — There are no stanza numbers, and only the most irregular punctuation to indicate the ends of stanzas or hemistichs: sometimes a visarga or anusvāra gives the hint. Except when a stanza is entirely rewritten I have not ordinarily mentioned corrections of punctuation. There are no accents marked in this book.

The grouping of the hymns in anuvākas is maintained in this book, eight anuvākas with five hymns in each; and all are correctly numbered except the first which is marked a 5, the 5 belonging to the fifth hymn which is not numbered. All the hymns save four are numbered correctly: for no. 5 and no. 11 the end is indicated but no number given, for no. 28 and no. 38 the end is not indicated.

Colophons, glosses, &c. — There are a few things of this sort that may well be recorded here. In the left margin opposite hymn 10 stands rakṣāmantraṁ; in the left margin opposite hymn 34 stands somaṁ rājānam açervacana (*sic*); cf. f. 63 b. In the text before hymn 11 stands atha rakṣāmantram; then after the six stanzas which appear also as Ç. 3. 23 there stands RV. 10. 87. 1 entire followed by the pratīka of RV. 10. 87. 25 (its last stanza) and the direction japet sarvam; finally stands iti rakṣāmantram. This seems to be a clear case of intrusion of sūtra into our text. And I incline to think that a bit of commentary has gotten in between stt. 10 and 11 of hymn 25, taken in possibly from a bottom margin. In hymn 34 between stt. 1 and 2 there stand 3 pādas which seem to be pratīkas, and not constituent pādas of a stanza. In hymn 31 only the pratīka of st. 1 is given followed by ity

ekā to indicate previous occurrence in this ms.: the same practice is noted in Book 4. There are some corrections inserted between the lines and some in the margins: most of them are helpful, but self-evident.

Extent of the book. — This book contains 40 hymns of which 3 are prose; parts of 3 others are or seem to be prose. The normal number of stanzas in a hymn is 6, as it is in Ç. 3; 26 hymns have 6 stanzas each, and not one has less I believe. Assuming the correctness of the verse divisions as edited below we have the following table:

26	hymns	have	6	stanzas	each	= 156	stanzas
5	„	„	7	„	„	= 35	„
4	„	„	8	„	„	= 32	„
2	„	„	9	„	„	= 18	„
1	hymn	has	10	stanzas		= 10	„
1	„	„	11	„		= 11	„
1	„	„	12	„		= 12	„
40	hymns	have				= 274	stanzas.

New and old material. — Estimating by stanzas which are new in structure we have just over 80 new stanzas; estimating by pādas which are not in the *Concordance* the total is slightly less, because some few pādas which do appear in the *Concordance* are parts of stanzas which may properly be called new. There are 14 hymns which may be called new, though some of them contain stanzas already known.

Of the 31 hymns in Ç. 3 sixteeen appear here in fairly close agreement: this is the practically the same proportion of correspondence that was found in Pāipp. Books 1 and 2. There are here also 2 hymns each of Ç. 2 and 7, and 3 hymns each of Ç. 4 and 19, and a few scattering stanzas or pādas of Ç. 5, 6, and 9. Of other Vedic texts there are only a few scattered stanzas of RV., VS., KS., Kāuçika: one hymn here is partly parallel to some mantras of MS., and one appears in a form which is closer to the form given in TS. that to the form given in Ç.

ATHARVA-VEDA PAIPPALĀDA-ÇĀKHĀ BOOK THREE.

1. [f. 49 a l. 2.]
Ç. 3. 4.

oṁ namo gaṇādhipataye z z oṁ ā tvā gni rāṣṭraṁ saha varcasodhi
ṣ prāg viçāṁ patir ekarāṭ tvaṁ vi rājā sarvās tvā rājan pradiço hvaya-
ntūpasadyo namasyo bhaveha tvāṁ viço vṛṇutāṁ rājyāya tvām imāḥ pra-
diçaṣ pañca devīḥ varṣma rāṣṭrasya kakudhi çrayasvāto vasūni vi bhajā-
my agrāḥ açchi tvā yattu bhuvanasya jātāgnir dūto va jarase dadhāti jāyā-
ṣ putrāḥ sumanaso bhavantu bahuṁ baliṁ prati paçyāma ugrā z z
açnā tvāgre mitrāvaruṇobhā viçve devā marutas tvā hva-yantu | sajātā-
nāṁ madhyameṣṭheha ma syā sve kṣettre savite vi rāja | ā pa drava paramasyāṁ
parāvataç çive te dyāvāpṛthivī babhūtāṁ | ud ayaṁ rājā varuṇas tathā-
ha sa tvāyam ahvat svenam ehi | indro idaṁ manuṣya prehi saṁ hi yajñiyā-
s tvā varuṇena saṁvidānaḥ sa tvāyam ahvat sve sadhasthe sa devān yakṣa-
t sāu kalpayād diçaḥ | pathyā revatīr bahudhā virūpāḥ sarvā
s saṅgatya varivas te akran. tās tvā sarvās saṁvidānā hvayantu daça-
mīm ugras sumanā vaçeta | yadi jareṇa haviṣā da tvā gamayā-
masi | atrā ta indraṣ kevalīr viço balihṛtas karat. z 1 z

Read: ā tvā gan rāṣṭraṁ saha varcasodihi prāg viçāṁ patir ekarāṭ tvaṁ vi rāja | sarvās tvā rājan pradiço hvayantūpasadyo namasyo bhaveha z 1 z tvāṁ viço vṛṇatāṁ rājyāya tvām imāḥ pradiçaṣ pañca devīḥ | varṣman rāṣṭrasya kakudi çrayasvāto vasūni vi bhajāsy ugraḥ z 2 z accha tvā yantu bhuvanasya

jātā agnir dūto 'va jarase dadhāti | jāyāṣ putrāḥ sumanaso bhavantu bahuṁ baliṁ prati paçyāsā ugraḥ z 3 z açvinā tvāgre mitrāvaruṇobhā viçve devā marutas tvā hvayantu | sajātānāṁ madhyameṣṭhā iha sa syāḥ sve kṣetre saviteva vi rāja z 4 z ā pra drava paramasyāḥ parāvataç çive te dyāvāpṛthivī babhūtām | tad ayaṁ rājā varuṇas tathāha sa tvāyam ahvat †svenam ehi z 5 z indra idaṁ manuṣyaḥ prehi saṁ hy ajñāsthā varuṇena saṁvidānaḥ | sa tvāyam ahvat sve sadhasthe sa devān yakṣat sa u kalpayād diçaḥ z 6 z pathyā revatīr bahudhā virūpāḥ sarvās saṅgatya varīyas te akran | tās tvā sarvās saṁvidānā hvayantu daçamīm ugras sumanā vaçeha z 7 z yad ajareṇa haviṣādhi tvā gamayāmasi | atrā ta indraṣ kevalīr viço balihṛtaṣ karat z 8 z 1 z

With the last stanza cf. RV. 10. 173. 6 and Ç. 7. 94.

In st. 3b jarasi would suit the verb better and might be read. Pāda 4c appears in several forms; cf. no. 33. 5. A possible reading for st. 5d is ° sa enaṁ lokam ehi. The reading of st. 6a here is better than that of Ç. but it is entirely possible that our ms. gives no real variant; in 6d viçaḥ as in Ç. would be better. The emendations in st. 8 are tentative.

2. [f. 49 a, l. 17.]

C. 3. 7.

hariṇasya rahuṣyado dhi çīrṣaṇi bheṣajaṁ su kṣettriyaṁ viṣāṇa-
yād viṣucīman anīnaçat. | anu tvā hariṇo vṛṣā padbhiç catu-
[f. 49 b.] rbhir akramīt. viṣāṇe vi çva çuṣpitaṁ yadi kiñ cit kṣettriyaṁ hṛdi | a-
do yad avarocate catuṣpakṣam iva çchati | tena te sarvaṁ kṣettriyam añgebhyo nā-
çayāmasi | ud agātāṁ bhagavatī vicṛtāu nāma tārake | vi kṣettriyaṁ
tvābhy ānaçe | vedāhaṁ tasmin bheṣajaṁ kṣettriyaṁ nāça-yāmi te | apa-
vāse nakṣattrāṇā apā statatoṣasāṁ apassat sarvam āmayad apa kṣe-
ttriyam akramīt. āpa id vā u bheṣajīr āpo amīvacātanīḥ ā-
po viçvasya bheṣajīs tās tvā muñcantu kṣettriyāt. z 2 z

Read: hariṇasya raghuṣyado 'dhi çīrṣaṇi bheṣajam | sa kṣetriyaṁ viṣāṇayā viṣūcīnam anīnaçat z 1 z anu tvā hariṇo

vṛṣā padbhiç caturbhir akramīt | viṣāṇe vi ṣya guṣpitaṁ yat kiñ cit kṣetriyaṁ hṛdi z 2 z ado yad avarocate catuṣpakṣam iva chadiḥ | tena te sarvaṁ kṣetriyam añgebhyo nāçayāmasi z 3 z ud agātāṁ bhagavatī vicṛtāu nāma tārake | vi kṣetriyasya muñcatām adhamaṁ pāçam uttamam z 4 z yad asuteṣ kriyamāṇāyāṣ kṣetriyaṁ tvābhy ānaçe | vedāhaṁ tasmin bheṣajaṁ kṣetriyaṁ nāçayāmi te z 5 z apavāse nakṣatrāṇām apavāsa utoṣasām | apāsmat sarvam āmayad apa kṣetriyam akramīt z 6 z āpa id vā u bheṣajīr āpo amīvacātanīḥ | āpo viçvasya bheṣajīs tās tvā muñcantu kṣetriyāt z 7 z 2 z

From Ç. I have supplied the end of st. 4 and the first hemistich of st. 5; the words supplied would occupy one line of our ms.

3. [f. 49 b, l. 7.]

Ç. 3. 6.

pumān puṁsaṣ parijāto açvatthaḥ khadirād adhi | sa hattu çatṛn māmakān yāṅç cāhaṁ dveṣmi ye ca māṁ |

In pāda c read hantu çatrūn, in d mām.

tān açvattha niṣṇīhi çatṛn mayi bādha todhata | indreṇa vṛttraghnā me mayād agninā varuṇena ca |

In pāda a read niç çṛṇīhi, in b çatrūn and dodhataḥ; and I think we should read me bādha in b where Ç. has vāibādha, tho mayi baddha seems to be possible. At the end of c vṛtraghnā medī as in Ç. is the only remedy that suggests itself.

yathāçvattha niṣṇāsi pūrvāṅ jātān utāparān. evā pṛdanyatas tvam abhi tiṣṭha sahasva tā |

In pāda b read niç çṛṇāsi; in c pṛtanyatas; and at the end of d read ca. This stanza is not in Ç.

yathāçvattha vi bhinaçchaṅta haty arṇave | evā me çattro cittāni viçvag bhidhi mahasva tā z

In pādas ab we may read vi bhinatsy antar mahaty; this is close to our ms. and certainly as good as the troublesome Ç. nir abhanas. In c read çatroç, for d viṣvag bhindhi sahasva ca.

yas sahamānaç carati sāsahānāiva
ṛṣabhā tenāçvāttha tvayā vayaṁ sapatnān saṁviṣīvahi |

For pāda b read sāsahāna iva ṛṣabhaḥ. It seems probable that at the end of d we must read sahiṣīmahi as in Ç.

sinā
tv āināṁ nirṛtiṁ mṛtyoṣ pāçāir avimokyāir açvattha çatṛn
māmakān yāṅç cā-
haṁ dveṣmi ye ca māṁ

In pāda a read enān nirṛtir, in b avimokyāiḥ; in c read çatrūn, in d mām.

adharāṅçca pra plavatāṁ çchinnā nor iva bandhanāṅ na
nurbādhapraṇuttānaṁ punar asti nivartanaṁ

For pādas ab read adharāñcaḥ pra plavantāṁ chinnā nāur iva bandhanāt: in c nirbādhapraṇuttānāṁ.

prāiṇān nadāmi manasā pra
çṛtyena vrāhmaṇā prāiṇān vṛkṣasya çākhāyā açvatthasya
nudāma-

[f. 50 a] si z 3 z

Read: prāiṇān nudāmi manasā pracṛtyāinān vrahmaṇā | prāiṇān vṛkṣasya çākhāyāçvatthasya nudāmasi z 8 z 3 z

In Ç. pāda b is pra cittenota brahmaṇā: I would not insist on the emendation suggested, and yet it is close to the ms.

4 [f. 50 a, l. 1]
Ç. 3. 13.

yad adas saṁpratir ahāv anadatā have tasmād a nu-
dyo nāma stha tā vo nāmāni sindhavaḥ z

In a read saṁprayatīr, in b hate: in c ā nadyo.

yat preṣitā varuṇenā
t sībhaṁ samavalgataḥ tad āpunor id indro vo yatīḥ asmād āpo
anu ṣṭhunā

In the first hemistich read varuṇenāc chībhaṁ samavalgata: in c it seems necessary to read āpnod indro vo yatīr; in d ṣṭhana.

apakāmāṁ siṅdamānā avevrata vo hi kam. indro
vas saktabhir devāi tasmāra nāma vo hi kaṁ

Read: apakāmaṁ syandamānā avīvarata vo hi kam | indro vaç çaktibhir devīs tasmād vār nāma vo hitam.

This is the version of Ç. (and other texts), and I think the Pāipp. has no real variant.

eko na deva upātiṣṭha
t siṅdhamānā upenyaḥ | ud ānisur mahīr iti tasmād udakam u-
cyate |

Pāda a may stand, and for b we may read with KS. syandamānā upetya.

āpo devīr ghṛtam itāpāhur agnīṣomāu bibhraty āpa ityā
tīvro raso madhupṛçām arañgamā mā prāṇena sā varcasā
gṛhaṁ |

The ms. corrects °pṛçā to °mṛcā and gṛhaṁ to gām.

In pāda a we may read id āpa āhur, tho āsur with TS. would seem better; in b ityā seems possible, but all the other texts have it tāḥ. In cd read madhupṛcām arañgama ā mā prāṇena saha varcasā gan.

yād ik paçyāmy uta vā çṛṇumy ā mā ghoṣo gacchad vāsy
āṣāṁ mene
bhejāno mṛtasya tarhi hiraṇyavarṇasyamaṁ yadā vā z 4 z

Read: ād it paçyāmy uta vā çṛṇomy ā mā ghoṣo gacchad vāçy āsām | mene bhejāno 'mṛtasya tarhi hiraṇyavarṇā asvadaṁ yadā vaḥ z 6 z 4 z

All the other texts have atṛpam in d. St. 7 of the Ç. version appears Pāipp. 2. 40. 5.

5. [f. 50 a, l. 11.]

Ç. 3. 2.

agnir no dūtaṣ praty eta çatṝn pratidahann abhiçastim arā-
tiṁ sa ci-
ttāṁ mohitu pareṣāṁ ṇihastāç ca kṛṇavaj jātavedaḥ ayam
agni
r amūmūhad yāni cittāni vo hṛdi vi vo dhamātv okasaḥ
pra bo dhamā-
tu sarvatā indra cittāni vohayārvāg ākūdyādhi agner vātasya
dhrā-
jyā tān viṣūco vi nāçaya vi ṣām ākūtuyathāto cittāni
muhya-
tā | atho yad adreṣā hṛta tareṣāṁ pari vir jahi | amīṣāṁ
cittāni
pratimodayantī gṛhāṇāñgany apve parehi | abhi prehi nir
daha
hṛtsu çokāir grāhyāmitrās tapasā vidhya çatṝn. | asū yā
senā

[f. 50 b.] marutaḥ pareṣām asmān abhedy ojasā spardhamānā tāṁ guhata tapasā-
pavratena athāiṣām anyo anyaṁ vyarṇanām. z a 5 z

Read: agnir no dūtaṣ praty etu çatrūn pratidahann abhiçastim arātim | sa cittā mohayatu pareṣāṁ nirhastāṅç ca kṛṇavaj jātavedāḥ z 1 z ayam agnir amūmuhad yāni cittāni vo hṛdi | vi vo dhamatv okasaḥ pra vo dhamatu sarvataḥ z 2 z indra cittāni mohayārvāg ākūtyā adhi | agner vātasya dhrājyā tān viṣūco vi nāçaya z 3 z vy eṣām ākūtaya itātho cittāni muhyata | atho yad adyāiṣāṁ hṛdi tad eṣāṁ pari nir jahi z 4 z amīṣāṁ cittāni pratimohayantī gṛhāṇāṅgāny apve parehi | abhi prehi nir daha hṛtsu çokāir grāhyāmitrāṅs tapasā vidhya çatrūn z 5 z asāu yā senā marutaḥ pareṣām asmān abhy ety ojasā spardhamānā | tāṁ gūhata tamasāpavratena yathāiṣām anyo anyaṁ na jānāt z 6 z 5 z a 1 z

Perhaps we should read jānan in 6 d; VS. 17. 47 has yathāmī ∘∘∘ jānan. The ms. gives mā above ṣā of pareṣām in f. 50 b, l. 1.

6. [f. 50 b, l. 2.]
Ç. 3. 1.

agnir no vidvā
n praty etu çatrūn pratidahann abhiçastim arātiṁ sa me-
nāṁ mohitu pareṣāṁ
nihastāṅç ca kṛṇavaj jātavedāḥ yūryam ugrā maruta īdṛçe sthā-
bhi prate mṛḍāta sahadhvaṁ amīmṛḍāṁ vasavo nāthitebhyo agnir ye-
ṣāṁ vidvān praty etu çatṝn. amittrasenāṁ maghavāny asmān. | ça
tṝyatām abhi taṁ tvām indra vṛttrahan agniç ca dahataṁ prati | prasūta indra
ṣ pravatā haribhyāṁ pra te vajraḥ pramṛṇatyāhi çatṝn. | jahi pratī-
co nūcaḥ parāco viçvaṁ viṣṭaṁ kṛṇuhi satyam eṣāṁ | me-
nāmohanaṁ kṛ-
ṇva indrāmittrebhyas tvāṁ agner vātasya vrājyās tān viṣuco vi nāçaya
indrasyenān sohin maruto gnis tv ojasā | cakṣūṅṣy agnir ā dattāṁ puna
r etu parājitaḥ z 1 z

Read: agnir no vidvān praty etu çatrūn pratidahann abhiçastim arātim | sa senāṁ mohayatu pareṣāṁ nirhastāṅç ca kṛṇavaj jātavedāḥ z 1 z yūyam ugrā maruta īdṛçe sthābhi preta mṛdata sahadhvam | amīmṛdan vasavo nāthitebhyo agnir yeṣāṁ vidvān praty etu çatrūn z 2 z amitrasenāṁ maghavann asmān çatrūyatām abhi | tāṁ tvam indra vṛtrahann agniç ca dahataṁ prati z 3 z prasūta indra pravatā haribhyāṁ pra te vajraḥ pramṛṇan yāhi çatrūn | jahi pratīco 'nūcaḥ parāco viçvaṁ viṣṭaṁ kṛṇuhi satyam eṣām z 4 z senāmohanaṁ kṛṇava indrāmitrebhyas tvam | agner vātasya dhrājyā tān viṣūco vi nāçaya z 5 z indras senāṁ mohayan maruto 'gnis tv ojasā | cakṣūṅṣy agnir ā dattāṁ punar etu parājitā z 6 z 1 z

The reading of our ms. in st. 2 supports Aufrecht's reconstruction (KZ. 27. 219), yet I venture to print the above for the Pāipp. In st. 6b it is entirely possible that we should read ghnantv for 'gnis tv, in agreement with Ç.

7. [f. 50 b, l. 12.]

Ç. 3. 9.

ekaçataṁ viṣkandhāni viṣṭhitāṣ pṛthivīm anu teṣāṁ ca sarveṣāṁm idam asti viṣkandhadūṣaṇaṁ

Read viṣṭhitā in b, and sarveṣām in c.

karṣabhasya viṣabhasya dyāuḥ pitā pṛthivī mātā yathācakra devas tathāpi kṛṇutā punaḥ

The forms in pāda a may be real variants of these uncertain words, but it is doubtful; Ç. has karçaphasya viçaphasya. In c yathābhicakra as in Ç. would improve metre and sense; in d read devās tathāpa.

acleṣamāṇo dhārayan tathā tan manunā kṛtam. | kṣaṇomi vavri ca viṣkandhaṁ muṣkāvarho gavām iva

For a we may read açleṣmāṇo 'dhārayan. Probably we should read kṛṇomi vadhri, but kṣaṇomi might stand if we can take vadhri as proleptic: muṣkābarho in d.

sūtre piçuñkhe khugilaṁ yad ā badhnantu vedhasaḥ sravasyaṁ çuṣma kābabaṁ vadhriṁ kṛṇvantu bandhuraḥ.

Read piçañge khṛgalaṁ in a, badhnanti in b; çuṣmaṁ kābavaṁ in c. Ç. has çravasyuṁ in c.

yenā
sravasyo carata devāyavāsuramāya | çunāṁ kapir iva dūṣa-
ṇaṁ bandhu-
rā kābhavasya ca |

In a read sravasyāç caratha, although sravasyo points toward the çravasyavaç of Ç.; for b devā ivāsuramāyayā: in c dūṣaṇo, and in d kābavasya.

juṣṭī tvā kāṁçchābhi joṣayitvābhavam uta
[f. 51 a] rāmavo rathāyava pathebhis sariṣyata z 2 z

Read: duṣṭyāi hi tvā bhartsyāmi dūṣayiṣyāmi kābavam | uttarāvanto rathā iva çapathebhis sariṣyatha z 6 z 2 z

The very corrupt first hemistich seems to be only a corruption of Ç. ab: uttarāvanto is suggested as a possibility, for which Ç. has ud āçavo.

8. [f. 51 a, l. 1.]

Ç. 19. 56.

yamasya lokād adhy ā
babhūyatha pramadā mantāṅ pra yunnakṣa dhīraḥ ekājinā
sarathaṁ yā-
si vidvān svapna mimāno asurassa yonāu

Read babhūvitha in a, martān (or martyān with Ç.) and yunakṣi in b: ekākinā in c, and asurasya in d.

baṁbhas tvāgre viçvavathāva-
paçyan purā rātryā janitor eke hni tatas svapnenam adhy
ā cabhūyatha bhi-
ṣajña rūpam apigūhamānaḥ

The ms. corrects to (viçvava)yā(va).

Read in a bandhas and viçvavayā avapaçyat, in b 'hni: in c svapnāinam and babhūvitha, in d apagūh ° and possibly bhiṣajyaṁ.

vṛhaṁ grāvāsurebhyo bhi devān upā-
vabantu mahimānam ṛcchaṅ tasmāi svapnādadhur ādhi-
patyaṁ trayastriṅçā-
sa svar āniçāna |

It seems to me possible to read in a vṛhan grāvāsurebhyo 'bhi devān, which is no worse than Ç.; in b upāvavarta. Pāda c might stand as it is but probably the reading of Ç. svapnāya dadhur should be followed: for d read trayastriṅçāsaḥ svar ānaçānāḥ.

nāitāṁ viduṣ pitaro nota devā yeṣāṁ jalpya ç caranty antaredāṁ trite svapnam aridiḍrhāprate narā ādityāso varuṇe-

nānusiṣṭā

In c we will probably do well to adopt the reading of Ç. adadhur āptye nara; in d ◦ānuçiṣṭāḥ.

vy asya krūram abhijaṅta duṣkṛṇe svapnena sukṛtaṣ puṇya m āpuḥ svar asajasi parameṇa vadvinā tapyamānasya manaso dhi jajñiṣe

Read abhajanta in a, and duṣkṛto as in Ç. seems almost forced on us; asvapnena would then follow in b. In c āsajasi would be good and bandhunā; in d 'dhi.

vidme ta sarvāḥ parijāḥ parastād vidma svapna yo dhipā hyo te yaçasvino no yaçaso hi pāhy ārād viṣebhir apa yāhi dūraṁ z 3 z

Read: vidma te sarvāḥ parijāḥ parastād vidma svapna yo 'dhipā iha te | yaçasvino no yaçaseha pāhy ārād viṣebhir apa yāhi dūram z 6 z 3 z.

9. [f. 51 a, l. 13.]

ambātma puṣāt sṛta padvat sṛjata satyayajñiyeyaṁ sṛjāmi | haṇḍūtān asmāi viṣāya hantave | vār ugram arasaṁ viṣam āheyam arasaṁ viṣaṁ nirviṣaṁ |

Out of the first five words, even if they are correctly divided, I can get nothing; satyayajñiyeyaṁ sṛjāmi seems a possibility, and probably the colon should stand after haṇḍūtān, which might perhaps be emended to ahaṁ dūtān. The rest seems good. Ç. 10. 4. 3d, 4d has arasaṁ viṣaṁ vār ugram.

indram aham iyaṁ huve somapā ubhayāvinam asmāi |

Read: indram aham iyaṁ huve somapām ubhayāvinam | asmāi ◦ ◦ z 2 z

It seems probable that somapām is to be read, although Ç. 5. 25. 9 d is somapā ubhayāvinam: but the context is very different. It is clear that the ms. intends the repetition of all that stands after asmāi in st. 1.

varuṇam ahām iyaṁ huva | ugro rājanyo māmahi |

Read: varuṇam aham iyaṁ huva ugro rājanyas sāsahiḥ | asmāi ◦ ◦ z 3 z

aditim aham iyaṁ huve çūraputraṁ kanīnikām asmāi

Read çūraputrāṁ in b.

vṛhaspatim aham iyaṁ huve | yo devānāṁ purohito a-
[f. 51 b.] smāi z

Read: vṛhaspatim aham iyaṁ huve yo devānāṁ purohitaḥ | asmāi ∘ ∘ z 5 z

āṇāc cāṇāç caṇḍām arkān asmāi viṣāya hantave | vār ugram ara-
saṁ viṣām aheyam arasaṁ viṣaṁ nirviṣaṁ

Read: * * * * *āṇāç caṇḍān arkān | asmāi viṣāya hantave | vār ugram arasaṁ viṣam āheyam arasaṁ viṣaṁ nirviṣam z 6 z

The conjecture of a lacuna of ten syllables here (the letters āṇāç c seem to be dittography) is due to the feeling that this stanza ought to be symmetrical with the preceding four; but the proposed emendation of the last four syllables of pāda b does not favor this conjecture much.

navānaṁ navatīnāṁ viṣasya ropuṣīṇāṁ sarvāsām agrabhaṁ nāma vītāpayatārasaṁ viṣaṁ z 4 z

Read: navānāṁ navatīnāṁ viṣasya ropuṣīṇām | sarvāsām agrabhaṁ nāma vītāpetārasaṁ viṣam z 7 z 4 z

The first three pādas appear RV. 1. 191. 13 abc.

10. [f. 51 b, l. 3.]

mṛtyur eko
yama ekas sarveṣu çārur ud bhava | te naṣ kṛṇvantu bhe-
ṣajaṁ devasenābhya
s pari | punar no yamaṣ pitṛbhir dadātu punar mittrāvaruṇā vāto gniḥ a-
ghamāno aghaçaṅsaṣ punar dāt punar no devī nirṛtir da-
dhātu | yā devī
ṣ prahiteṣuṣ patāç tapase vā mahase vāvasṛṣṭas somas tvām a-
smad yāvayatu vidyān pitaro vā devahūtā nṛcakṣasas saha-
srākṣo
martyāḥ punarūpa ihāvatu prakhyed ugram ahārṣaṁ saha-
gus sahapāuruṣāḥ
yas te manyus sahasrākṣa viṣeṇa pariṣicyate | tena tvam asmabhyaṁ mṛ-

ḍa çivo naç çastur ā cara mā te manyu sahasrākṣa bhāmetūr māmakaṁ ja-
gat. | ye no dveṣṭi taṁ gaccha yaṁ dviṣmas taṁ jahi z z oṁ yan dviṣma
s tañ jahi z 5 z anu 2 zz

Read: mṛtyur eko yama ekas sarveṣu çarur ud bhava | te naṣ kṛṇvantu bheṣajaṁ devasenābhyas pari z 1 z punar no yamaṣ pitṛbhir dadātu punar mitrāvaruṇā vato 'gniḥ | aghamāro aghaçaṅsaṣ punar dāt punar no devī nirṛtir dadātu z 2 z yā devī prahiteṣuṣ patās tapase vā mahase vāvasṛṣṭā | somas tvām asmad yāvayatu vidvān pitaro vā devahūtā nṛcakṣasaḥ z 3 z sahasrākṣo 'martyaḥ punar † ūpa ihāvatu | † prakhyed ugram ahārṣaṁ sahagus sahapuruṣaḥ z 4 z yas te manyus sahasrākṣa viṣeṇa pariṣicyatu | tena tvam asmabhyaṁ mṛḍa çivo naç çambhur ā cara z 5 z mā te manyus sahasrākṣa bhāmet tan māmakaṁ jagat | yo no dveṣṭi taṁ gaccha yaṁ vayaṁ dviṣmas taṁ jahi z 6 z 5 z

St. 3 has appeared Pāipp. 1. 95. 4, but was not rightly emended: the pādas 1c, 4a, and 5d appear the Concordance. In the margin opposite st. 4 the ms. has rakṣāmantram.

11. [f. 51 b, l. 13.]
Ç. 3. 26.

atha rakṣāmantraṁ zz zz
oṁ rakṣa ye sthāsyāṁ prācyāṁ diçi hetayo nāma devāḥ teṣāṁ vo agni
r iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍāta to no vrūta tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z rakṣa ye sthā-
syāṁ dakṣiṇāyāṁ diçy aviçyavo nāma devās teṣāṁ vo pa iṣavaḥ |
te no mṛḍāta te no dhi vrūta tebhya namas tebhyas svāhā z rakṣa ye sthāsyāṁ
[f. 52 a] pratīcyāṁ diçi virājo nāma devās teṣāṁ vaṣ kāma iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍā-
ta te no dhi vrūta tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z rakṣa ye sthāsyām udīcyā diçi
praviddhyanto nāma devās teṣāṁ vāta iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍāta te no dhi vrūta te-
bhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z rakṣa ye sthāsyāṁ dhruvāyaṁ diçi vilimpā nā-

ma devās teṣāṁ vo nnam iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍāta te no dhi
vrūta tebhyo namas tebhya
s svāhā z rakṣa ya sthāsyām ūrdhvāyāṁ diçy aviṣyanto
nāma devās teṣāṁ
vo varṣam iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍāta te no dhi vrūta tebhyo
namas tebhyas svāhā z
rakṣohaṇaṁ vājenam ā jiganmi mittraṁ pratiṣṭham upa
yāmi çarma |
çeṣāṇo agniṣ kṛtubhis samiddhās sa no divas sa riṣā pātu
naktaḥ praty a-
gne haraṁ iti japet sarvam. z z iti rakṣāmantram. z z

Read: rakṣa || ye sthāsyāṁ prācyāṁ diçi hetayo nāma devās teṣāṁ vo agnir iṣavaḥ | te no mṛḍata te no 'dhi vrūta tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z 1 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyāṁ dakṣiṇāyāṁ diçy aviṣyavo nāma devās teṣāṁ va āpa iṣavaḥ | te no ∘ ∘ ∘ z 2 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyāṁ pratīcyāṁ diçi virājo nāma devās teṣāṁ vaṣ kāma iṣavaḥ | te no ∘ ∘ ∘ z 3 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyām udīcyāṁ diçi pravidhyanto nāma devās teṣāṁ vo vāta iṣavaḥ | te no ∘ ∘ ∘ z 4 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyāṁ dhruvāyāṁ diçi vilimpā nāma devās teṣāṁ vo 'nnam iṣavaḥ | te no ∘ ∘ ∘ z 5 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyām ūrdhvāyāṁ diçy avasvanto nāma devās teṣāṁ vo varṣam iṣavaḥ | te no mṛḍata te no 'dhi vrūta tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z 6 z 1 z

rakṣohaṇaṁ vājinam ā jigharmi mitraṁ pratiṣṭham upa yāmi çarma | çiçāno agniṣ kratubhis samiddhas sa no divā sa riṣaḥ pātu naktam z z praty agne haraseti japet sarvam z z iti rakṣāmantram z z

The ms. indicates that the "rakṣa" at the beginning of each stanza is to be set off from the rest. In st. 2 and 6 aviṣyavo and avasvanto are adopted from Ç.

It seems clear to me (as indicated by the arrangement) that hymn no. 1 of anuvāka 3 has only 6 stanzas; following it RV. 10. 87 entire is to be muttered. Cf. Introduction.

12. [f. 52 a, l. 10.]
Ç. 3. 21.

yo apsv a-
ntar yo vṛttre antar yaṣ puruṣe yo smani | yo viveça
oṣadhīr yo vanaspatīṅ-
s tebhyo gnibhyo hutam astv etat.

Read agnir yo vṛtre at end of a, read 'çmani in b; ya āvivecāuṣadhīr in c, 'gnibhyo in d.

yes some antar yo goṣv antar yo viṣṭo vayasi yo mṛgeṣu ya āviveça dvipado yaç catuṣpadas tebhyaḥ

Read yas in a, and in d tebhyo followed by continuation marks.

āindraṇa sarathaṁ saṁbabhūva vāiçvānara uta viçvadavyaḥ i johavīmi pṛtanāsu sāsahyaṁ tebhyaḥ z

Read ya indreṇa in a, viçvadāvyaḥ in b: yaṁ and sāsahiṁ in c, tebhyo in d as above.

yo devo viçvād yam a kāmam āhur yaṁ dātāra pratigṛhṇāntam āhuḥ yo dhīra çaktuṣ paribhūr idābhyas tebhyaḥ z

Read: yo devo viçvād yam u kāmam āhur yaṁ dātāraṁ pratigṛhṇantam āhuḥ | yo dhīraç çakraṣ paribhūr adābhyas tebhyo ∘ ∘ z 3 z

yaṁ tvā hotāraṁ manasābhi saṁvidus trayodaça bhuvanā pañca mānavaḥ varcodhase yaçase sūnṛtavate tebhyaḥ

Read mānavāḥ in b, sunṛtāvate in c, and tebhyo in d.

ukṣ*nnaya vaçānnaya somapṛṣṭhā-[f. 52 b.] ya vedase vāiçvānarajyeṣṭhebhyas tebhyaḥ z

Read for a ukṣānnāya vaçānnāya, vedhase in b; tebhyo in d.

divaṁ pṛthivīm antarikṣaṁ ye vidyutam anusañcaranti ya dakṣantar yo vāte antas tebhyo agnibhyo huta m astv etat.

Insert anv after pṛthivīm in a, read yo dikṣv antar in b.

vṛhaspatiṁ varuṇaṁ mittra agnyāṁ hiraṇyapāṇyaṁ savitāram indraṁ viçvān devān añgirasaṁ havāmahe indraṁ kravyādaṁ çamayantv agniṁ

Read mitram agniṁ hiraṇyapāṇiṁ in ab, and probably añgiraso in c; havāmaha imaṁ in cd.

çānto agniṣ kravyād atho puruṣareṣiṇaḥ atho yo viçvadāvyas taṁ kravyādyam aṣīṣamam z 2 z

Read: çānto agniṣ kravyād atho puruṣareṣiṇaḥ | atho yo viçvadāvyas taṁ kravyādam açīçamam z 9 z 2 z

13. [f. 52 b, l. 6.]
Ç. 3. 5.

āyam agaṅ pūrṇamaṇir balī balena pramṛṇaṅ sapatrān. | ojo devānāṁ paya oṣadhīrā me yi rāṣṭraṁ jinvanpa prayacchaṅ

The ms. corrects to parṇa° in a.

Read agan parṇamaṇir in a, pramṛṇan sapatnān in b: oṣadhīnāṁ in c, and for d mayi rāṣṭraṁ jinvatu prayacchan. Whitney reports in d jinvatv aprayucchan; the ms. does not have this but we might well restore it.

mayi rāṣṭraṁ parṇamaṇe mahi dhāraya rāṣṭram aho rāṣṭrasyābhīvarge yajā bhūyāsam uttarā |

In b read mayi, in c ahaṁ, in d uttaraḥ: yathā for yajā seems to me good, though yujo (suggested by Whitney) must be considered.

yaṁ nididhi r vanaspatāu vājiṅ devāṣ priyaṁ nidhim. taṁ ma indras sahāyuṣā ma maṇiṁ dadātu bhartave |

Read nidadhur in a; in b vājaṁ would seem better than vājin but I think the latter can stand. Delete the syllable ma after sahāyuṣā.

somasya parṇas saha ugram āgam indreṇa datto varuṇena sakhyaḥ tam ahaṁ bibharmi bahu rocamāno dīrghāyu-tvāya çataçāradāya |

Read āgann in a; perhaps sakhyaḥ can stand but I rather think it is only a corruption of çiṣṭaḥ which Ç. has.

ā mā rakṣatu parṇamaṇir mahyāriṣṭatātaye yathāham uttaro sāni manuṣyā adhisaṅçataḥ

In a Ç. has ā mārukṣat which is probably intended here though the ms. reading seems possible; in b read mahyā ariṣṭ°, in c 'sāni: mānuṣyā adhisaṁçitaḥ would be a good pāda if we may take mānuṣī as a noun, or we might read mānuṣāyādhisaṁçitaḥ.

punar mayitv indriyaṁ punar āttasā draviṇaṁ vrāhmaṇaṁ ca | punagnyo dhṛṣṇyāso yathāsthāmalpayantām īvaha z

This is Ç. 7. 67. 1. Read: punar māitv indriyaṁ punar ātmā draviṇaṁ vrāhmaṇaṁ ca | punar agnayo dhiṣṇyāso yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihāiva z 6 z

yat takṣāṇo rathakāraṣ karmārā ye manīṣiṇāḥ sarvāṅs tvānparṇa raṅdhayopastiṁ kṛṇu medināṁ

Read ye and rathakārāṣ in a, tān parṇa randh° in c, and medinam in d. The sign np in tvān parṇa is not clear.

upastir astu vāiçya uta çūdra utārya sarvāṅs tvān parṇa raṅdhayopastiṁ kṛṇu

[f. 53 a] medinaṁ z 3 z

Read: upastir astu vāiçya uta çūdra utāryaḥ | sarvāṅs tān parṇa randhayopastiṁ kṛṇu medinam z 8 z 3 z

This stanza has no parallel.

14. [f. 53 a, l. 1.]

Ç. 3. 23.

yena veha dadhmasi | yāt te garbho yonim etu pumāṅsaṁ putraṁ jānaya tvaṁ pumān anu jāyatāṁ bhavāsi putrāṇāṁ mātā jātānāṁ janayāsi ca | yāni bhadrāṇi bījāny ṛṣabhā janayati | tāis tvaṁ putraṁ vindasva sā prasūr dhenukā bhava kṛṇomi te prājāpatyam ā garbho yonim etu te | vindasva putraṁ nārya tubhyaṁ sam asakhyama tasmāi tvaṁ bhava | yāsāṁ pitā parjanyo bhūmir mātā babhūva | tās tvā putravidyāya devīṣ prāvantv oṣadhīḥ yas te yonim ud iṁgayā vṛṣabho retasā saha | sa tā siṁcatu prajāṁ dīrghāyuç çataçāradām. z 4 z

Read: yena vehad babhūvitha nāçayāmasi tat tvat | idaṁ tad anyatra tvad apa dūre ni dadhmasi z 1 z ā te garbho yonim etu pumān bāṇa iveṣudhim | ā vīro 'tra jāyatāṁ putras te daçamāsyaḥ z 2 z pumāṅsaṁ putraṁ janaya taṁ pumān anu jāyatām | bhavāsi putrāṇāṁ mātā jātānāṁ jānayāç ca yān z 3 yāni bhadrāṇi bījāny ṛṣabhā janayanti ca | tāis tvaṁ putraṁ vindasva sā prasūr dhenukā bhava z 4 z kṛṇomi te prājāpatyam ā garbho yonim etu te | vindasva putraṁ nāri yas ubhyaṁ çam asac cham u tasmāi tvaṁ bhava z 5 z yāsāṁ

pitā parjanyo bhūmir mātā babhūva | tās tvā putravidyāya devīṣ prāvantv oṣadhīḥ z 6 z yas te yonim ud iṅgayād vṛṣabho retasā saha | sa ta ā siñcatu prajāṁ dīrghāyuç çataçāradam z 7 z 4 z

The ms. corrects to ja(naya) in 3a and (janayā)mi in 3d. Note that the ms. has only a few words of stt. 1 and 2, and I have supplied the rest from Ç.; other emendations follow Ç. The last stanza is new.

15. [f. 53 a, l. 9.]

yāṁ tvā vāto varaya rāridra nābhā maharṣabhaḥ | tasyās te viçvadhāyaso viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare |

In a 'varayad is possible; for the first half of pāda b nothing plausible suggests itself, although I have thought of some form of rudra or of ārdra. Pādas cd can stand.

yās tvā varāho ṣanad ekasminn adhi puṣkare |

In a read yāṁ and 'khanad, and cf. Ç. 4. 4. 1. It seems clear that for pādas cd the second hemistich of st. 1 is meant to stand here too, for the ms. sometimes fails to indicate a refrain when it should; cf. Pāipp. 2. 19; 29; and 49.

yāṁ tvāditir avapad bīja vāpaṃ adhi puṣkare |

Though not good metrically this may stand, with the refrain to be supplied from st. 1.

yasyāṣ kulāyaṁ salile antar mahaty arṇave | tasyās te viçvadhāyaso viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare |

This stanza lends support to the suggestion of ārdra in st. 1.

ut te bharad uttamāyā adhamāyās tūd bhare anu madhyā madhyame tava viṣadūṣaṇam agrabhaṁ

In a bharam would seem to be the best reading: for c I can do no more than the word division indicates.

sam agrabham ubhāv antāu sam agrabhaṃ divaç ca pṛthivyāc ca viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare z 5 z anu 3 zz

Read: * * * * samagrabham ubhāv antāu samagrabham | divaç ca pṛthivyāç ca viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare z 6 z 5 z anu 3 z

The ms. has no indication of the loss of four syllables in pāda a, but it seems very probable; perhaps something like madhyam bhūmyās stood there as in Ç. 6. 89. 3 cd. The ms. corrects to pṛthi(vī)ç.

16. [f. 53 a, l. 17.]

pāidvo si pṛtanāyu svāhā soma hiṅsīs soma hiṅsito si svāhā |

The first of these two formulae we might read pāidvo 'si pṛtanāyus svāhā: soma hiṅsīs may stand (cf. RV. 9. 88. 4), and at a venture I would conjecture somāhiṅsito 'si svāhā for the rest.

vrahmaṇama hiṇsīr vrahma hiṅsito [f. 53 b.] **si svāhā |**

One would expect here a parallelism to the preceding but I am unable to work it out satisfactorily; what is given does not lend support to the conjecture made above.

nābhūd ahir bhrūṇamānm ahir agnim arasāvadhī | viṣasya vrahmaṇām āsīt tato jīvan na mokṣase |

In the first hemistich I can see nothing more than the division of words indicates: in c viṣo yo might be a possible reading.

uṣṭo hi samuṣṭo hi nirvī to rasaṣ kṛtaḥ viṣasya vrahmaṇām āsīt tato jīvan na mokṣase |

For pādas ab read uṣṭo 'hir samuṣṭo 'hir nirvīto 'rasaṣ kṛtaḥ: for the rest see above.

punar dadāti me viṣaṁ pūrvapadyam udāhṛta | māṁ dadaçvān sanyase mayā daṣṭo na mokṣase z 1 z

Read: punar dadāti me viṣaṁ pūrvapadyam udāhṛtam | māṁ dadaçvān manyase mayā daṣṭo na mokṣase z 6 z 1 z

The stanza is numbered 6 because of the three occurrences of svāhā above, which seem to indicate three separate formulae.

17. [f. 53 b, l. 5.]

ekaçataṁ bheṣajāni teṣāṁ mātāsy oṣadhe | samudram iva gacchasi pṛthivyām [adhi niṣṭhitaḥ

At the end of pāda d niṣṭhitā would agree better with mātāsy. Ç. 19. 32. 3b is pṛthivyām asi niṣṭhitaḥ (sc. darbha).

yasyāṁ vedādibheṣajaṁ daçaçīrṣo daçajihvaḥ te prathamā dadhe saṁçrāvaṅty oṣadhe yam arād vīrayad bhiṣak.

If we may take ādibheṣajam to mean "the original medicine" we have at the beginning two pādas which might possibly stand: Ç. 4. 6. 1b is daçaçīrṣo daçāsyaḥ. For the rest, in addition to the division of words I can only suggest for

consideration saṁsrāvāṇy and ārad; but these throw no light on what is to me wholly obscure.

punaç cakṣuṣ punaṣ prāṇaṁ punar āyun nā gamat. niṣ ṭvākaraṁ niṣkṛtyā niṣ ṭvā nikṛtyākaraṁ

In a read prāṇo, in b āyur na ā; in d niṣkṛtyākaram.

muñcāmi tvā çapathyād atho vāruṇād ūta | atho yamasya padbhiçādviçād viçvasmād deva duṣkṛtāt.

The ms. seems to correct dvi to dbhi.

Read uta in b: and padbīçād in c. This stanza appears Ç. 6. 96. 2 with muñcantu mā in a, varuṇyād in b, and kilbiṣāt in d.

çaṁ te çīrṣṇaṣ kapālāni hṛdayasya ca ye viduḥ udyaṅ sūryādityo añgadyo tam anīçat. |

Cf. Ç. 9. 8. 22. In pāda a read saṁ; for cd udyan sūrya ādityo añgabhedam anīnaçat. This however does not reckon with Ç. which in b has yo vidhuḥ, a lectio difficilior; yet I do not believe we need to read it here.

himavataṣ pra sravatas sindhū sam āha sañgamaḥ tāpas sarvas sāṁgatya cakṣuṣ prāṇaṁ cadhatu naḥ z 2 z

Read: himavataṣ pra sravata sindhāu sam aha sañgamaḥ | tā āpas sarvās saṁgatya cakṣuṣ prāṇaṁ dadhantu naḥ z 6 z 2 z

The first hemistich appears Ç. 6. 24. 1 ab; and with pāda d may be compared Ç. 10. 2. 29 d.

18. [f. 53 b, l. 15.]

Ç. 3. 22.

hastivarcasaṁ pṛthatāṁ vṛhad diṣu adityā ya tanvas saṁbabhūva tat sarve savitur mahyas etu viçve devāso aditis sajoṣāḥ

Read prathatāṁ in a, and perhaps dikṣu though yaço as in Ç. seems better; in b yat. In c we will have to read as in Ç. samadur mahyam etad.

mittraç ca varuṇaç cendro rudraç ca tejatu devāso viçvadhāyasas te [f. 54 a.] **māṅdantu varcasā |**

The ms. corrects tejatu to tejasaḥ; if we accept this, as I think we may, it obviates the difficulties with the form cetatus of Ç. In a read mitraç, in d māñjantu.

yat te varco jātavedo vṛhad bhavaty āhutaṁ tena mām abhya varcasāgre varcasvinaṁ kṛdhi |

Read adya varcasāgne in cd. In Ç. these pādas are 4 ab and 3 de; Ç. has āhuteḥ and kṛṇu.

yena haste varcasā sambabhūva yena rājā manuṣeṣv antaḥ yena devā jyotiṣā bhyām udāyaṁ tena mā-
gne varcasā saṁ sṛjeha |

Read hastī in a, dyām udāyan in c. What we have here is in Ç. st. 3 abc with a new pāda d.

yāvad varcas sūryasyāsurasya ca hastinaḥ tāvan me açvinā varcaṣ kṛṇutaṁ puṣkarasrajaḥ |

Read puṣkarasrajā in d. In Ç. this is st. 4 c-f, and ā dhattām stands for kṛṇutam.

yāvac catasra
ṣ pradiçaç cakṣur yāvat samaçnute | tāvat samāitv indriyaṁ mayi tad dha-
stivarcasam. z 3 z

This is the sixth stanza of the third hymn of the fourth anuvāka.

19. [f. 54 a, l. 7.]

Ç. 3. 19.

saṁçitaṁ mayīdaṁ vrahma saṁçitaṁ vīryaṁ
mama | saṁçitaṁ kṣattraṁ me jiṣṇu yeṣām asmi purohitaḥ sam aham e-
ṣāṁ rāṣṭrāṁ paçyāmi sam ojo vīryaṁ balaṁ | vṛçcāsi çatṛṇāṁ bahū
sam açvām açvān ahaṁ | tīkṣaṇīyāṅsaṣ pharṣor agnes tīkṣṇatarād u-
ta | indrasya vajras tīkṣanīyaṅso eṣām asmin purohitaḥ |
adhas padyantām adhare bhavantv ena indraṁ maghavānāṁ pṛtanyāṅ
kṣaṇāmi vrāhmaṇāmittrān anvāyāma çvān ahaṁ yeṣām ām ā-
yudhā saṁ çyāsy eṣāṁ rāṣṭraṁ suvīraṁ vardhayasva yeṣaṁ kṣattram aja-
ram astu jiṣṇu ugram eṣāṁ rāṣṭraṁ suvīraṁ vardhayasva yeṣāṁ kṣa-
m ajaram astu jiṣṇu ugram eṣāṁ cittaṁ bahudhā viçvarūpā abhi prayata jayata prasūtā saṁ çyāmi nir āyudhāni |

[f. 54 b.] **tīkṣṇa iṣavo baladhanvano hato ugrāyudhābalān ugrahabā-**
vaḥ z 4 z

Read: saṁçitaṁ ma idaṁ vrahma saṁçitaṁ vīryaṁ mama | saṁçitaṁ kṣatraṁ me jiṣṇu yeṣām asmi purohitaḥ z 1 z sam aham eṣāṁ rāṣṭraṁ çyāmi sam ojo vīryaṁ balam | vṛçcāmi çatrūṇāṁ bāhūn sam eṣām açvān aham z 2 z tīkṣṇīyāṅsaṣ paraçor agnes tīkṣṇatarā uta | indrasya vajrāt tīkṣṇīyāṅso yeṣām asmi purohitaḥ z 3 z adhas padyantām adhare bhavantu ye na indram maghavānaṁ pṛtanyān | kṣiṇāmi vrahmaṇāmitrān un nayāmi svān aham z 4 z eṣām aham āyudhā saṁ çyāmy eṣāṁ rāṣṭraṁ suvīraṁ vardhayasva | eṣāṁ kṣatram ajaram astu jiṣṇūgram eṣāṁ cittaṁ bahudhā viçvarūpam z 5 z abhi preta jayata prasūtās saṁ çyāmy nara āyudhāni | tīkṣṇeṣavo 'baladhanvano hatogrāyudhā abalān ugrabāhavaḥ z 6 z 4 z

In st. 3 d the ms. corrects to asmi; and in 4d it has a correction which seems to make ad dhvāyāma out of anvāyāma so perhaps we should read ud dhvayāmi. In 3b it might be possible to read tīkṣṇatarād uta as in the ms.

Whitney in his comments on Ç. 3. 19. 6 and 8 implies that they are found in Pāipp. Bk. 3 at this point, but they are not in the birchbark; they do appear Paipp. 1. 56, and the confusion is doubtless due to the fact that he did not have access to a facsimile or the original (cf. Whitney's Translation p. lxxxi ff.).

20. [f. 54 b, l. 2.]
Ç. 3. 12.

ihāiva dhruvāmya minomi çālāṁ kṣeme tiṣṭhāmi ghṛtam ukṣamāṇā | taṁ tvā çāle sarvavīrās suvīrā abhi saṅ carema |

Read dhruvāṁ ni in a, tiṣṭhāsi in b; tāṁ in c, and supply ariṣṭavīrā (as in Ç.) in d.

ihāiva dhruvā pra tiṣṭha çāle açvāvatī gomatī sūnṛtāvatī | ūrjasvatī ghṛtavatī payasvaty uç chrayayasva mahate sāubhagāya |

Read prati in a, uc chrayasva in d.

dharuṇy asi çāle gṛhaç chandā sūtadhānyā ā tvā vatso mayi med ā kumārā dhenavasyāya m āsyandhamānā

Reading chandas in b we get a fairly good pāda; gṛhaç chandas is rather better than the bṛhacchandās of Ç. and the latter's pūtidhānyā has proved troublesome; sūtadhānyā may mean "containing produced grain". In cd read vatso me gamed ā kumāra ā dhenavas sāyam āsyandamānāḥ.

imāṁ çālāṁ savitā vāyur agnis tvaṣṭā hotā ni srotu prajānāṅ ukṣaṅtūnā maruto ghṛtena | somo no rājā ni kṛṣa tanotu

Read ni minotu prajānan in b; ukṣantūdnā in c, kṛṣim in d; colon after pāda b.

sānassa patniç caraṇā syonā devībhi r nimitāsy āgne | ūnnaṁ vasanā sumanā yaças tvaṁ rayiṁ no dhi subhage suvīraṁ |

We may read in a mānasya patni çaraṇā, for b devī devebhir nimitāsy agre. In c tṛṇaṁ vasānā sumanā asas seems most probable; in d read dhehi and suvīram.

ā tvā kumāras taraṇa ā vatso jagatā saha | ā tvā pariçṛtaṣ kumbha ā dadhnaṣ kalaçaç ca yā z 5 z anu 4 z

Read: ā tvā kumāras taruṇa ā vatso jagatā saha | ā tvā pariçritaṣ kumbha ā dadhnaṣ kalaçaç ca yaḥ z 6 z 5 z anu 4 z.

21. [f. 54 b, l. 14.]
Ç. 4. 22.

imam indra vardhaya kṣattriyaṁ sa imaṁ viçā m ekaviṣa kṛṇu tvaṁ ni mittrān akṣṇu tasya sarvāṅs tā radhaya-
smāhamuttareṣu | ayam astu dhanapatir dhanānām ayaṁ viçāṁ
viçkṛpatistu rājā | asminn indu mayi varcāṅsi dhehy a-
[f. 55 a] **varcasaṁ kṛṇuhi çatrum asya | idaṁ bhaja grāme ṣveṣu goṣva niṣ ṭam bhaja yo mittro**
sya | varṣmat kṣattrāṇām ayam astu rājendra çatrū raṅdhaya sarvam asmāi | asmāi
dyāvāpṛthivī bhūrvāsū saṁ duhitāṁ gharmaduheva dhenuṁ | vayaṁ rājā pri-
ye indrasya bhūyāḥ priyo gavām oṣadhīnāṁ utāpāṁ yunajmi tam uttarā-
vaṅtam indra yena jayante | yas tvā karad ekavṛṣaṁ ja nānām uta rājan u-

ttamaṁ mānavānāṁ | uttaras tvam adhare mantv anye ye ke ca rājan pradiçatrasthe | ekavṛṣā indrasakhā jigīvāṅ çatrūyatām abhi tiṣṭhā mahāṅsi | z 1 z

Read: imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyaṁ ma imaṁ viçām ekavṛṣaṁ kṛṇu tvam | nir amitrān akṣṇu tasya sarvāṅs tān randhayāsmā ahamuttareṣu z 1 z ayam astu dhanapatir dhanānām ayaṁ viçāṁ viçpatir astu rājā | asminn indra mahi varcāṅsi dhehy avarcasaṁ kṛṇuhi çatrum asya z 2 z emaṁ bhaja grāme 'çveṣv goṣu niṣ ṭaṁ bhaja yo 'mitro 'sya | varṣman kṣatrāṇām ayam astu rājendra çatruṁ randhaya sarvam asmāi z 3 z asmāi dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmaṁ saṁduhāthāṁ gharmadugheva dhenuḥ | ayaṁ rājā priya indrasya bhūyāt priyo gavām oṣadhīnām utāpām z 4 z yunajmi tam uttarāvantam indraṁ yena jayanti na parā jayante | yas tvā karad ekavṛṣaṁ janānām uta rājann uttamaṁ mānavānām z 5 z uttaras tvam adhare santv anye ye ke ca rājan pratiçatravas te | ekavṛṣa indrasakhā jigīvāṅ çatrūyatām abhi tiṣṭhā mahāṅsi z 6 z 1 z

This hymn appears also in TB. 2. 4. 7. 7—8, and our text is in agreement with it in several places: st. 6d in Ç. 7. 73. 10d. In 1c it is entirely possible that our ms. has only a corrupt form of the Ç. reading akṣṇuhy asya; in 5a Ç. has a better reading yunajmi ta°, but probably ours can stand; in 5b I have supplied words from Ç.

22. [f. 55 a, l. 8.]

viṣāṇāsy āṅgirasi devajā praticakṣiṇī divas pṛthivyās saṁbhūtas sahasrākṣī dhi naḥ

Read āṅgirasī in a, saṁbhūtā in c (= Ç. 6. 100. 3c): for d we may read sahasrākṣī vi ṣyādhi naḥ, which is supported by Ç. 6. 121. 1a viṣāṇā pāçān vi ṣyādhy asmat.

sahasrākṣi yād gṛbhāti paçyāmy oṣadhe sadānvāgnī rakṣoghnī bhaveha praticakṣiṇī |

A probable reading for pāda a is sahasrākṣī yad grabhāti, with tena paçyāsy in b: read sadānvāghnī in c.

ye haranty āmuteyaṁ payasphātiṁ ca oṣadhe | sadānvāgnī rakṣoghnī bhaveha praticakṣiṇī

In pāda a I think we may read āsuteyaṁ with the same

meaning as āsuti, which seems to mean "brew" or "concoction"; in b write cāuṣadhe, in c sadānvāghnī. The hemistichs do not hang together very well.

yātuno raṅdhayante rukṣaṅtaṁ ca vihrutaṁ tāṅs tvā sahasradakṣo gṛbhāya kṛtavīrye

A possible (and perhaps plausible) reading for pāda a would be yātudhānān randhayantī; rukṣantaṁ in b can hardly stand and I would write ruṣyantaṁ. In c read tvaṁ sahasracakṣo; in d kṛtavīryāya seems possible. Pāda c = Ç. 19. 35. 3c.

yathā çvā caturakṣo rātriṁ naktāt paçyati evā sahasracakṣo tvaṁ prati paçyāsy āyata |

In d read āyataḥ: Ç. 4. 20. 5 cd is atho sahasracakṣo tvaṁ prati paçyāḥ kimīdinaḥ (cf. our next stanza), and the two hymns have the same intent.

gobhir açvāir vasubhi r apakrītāsy oṣadhī çvāvasyāçvasya çakṣuṣā prati paçya kimīdinaḥ z

z 2 z

Read: gobhir açvāir vasubhir apakrītāsy oṣadhe | çyāvāçvasya cakṣuṣā prati paçya kiṃīdinaḥ z 6 z 2 z

23. [f. 55 a, l. 16.]

saṁ çudadhvaṁ saṁ pipadhvam annaṁ vo madhumat saha vrataṁ vas sarvaṁ
sadhrik samānaṁ ceto stu vaḥ saṁ jānīdhvam indraç cettā vo stv ayaṁ vo gnir ni-
haraḥ çamayāti yad verahatyam u bhīmam āsīd viçve devā ut prāva-
[f. 55 b.] **yantu saṁ vaçy āstu vṛhaspatis saṁ dyāvāpṛthivī ubhe çam antarikṣam uta vo**
marutvāṅ saṁ vaçy astv aditir devaputrā kalpetāṁ dyāvāpṛthivī kalpa-
ntām āpa oṣadhī | kalpantām agnayas sarve asmāi çreṣṭhāya sarvadā
saṁ vas sṛjāmi hṛdayaṁ saṁsṛṣṭaṁ mano astu vaḥ saṁsṛṣṭā vas tanvas sa-
ntu saṁsṛṣṭaṣ prāṇo astu vaḥ saṁ vaṣ paçūnāṁ hṛdayaṁ sṛjāmi saṁ
putrāṇām uta yā duhitaro vaḥ saṁ vo jāyānāṁ manasā manāṅsi
saṁ patīnāṁm uta cakṣuṣas sṛjāmi z 3 z

Read: saṁ çundhadhvaṁ saṁ pibadhvam annaṁ vo madhumat sahaḥ | vrataṁ vas sarvaṁ sadhryak samānaṁ ceto 'stu vaḥ z 1 z saṁ janīdhvam indraç cittā vo 'stv ayam vo 'gnir ni haraḥ çamayāti | yad vāirahatyam u bhīmam āsīd viçve devā ut prāvayantu z 2 z çaṁ vaçy astu vṛhaspatiç çaṁ dyāvāpṛthivī ubhe | çam antarikṣam uta vo marutvān çaṁ vaçiny astv aditir devaputrā z 3 z kalpetāṁ dyāvāpṛthivī kalpantām āpa oṣadhīḥ | kalpantām agnayas sarve asmāi çreṣṭhāya sarvadā z 4 z saṁ vas sṛjāmi hṛdayaṁ saṁsṛṣṭaṁ mano astu vaḥ | saṁsṛṣṭā vas tanvas santu saṁsṛṣṭaṣ prāṇo astu vaḥ z 5 z saṁ vaṣ paçūnāṁ hṛdayaṁ sṛjāmi saṁ putrāṇām uta yā duhitaro vaḥ | saṁ jāyānāṁ manasā manāṅsi saṁ patīnām uta cakṣuṣā sṛjāmi z 6 z 3 z

Stanzas 4 and 5 appear KS. 7. 14 and 12, and elsewhere: to be compared in contents are such hymns as Ç. 6. 64 and 74.

24. [f. 55 b, l. 8.]
Ç. 3. 27.

atha rakṣāmantram.
oṁ prācī dig agnir adhipatir asito rakṣatādityā iṣavaḥ tebhyo namo dhipatibhyo namo rakṣatubhyo namo ṛṣibhyo namo vo stu yo smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayan dviṣmas taṁ vo jambhe dadhmas tam u prāṇo jahātu z dakṣiṇā dig indro dhipatis tiraçcarāje rakṣatā vasava iṣavaṣ pratīcī dig vavaruṇo dhipatiṣ prajākū rakṣatā mittra iṣavaḥ udīcī dik somo dhipatis svajo rakṣatā vāta iṣavaḥ z dhruvā dig viṣṇur adhipatiṣ kulmāṣagrīvo rakṣatā vīrudho iṣavaḥ ūrdhvā dig vṛhaspatir adhipatiḥ çattro rakṣatāçanir iṣavas tebhyo namo dhipatibhyo nama rakṣitubhyo nama ṛṣibhyo namo vo stu yo smān dviṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣmas taṁ vo jambhe dadhmas tam u prāṇa jahātu z 4 z

Read: atha rakṣāmantram | | oṁ z z prācī dig agnir adhipatir asito rakṣitādityā iṣavaḥ | tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyo

namo rakṣitṛbhyo namo iṣubhyo namo vo 'stu | yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣmas taṁ vo jambhe dadhmas tam u prāṇo jahātu z 1 z dakṣiṇā dig indro 'dhipatis tiraçcirājī rakṣitā vasava iṣavaḥ | tebhyo ∘ ∘ ∘ z 2 z pratīcī dig varuṇo 'dhipatiṣ pṛdākū rakṣitā mitra iṣavah | tebhyo ∘ ∘ ∘ z 3 z udīcī dik somo 'dhipatis svajo rakṣitā vāta iṣavaḥ | tebhyo ∘ ∘ ∘ z 4 z dhruvā dig viṣṇur adhipatiṣ kalmāṣagrīvo rakṣitā vīrudha iṣavaḥ | tebhyo ∘ ∘ ∘ z 5 z ūrdhvā dig vṛhaspatir adhipatiç çvitro rakṣitāçanir iṣavaḥ | tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyo namo rakṣitṛbhyo namo iṣubhyo namo vo 'stu | yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣmas taṁ vo jambhe dadhmas tam u prāṇo jahātu z 6 z 4 z

25. [f. 55 b, l. 18.]
Ç. 4. 11.

anaḍvāṅ dadhāra pṛthivī dyām utāsūm anaḍvāṅ dadhāronv antarikṣaṁ

[f. 56 a.] **anaḍvāṅ dādhāra pradiçaṣ ṣaḍ urvīr anaḍvān idaṁ viçvaṁ bhuvanām ā viveça**

Read dādhāra pṛthivīṁ and utāmūm in a, dādhārorv in b: bhuvanam in d: anaḍvān in a, b, c.

anaḍvāṅ duhe sukṛtasya lokaṁ enaṁ pāhet pavamānaṣ purastāt parjanyo dhārā marutodho sya yajñaṣ payo dakṣiṇā draho sya |

Read anaḍvān and loka in a, perhaps pyāyet in b as Whitney suggests: maruta ūdho 'sya in c, doho 'sya in d.

anaḍvān indrasya paçubhyo vi caṣṭe tvayāṁ ya çakro a mimīte adhvanaḥ saṁ bhūtaṁ bhaviṣyad bhuvanaṁ duhānas sarvā devānāṁ bibhraç carati vratāni

Read indras sa in a, trayān and ā mimīte in b: bibhrac in d.

yasya neṣe yajñapatin ni yajño nāsya dāteçaya na pratigṛhītā yo viçvadṛg viçvakṛd viçvakarmā gharma no vrūta yāmaç cātuṣpāt.

Read neçe yajñapatir na in a, dāteçe na pratigrahītā in b: gharmaṁ and yatamac in d.

indra eṣa manuṣyeṣv antar gharma
s tapataç carati saṁçiçānaḥ supradāsassa udāre ṇa sariṣad yāu nāçnī-
hād anaḍuho vijānan.

Read taptaç in b: in c we should probably read suprajās sa, in d yo nāçnīyād. An alternative form of c would be suprajās sant sa udāre ṇa sarṣad.

yena devās tuvārurhatar hitvā çarīram amṛta-
sya dhāma tena geṣma sukṛtasya lokaṁ gharmasya vra-
tena yaçasā tapasvyā

In pāda a we will have to read as in Ç. devās svar ā ruruhur. If we may have tapasyavaḥ at the end of d we get a fair reading but it looks like an accidental inversion of the better reading of Ç., tapasā yaçasyavaḥ.

dvā-
daçāitā rārvartyāhuṣ prajāpater vartyā rātrī dvādaça tad vāpi vrahma-
yo veda tad vānuḍuhāu balaṁ

If it is desirable to reduce the first hemistich to anuṣṭubh rhythm (and it seems so to me) we may read dvādaçāitā vratyā āhuṣ prajāpater vratyā rātrīḥ; but less violent emendation is necessary if we read dvādaçāitā rātrīr vratyā āhuṣ prajāpater vratyā rātrīr dvādaça. In d read tad vā anaḍuho balam.

duhe vānaḍvāna sāyaṁ duhe prātar duhe
divā dohā ye sya sayantā tān vidmānupadasyataḥ

Read in a vā anaḍvān; in c 'sya saṁ yanti.

ye devānaḍuho
dohān asvapnānupadasyaca prajām ca lokaṁ cāpnoti tathā saptarṣayo
viduḥ

Read for ab yo vedānaḍuho dohān saptānupadasyataḥ; any suggestion of svapna seems out of place here.

madhyam etad anaḍuho yata iṣa vāhitaḥ etāvad asya pracīna
yavāñ pratyañ samāhitaḥ

For pāda b read yatrāiṣa vaha āhitaḥ: in c prācīnaṁ, in d yāvān.

padbhis sedhim amakrāmaṁn irāṁ jaṅghābhi
r ukṣida çrameṇānaḍvāṇa kīlālaṁ kīnāçasya upagacchata |

Read: padbhis sediṁ samākrāmann irāṁ jaṅghābhir utkhidan | çrameṇānaḍvān kīlālaṁ kīnāçaç copa gacchataḥ z 11 z

i
eṣa manuṣyeṣv anaḍvān ity ucyate çapha somya pārṣaṁ
sarvā yāç cāsya
[f. 56 b.] kuṣṭhinaḥ

This seems to be an incomplete bit of commentary belonging to st. 3; if the above word division is correct we might read the whole thus: — indra eṣa manuṣyeṣv anaḍvān ity ucyate | çaphas somyaḥ pārçvaṁ sarvā yāç cāsya kuṣṭhikāḥ. This might have been a scholium standing once in the bottom margin; the letter i standing at the end of the next to the last line of f. 56 a would then have been the initial of indro balenāsya.

indro balenāsya parameṣṭhī vratenāina gāus tena vāiçvadevāḥ
yo smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vaya dviṣsas tasya prāṇān asa
vahes tasya prāṇā
n vi varhaḥ z 5 z a 5 z

Read: indro balenāsya parameṣṭhī vratena yena gāus tena vāiçvadevāḥ | yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣmas tasya prāṇān apa vahes tasya prāṇān vi barhaḥ z 12 z 5 z anu 5 z

26. [f. 56 b, l. 3.]
Ç. 7. 60.

gṛhān esi manasā modamā-
nojaṁ bibhrad vasumatis sumetāghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mittriye-
ṇa gṛhāṇāṁ paçyaṅ paya ut tarāmi | ime gṛhā mayo-
bhuva ū-
rjasvantaṣ payasvantaṣ pūrṇā vamasya tiṣṭhantas te no jā-
nantu jānataḥ
sūnṛtāvantas subhagā irāvanto hasāmuda akṣudhyāstṛ-
dhyāstṛ-
ṣyāmo gṛhā māssad vibhītanaḥ | eṣām adhy etu pravan
eṣa so-
manasso bahuḥ | gṛhān upa hvayāmaya yan te no jānaṅtv
āyataḥ |
upahūtā iha gāva upahūtā ajāvayaḥ a-
tho nyasya kīlāla upahūto gṛheṣu naḥ upahūtā bhūrdhni
nā sakhāyas svādusaṁnara ariṣṭās sarvāpūrṣā gṛhā ṇas sa-
ntu sarvadaḥ z 1 z

Read: gṛhān emi manasā modamāna ūrjaṁ bibhrad vas sumatis sumedhāḥ | aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa gṛhāṇāṁ paçyan paya ut tarāmi z 1 z ime gṛhā mayobhuva ūrjasvantaṣ

payasvantaḥ | pūrṇā vāmasya tiṣṭhantas te no jānantu jānataḥ z 2 z sūnṛtāvantas subhagā irāvanto hasāmudāḥ | akṣudhyā atṛṣyāso gṛhā māsmad bibhītana z 3 z yeṣām adhyeti pravasan yeṣu sāumanaso bahuḥ | gṛhān upahvayāma yān te no jānantvā yataḥ z 4 z upahūtā iha gāva upahūtā ajāyavah | atho 'nnasya kīlāla upahūto gṛheṣu naḥ z 5 z upahūta bhūridhanās sakhāyas †svādusaṁnara | ariṣṭās sarvapūruṣā gṛhā nas santu sarvadā z 6 z 1 z

The variations from the Ç. text are considerable, being generally in the direction of Yajus or Sūtra texts; cf. Concordance. In st. 6b the only remedy seems to be to read as in the other texts svādusaṁmudaḥ.

27. [f. 56 b, l. 13.]

hantāyam astva pratighāty asā saṁ vāṁ
indra pṛtanāvṛṣṭiḥ prajāpatir adadād ojo smāi vṛhad dhavi
r haviṣā vardhanena | prajāpater haviṣā vardhane haṁtā-
yam indram a-
kṛṇor agādyaṁ tasmāi viṣo devakṛtā nimantas sahyaṁtas
sahi-
[f. 57 a.] havyo babhūva | prajāpate abhi no neṣi vasv orvo
gavyūtis abhimātiṣāhaḥ vardhaya
nn indraṁ vṛhata reṇāya devaṁ devena haviṣā vardhanena
z yathā viçvāṣ pṛ-
tanāt saṁjayā yathā çatrūn sahasā mānasā mahī yathāsaḥ
samrāñ susa-
mraḍ devātte indro aprativadhaṁ kṛṇotu ayaṁ vīro prati
hantu çatṝn vaçve
devā uṣas adas karāya nāsya prajāṁ rīriṣaṁ nota vīrān
imam indra | ja-
hi çatrūn prati randhayasvāgniṣ ṭe gopā adhipā vasiṣṭhaḥ
çarma te rājā
varuṇo ni yacchā devā tvendro aprativadham kṛṇotu z 2 z

Read: hantāyam astu pratighāty asat saṁ vām indrāgnī pṛtanāvṛṣṇiḥ | prajāpatir ā dadhād ojo 'smāi vṛhad dhavir haviṣā vardhanena z 1 z prajāpate haviṣā vardhanena hantāram indram akṛṇor agadhyam | tasmāi viço devakṛtā namanta sa hantā sa vihavyo babhūva z 2 z prajāpate abhi no neṣi vasūrvīṁ gavyūtim abhimātiṣāhaḥ | vardhayann indraṁ vṛhate raṇāya devaṁ dāivena haviṣā vardhanena z 3 z yathā viçvāṣ pṛtanās saṁjayā yathā çatrūn sahasā manasā | mahī yathāsaḥ

ṣuprāñ susamrāḍ devas tvendro aprativadhaṁ kṛṇotu z 4 z ayaṁ vīro prati hantu çatrūn viçve devā oṣam adhas karayan | nāsya prajāṁ rīriṣan nota vīrān imān indraḥ z 5 z jahi çatrūn prati randhayasvāgniṣ te gopā adhipā vasiṣṭhaḥ | çarma te rājā varuṇo ni yacchād devas tvendro aprativadhaṁ kṛṇotu z 6 z 2 z

A goodly number of objections might be brought against the emendations offered, but I think the intent of the hymn cannot be mistaken. In st. 1a apratigha is suggested but it brings difficulties with it; in 1c adadhād might stand, or even adadād as in the ms. In VS. 8. 46 and other Yajus texts there is a stanza similar to our no. 2; most of these texts have avadhyam in pāda b for our agadhyam, they have sam anamanta pūrvīr in c where I write devakṛtā namanta and for d they have ayam ugro vihavyo yathāsat; my emendation of pāda d is pure conjecture. About st. 5b I am very doubtful, but the reading given seems possible.

28. [f. 57 a, l. 7.]

saṁ spṛçethāṁ tanubhyāṁ sam mukhābhyāṁ sam ātmanā saṁ vāṁ vrāhmaṇaspatis somas saṁ sparçayābhu vāṁ

In d read sparçayatu, or possibly sparçayātu. Cf. Ç. 6. 74. 1.

abhy asya nahami vācā dadhāmi nahasokṣase pame dahinaṁ kāme labhāi kṛṣṇam ivākhare

For the first hemistich I can get nothing satisfactory; I incline to think that some accusative should stand in place of nahami. For c perhaps we might read upa me dāhinaṁ kāme, the upa to be taken with labhāi.

yaḥ premāṣ preṇyām āsīd dattaḥ somena babhrūṇāṁ | tasmād adhi çrutaṁ mano mayy asya manāhitaṁ

In a read premaṣ, or perhaps premā, in b babhruṇā: in c srutaṁ, in d mana āhitam. Cf. Ç. 6. 89. 1 ab and 1. 1. 2d.

yaṁ pusāṁsaṁ kāmayete yasminn ā bhagam icchate | hṛçchokam asminn ā dadhmo yathā çiṣyāti tvām anu | yathāsya hṛdayaṁ çiṣyād

For a yaṁ pumāṅsaṁ kāmayate seems good. In c read

hṛcchokam, in d çuṣyāti and in e çuṣyāt. It seems proper to end the verse at this point though the ms. has no sign.

apiçchaṁ neva çaṁ guṇī ca | kṣur ākāçaṁ bhīma māṁpaçyam abhinorujaṁ priyaṁkaram uttamaṁ madhughena tad ābhṛtaṁ

For the first few words I am unable to make a suggestion, and therefore cannot feel sure that they belong with this verse. For the rest I think we may read: cakṣur ākāçaṁ bhīmaṁ māṁpaçyam abhirorudam | priyaṁkaraṇam uttamaṁ madughena tad ābhṛtam. Cf. Ç. 7. 38. 1b and our next hymn st. 2.

tvaṁ hāsi varcasyo atho hāsya sumañgalaḥ atho sarvāsāṁ vīrudhāṁ priyañkaraṇam ucyase |

Read: tvam hāsi varcasyo atho hāsi sumañgalaḥ | atho sarvāsāṁ vīrudhāṁ priyañkaraṇam ucyase z 6 z 3 z

The ms. gives no indication of the end of this hymn and I have made this arrangement principally because the norm of this book is six stanzas: it seems not impossible that the last two stanzas should go with the next hymn, but the connection does not seem close enough to force us to such an arrangement.

29. [f. 57 a, l. 16.]
Ç. 7. 38 (in part).

pratīcī somam asy oṣadhe pratīcy anu sūryaṁ pratīcī viçvān devāṅs tathā tvācchāvadāmasi | imāṁ khanāsy oṣadhiṁ vitantrīm anutaṅtunāṁ āyataḥ patiraṅdhanī parāyato nivartanaṁ | amuṣyāhaṁ parāyata āyato mano agrabhaṁ agrabhaṁ hastiṁ mano atho hṛdayaṁ manaḥ mayi te

[f. 57 b.] **manāhitaṁ mayi cittaṁ mayi vrataṁ mamed apa kratāv aso mamāsaç ced asīdapi | ahaṁ vadāni maha tvaṁ sabhāyāṁ ha tvaṁ vada mameda | çastiṁ kevalo nābhyāsāṁ kīrtayāç cina yadi vāsya dirocanaṁ yadi vā nadyas tiraḥ | yaṁ tvā mahṛm oṣadhir vadhveva nyānayaḥ z 4 z**

Read: pratīcī somam asy oṣadhe pratīcy anu sūryam | pra-

tīcī viçvān devāṅs tathā tvācchāvadāmasi z 1 z imāṁ khanāmy oṣadhiṁ vitantrīm anutantunām | āyataḥ pratirandhanīṁ parāyato nivartanām z 2 z amuṣyāhaṁ parāyata āyato mano agrabham | agrabhaṁ hastiṁ mano atho hṛdayaṁ manaḥ z 3 z mayi te mana āhitaṁ mayi cittaṁ mayi vratam | mamed aha kratāv aso mama cittam ā sīdasi z 4 z ahaṁ vadāni māha tvaṁ sabhāyām aha tvaṁ vada | mamed asas tvaṁ kevalo nānyāsāṁ kīrtayāç cana z 5 z yadi vāsi tirojanaṁ yadi vā nadyas tiraḥ | iyaṁ tvā mahyam oṣadhir baddhveva nyānayat z 6 z 4 z

Pāda b of st. 2 I have not tried to emend thinking it might be taken to mean "having various magic powers and widely effective", or something of that sort; the māmpaçyam abhirorudam of Ç. is no better. Our stt. 3 and 4 are not in Ç. but st. 4 has appeared in Pāipp. 2. 77. 1; the form here is what was suggested there. St. 5 has also appeared in Pāipp. 2. 79. 5 with aṅkena me nyānayat for pāda d.

30. [f. 57 b, l. 4.]
Ç. 19. 57.

yathā kalām i-
tekā maṁ rājāno gusmṛṇāny aguḥ saṁ çuṣṭhāgus saṁ kalāgus sam asmā-
su suṣvaptriṁ nir diçate duṣvaptriṁ suvāma z devānāṁ patnīnāṁ garbha ya-
masya karaṇa | yo bhadras svapna sva muma yaṣ papas taṁ dviṣate pra hiṇma
tyaṣṭāmā nāmāsi kṛṣṇaçakuner mukhaṁ nirṛter mukhaṁ taṁ tvā svapna ta-
thā vidma | svapnos svaptvā açvīvā kāyam açvīva nīnāhaṁ | mā-
smākaṁ devapīyuṁ priyāruru vapsa | yad asmāsu duṣvapnī yad go-
ṣu yaç ca no gṛ no gṛhe | sāsmākaṁ devapīyuḥ priyāruruṁ niṣka-
m iva prati muñçatāṁ navāratnīn apamāyām asmākaṁ tanvas pari
duṣvapnyo sarvaṁ durbhūtaṁ dviṣater nir dviṣāmasi z divṣater nir dvi-
ṣāmasi z 5 z anu 6 z

For the first part of this we may read as follows: yathā kalām ity ekā z 1 z saṁ rājāno 'gus sam ṛṇāny agus saṁ kuṣṭhā agus saṁ kalā aguḥ | sam asmāsu duṣvapnyaṁ nir dviṣate duṣvapnyaṁ suvāma z 2 z devānāṁ patnīnāṁ garbha yamasya karaṇa yo bhadras svapna | sa mama yaṣ pāpaṣ taṁ dviṣate pra hiṇmaḥ z 3 z

The quotation of st. 1 by pratīka only indicates the previous appearance of the stanza in this text, viz. Bk. 2. 37. 3, thus: yathā kalāṁ yathā çaphaṁ yatharṇaṁ saṁ nayanti | evā duṣvapnyaṁ sarvam apriye saṁ nayāmasi. In the first part of st. 3 it would seem that the vocatives might stand.

In st. 4 our text is as hopeless as that of Ç.: in tyaṣṭāma it may be that we have only a corruption of what stands in the Ç. pada-mss. mātṛṣṭā (note that the last syllable of the preceding line is ma), or it might be that tṛṣṭāmā as intended; this latter is a palaeographic possibility and occurs as the name of a river RV. 10. 75. 6. For the second part of the stanza I have nothing worth suggesting. In the third part sāsmākaṁ may be intended, and we may read piyāruṁ; for vapsa we might then read with Whitney-Roth vapa.

For the last two stanzas we may read: yad asmāsu duṣvapnyaṁ yad goṣu yac ca no gṛhe | sāsmākaṁ devapīyuṁ piyāruṁ niṣkam iva prati muñcatām z 5 z navāratnīn †apamāyām asmākaṁ tanvas pari | duṣvapnyaṁ sarvaṁ durbhūtaṁ dviṣate nir dviṣāmasi z 6 z 5 z anu 6 zz

While not wholly satisfactory this is rather better than the version of Ç., in which the last stanza is not metrical: I believe it is so here.

31. [f. 57 b, l. 14.]
Cf. MS. 2. 4. 7.

devā marutaṣ pṛṣṇimātaro apo dattoditiṁ bhiṅta | divas pṛthivyā uror antarikṣāt tasmāi kṣattrāyā neta vrahmaṇābhyaḥ prajābhya ābhya oṣadhībhyas svāhā
devā agnī indra sūrya apaḥ devāç cojo mittrāvaruṇā yamaṁ
tapaḥ devāṣ pitaro māvyāṣ kravyāpaḥ devāpsuṣado pāṁ napāt taṅnū-

[f. 58 a.] napāṁ narāçañsāpo dattoditiṁ bhiṅta deva vṛhaspate apo dehy aditiṁ bhiṅti | deva prajāpate apaḥ deva parameṣṭhin āpo dehy aditiṁ bhiṅti | devas pṛthivyā uror antarikṣāt tammāi kṣattrāyā nena prahmaṇabhyaṣ prajābhya ābhya oṣadhībhyas svāhā z ı z

Read: devā marutaṣ pṛçnimātaro apo dattodadhiṁ bhinta | divas pṛthivyā uror antarikṣāt tasmāi kṣatrāya na ita | vrahmaṇābhyaḥ prajābhya ādbhya oṣadhībhyas svāhā z 1 z devā agna indra sūryāpo ◦ ◦ | divas ◦ ◦ z 2 z devāç †cojo mitrāvaruṇāryamann apo ◦ ◦ | divas ◦ ◦ z 3 z devāṣ pitaro vasavyāṣ kravyādo 'po ◦ ◦ | divas ◦ ◦ z 4 z devā apsuṣado 'pāṁ napāt tanūnapān narāçañsāpo dattodadhiṁ bhinta | divas ◦ ◦ z 5 z deva vṛhāspate apo dehy udadhiṁ bhindhi | divas ◦ ◦ na ihi | vrahmaṇābhyaḥ ◦ ◦ z 6 z deva prajāpate apo dehy udadhiṁ bhindhi | divas ◦ ◦ z 7 z deva parameṣṭhinn apo dehy udadhiṁ bhindhi | divas pṛthivyā uror antarikṣāt tasmāi kṣatrāya na ihi | vrahmaṇābhyaḥ prajābhya ādbhya oṣadhībhyas svāhā z 8 z 1 z

In the stanza corresponding to our st. 3 MS. has devāç çarmaṇyā, which suggests for our text the possibility of devāç çarma no; I have thought also of devā açvināu, but neither of these is compelling.

32. [f. 58 a, l. 4.]

Ç. 2. 34.

prajāpater jāyamānaṣ prajā jātāç ca yā imāḥ tā asmāi prativedayā cikitvāṅ anu manyataṁ eṣām īçe paçupatiḥ paçūnāṁ catuṣpadām uta vā ye dvipadaḥ niṣkrītās te yajñiyā yanti lokaṁ rāyas poṣā yajamanaṁ majantāṁ pramuñcanto bhuvanasya gopā gātuṁ devā yajamānāya dhattaḥ upākṛtaṁ çiçumānaṁ yaj asthār priyaṁ devānām apy eti pāthaḥ ye badhyamānām anu dīdhyānāṁnīkṣanta manasā cakṣuṣā ca | agniṣ ṭān agre pra mumukta devāḥ prajāpatiṣ pra-

jābhis saṁvidānāṁ yeṣāṁ prāṇo na badhnanti baddhaṁ gavāṁ paçūnām uta
pāuruṣāṇāṁ | indras tāṁ ya āraṇyaṣ paçavo viçvārūpā uta ye
kūrūpāḥ vāyuṣ ṭvān agre pra mumukta devaṣ prajāpatiṣ prajābhis saṁ-
vidānāṁ prajānantaḥ prati gṛhṇantu devāṣ prāṇam añgebhyas pary ā ca-
rantābhyāṁ gaccha prati tiṣṭhā çarīrāis svargaṁ yāhi pathibhiç çivebhiḥ
z 2 2

Read: prajāpater jāyamānāṣ prajā jātāç ca yā imāḥ | tā asmāi prativedaya cikitvāṅ anu manyatām z 1 z yeṣām īçe paçupatiḥ paçūnāṁ catuṣpadām uta vā ye dvipādaḥ | niṣkrītās te yajñiyaṁ yantu lokaṁ rāyas poṣā yajamānaṁ sacantām z 2 z pramuñcanto bhuvanasya gopā gātuṁ devā yajamānāya dhatta | upākṛtaṁ çaçamānaṁ yad asthāt priyaṁ devānām apy etu pāthaḥ z 3 z ye badhyamānam anu dīdhyāna anvāikṣanta manasā cakṣuṣā ca | agniṣ ṭān agre pra mumoktu devaḥ prajāpatiṣ prajābhis saṁvidānaḥ z 4 z yeṣāṁ †prāṇo na badhnanti baddhaṁ gavāṁ paçūṅām uta pāuruṣāṇām | indras tān ° ° ° z 5 z ya āraṇyāṣ paçavo viçvarūpā virūpā uta ya ekarūpāḥ | vāyuṣ ṭān agre pra mumoktu devaṣ prajāpatiṣ prajābhis saṁvidānaḥ z 6 z prajānantaḥ prati gṛhṇantu devāṣ prāṇam añgebhyaṣ pary ācarantam | dyāṁ gaccha prati tiṣṭhā çarīrāis svargaṁ yāhi pathibhiç çivebhiḥ z 7 z 2 z

These stanzas appear also TS. 3. 1. 4. 1 and KS. 30. 8 our first stanza is not in Ç, and our fifth is new. Our pāda 2b is a mixture of the version of Ç. catuṣpadām uta yo dvipadām, and that of KS. catuṣpāda uta ye dvipādaḥ; it might be better to read catuṣpāda in our version. I think the simplest emendation in its st. 5a would be prāṇena. In 6b I have inserted virūpā which all the texts have.

33. [f. 58 a, l. 16.]

Ç. 2. 6.

mamās tvāgna ṛtavo vardhayantu saṁvatsara ṛṣayo yā nu sakhyā | saṁ dyumnena dīdhihi rocanena viçvā ā bhābhiḥ pradiçaç ca-
tasraḥ | saṁ ceddhyasvāgne prati bodhayenam uç ca tiṣṭha mahate sāubhagā-

ya | mā te riṣaṁn upasattā te agne vrahmaṇās te yaçasas santu pā-
[f. 58 b.] nye tvām agne vṛṇute vrahmaṇā ime çivo gre prabhṛṇo nedihi sapattrā-
gre abhimābhicad u bhavaḥ sve kṣa dīdihy aprayucchan. ihāivāgne
adhi dhārayā rayiṁ mā tvā dabhaṅ pūrvacittā nikāriṇaḥ kṣattra-
m agne sūyamam astu tubhyam uta sattra vardhatāṁ te niṣkṛtaḥ kṣettraṇā-
gne mbena saṁ rabhasva mittreṇāgne mittradheyaṁ vaca-
sva | sajātānāṁ madhya-
meṣṭheha ma syā rājñām agne vihavyo dīdihya | ati nuho ti nirṛ-
tīr any atātīr ati dviṣaḥ viçvā hy agne duritā cara tvam athāsma-
bhyāṁ sahavīraṁ rayin dāḥ anādhṛṣyo jātavedā aniṣṭhato virā-
ḍ āgne kṣattribhir dīdihya vi mīvā pramuñcaṅ manuṣye-
bhyaç çivebhir a-
bhya pari pāhi no gayyāiḥ z 3 z

Read: samās tvāgna ṛtavo vardhayantu saṁvatsarā ṛṣayo yā nu sakhyā | saṁ dyumnena dīdihi rocanena viçvā ā bhāhi pradiçaç catasraḥ z 1 z saṁ cedhyasvāgne prati bodhayāinam uc ca tiṣṭha mahate sāubhagāya | mā te riṣann upasattāro agne vrahmāṇas te yaçasas santu mānye z 2 z tvām agne vṛṇate vrāhmaṇā ime çivo 'gne prabhūr nu na edhi | sapatnahāgne abhimātijid u bhaya sve kṣaye dīdihy aprayucchan z 3 z ihāivāgne adhi dhārayā rayiṁ mā tvā dabhan pūrvacittā nikāriṇaḥ | kṣatraṁ suyamam astu tubhyam uta sattā vardhatāṁ te 'niṣkṛtaḥ z 4 z kṣatreṇāgne svena saṁ rabhasva mitreṇāgne mitradheyaṁ vacasva | sajātānāṁ madhyameṣṭhā iha sa syā rājñām agne vihavyo dīdihīha z 5 z ati †nuho 'ti nirṛtīr aty arātīr ati dviṣaḥ | viçvā hy agne duritā cara tvam athāsmabhyaṁ sahavīraṁ rayiṁ dāḥ z 6 z anādhṛṣyo jātavedā aniṣṭṛto virāḍ agne kṣatrabhṛd dīdihīha | viçvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan manuṣyebhyaç çivebhir adya pari pāhi no gayāiḥ z 7 z 3 z

In st. 1b it is entirely possible that the reading yā nu sakhyā is only a corruption of yāni satyā which all the others have. The reading of st. 2c given in our ms. seems to involve

a mixture of the Ç. form and the form given by the Yajus texts. In st. 4d upasattā as in the other texts would probably be better. St. 5c has appeared in this book no. 1. 4c. In st. 7d the ms. makes the correction to adya. Our st. 4 is Ç. 7. 82. 3 and our st. 7 is Ç. 7. 84. 1.

34. [f. 58 b, l. 10.]
Ç. 3. 20.

ayaṁ te yonir ṛtviyo yato jāto arocathāḥ taṁ jānann agna ā rohathā no vardhayā rayiṁ

Read rohāthā in cd, and rayim before the period and numeral.

pra dātāraṁ havāmahe agnim ugram ūtaye | çuciryo vṛttrahaṅttamāṁ

The first pāda of these appears TS. 1. 7. 13. 4a, but refers to Indra. In the margin opposite these pādas is the following: somaṁ rājānam āçervacana (to be corrected āçīrvacana). It seems then that there is here a grouping of four pratīkas, and that they do not form a stanza of this hymn.

In the third pāda vṛtrahantamam seems to be intended.

agne çchā vadeha naḥ | pratyañ nas sumanā bhava pra no yaccha viçāṁ pate dhanadāsi nas tvaṁ.

In a read 'cchā, place colon after bhava: in d read dhanadā asi, and tvam before the period.

prā ṇo yacchatv aryamā pra bhagaṣ pra pūṣā prota sūnṛtāḥ rayiṁ devī dadhātu naḥ

In a read pra; drawing on Ç. we may read for b pra bhagaṣ pra vṛhaspatiḥ. In c read sūnṛtā.

aryamaṇaṁ vṛhaspatim indraṁ dānayā codaya vātaṁ viṣṇuṁ sarasvatīṁ savitāraṁ ca vājinaṁ

In pāda b read dānāya.

somaṁ rājānam avase gniṁ gīrbhir havāmahe ādityaṁ viṣṇuṁ sūryaṁ vrahmāṇaṁ ca vṛhaspatiṁ

Read 'gniṁ in b; in d vṛhaspatim before the period. The stanza is no. 5.

suhaveha havāmahe | yathā nas sarvam ij janas saṅgasatyāṁ sumānā hasāt. ||

The omission of pāda a is probably accidental; in Ç. it is indravāyū ubhāv iha. In c read sarva; the form sarvam may be due in some way to TS. 4. 5. 1. 2, where sarvam ij jagat stands. For d read saṅgatyāṁ sumanā asat.

[f. 59 a.] tvaṁ no agna agnibhir vrahmāṇaṁ ca vardhaya tvaṁ no devatātaye rayiṁ dānāya codaya |

In pāda a read agne; it seems very probable that vrahmāṇam in b is only a corruption of vrahma yajñam as in Ç.

vājasyedaṁ prasave sambabhūva ya imā ca viçvā bhuvanāny antaḥ utātiçchantaṁ dāmayatu prajānāṁ rayiṁ dhehi sarvavīraṁ ni yacchatam. |

While it seems possible to read pāda a as it stands here, ending with ya, I am inclined to think that ya represents only a transitional sound of pronunciation and that the correct reading is saṁ babhūvemā ca °: in Ç. too I think we might emend to saṁ babhūvemā on the basis of dittography. For our pāda c read utāditsantaṁ dāpayatu prajānan; yacchatām in d.

dūrān me pañca pradiço dūrām urvī yathābalam. prāpeyaṁ sarvā mākūtīr manasā hṛdayena ca |

In a read duhrāṁ, in b duhrām urvīr: in c ma ākūtīr.

gosaniṁ vācam udeyaṁ varcasa mābhy aruṇyaṁhi | āyu rundhāṁ sarvato vā tvaṣṭa pūṣāya çrīyatāṁ z 4 z

Read: gosaniṁ vācam udeyaṁ varcasā mābhy †aruṇyaṁhi | ā rundhāṁ sarvato vāyus tvaṣṭā poṣāya dhriyatām z 10 z 4 z

It is possible that the end of pāda b has gotten confused with the beginning of pāda c, and that we ought to read as in Ç. mābhyudihi. The form suggested for d appears Ç. 6. 141. 1b.

35. [f. 59 a, l. 7.]
Ç. 19. 15.

yata indra bhayāmahe tato no abhayaṁ kṛdhi | maghavaṅ sakti tava tvaṁ na tudbhir vi dviṣo vi mṛdho jahi | indraṁ vayam anorādhaṁ havāmahe anūrādhyāssad dvipadāç catuṣpadā |

mā na sonāraruṣīr usa gur viṣūcīr indra druho vi nāçaya | i-
ndras trātotu vṛttrahā parampā no vareṇyāḥ | ca rakṣatā caramatas sva
madhyatas sva paçcāt sva purasthān no stu z ruruṁ no lokam anu neṣi vidvā-
n svarva jyotir abhayaṁ svasti | ugrā ta i sthavirasya bāhuḥ upa kṣe-
ma çaraṇā vṛhantā | abhayaṁ naṣ karaty antarikṣam a-bhayaṁ dyāvāpṛ-
thivī ubhe | abhayaṁ paçcād abhayaṁ purastād uttarā-dhād abhayaṁ no
stu abhayaṁ mittrād abhayam amittrābhī jñātād abhayaṁ puro yaḥ abha-
yam naktam abhayam divā nas sarvāçā mittraṁ bhavan-tu z 5 z
anu z 7 z

In l. 10 the ms. corrects usa to upa.

Read: yata indra bhayāmahe tato no abhayaṁ kṛdhi | maghavaṅ çagdhi tava tvaṁ na ūtibhir vi dviṣo vi mṛdho jahi z 1 z indraṁ vayam anūrādhaṁ havāmahe anu rādhyāsma dvipadā catuṣpadā | mā naḥ senā araruṣīr upa gur viṣūcīr indra druho vi nāçaya z 2 z indras trātota vṛtrahā paraspā no vareṇyaḥ | sa rakṣitā caramatas sa madhyatas sa paçcāt sa purastān no 'stu z 3 z uruṁ no lokam anu neṣi vidvān svarvaj jyotir abhayaṁ svasti | ugrā ta indra sthavirasya bāhū upa kṣiyema çaraṇā vṛhantā z 4 z abhayaṁ naṣ karaty antarikṣam abhayaṁ dyāvāpṛthivī ubhe | abhayaṁ paçcād abhayaṁ purastād uttarād adharād abhayaṁ no 'stu z 5 z abhayaṁ mitrād abhayam amitrād abhayaṁ jñātād abhayaṁ puro yaḥ | abhayaṁ naktam abhayaṁ divā nas sarvā āçā mitraṁ bhavantu z 6 z 5 z anu 7 z.

36. [f. 59 a, l. 18.]

Contains RV. 1. 102. 4, 6, 9, 10.

me prehi māpa krāmaç catṛṇāṁ vedākhida | indras sapattraha bhīmaḥ saṁjayas te samānṛdhak. | tvaṁ [f. 59 b.] jayāsi na parājayāsā abhyeçv āso maghavan ma-hatsu ca | ugraṁ
cit tām avase saṁ siçīmahe sa tvaṁ na indra havaneṣu mṛḍā | goji-

tā bāhū samakratūyat karmaṅ-karmāṅ çatamūcīdaṁkarā | akalpa i-
ndro pratimānam ojasa tvaṁ na indra havaneṣu mṛḍā | vedāham indra pri-
yam asya çevadhiṁ yad asya nāma guhyaṁ samīke | saṁyaj jayāpi magha-
vā mamāṁ praty admākaṁ vidhmo vihace havaṁ gamat. z tvā jayema tvayā
yujā vṛtā vṛdho asmākam aṅçum uta vā bhare-bhare | as-
mabhyam indra va-
rivas sugaṁ kṛdhi pra çattrūṇāṁ maghavan vṛja tvāṁ de-
veṣu prathamaṁ sam ā-
rabhe tvaṁ babhūyatha pṛtanāsu sāsahiḥ somaṁ naṣ kārum upamanyum udbhi-
dam indra karāsi prasave rathaṁ puraḥ z 1 z

Read: mā prehi māpa krāmaç çatrūṇāṁ veda ākhida | indras sapatnahā bhīmaḥ saṁjayas te sam ānṛdhat z 1 z tvaṁ jayāsi na parājaya †asā arbheṣv aso maghavan mahatsu ca | ugraṁ cit tvām avase saṁ çiçīmahe sa tvaṁ na indra havaneṣu mṛḍa z 2 z gojitā bāhū sa sam akratūyat karman-karmañ çatamūtiṣ khajaṁkaraḥ | akalpa indraṣ pratimānam ojasā sa tvaṁ na indra havaneṣu mṛḍa z 3 z vedāham indra priyam asya çevadhiṁ yad asya nāma guhyaṁ samīke | saṁyaj jayāpi maghavā samān praty asmākaṁ †vidhmo vihace† havaṁ gamat z 4 z vayaṁ jayema tvayā yujā vṛtā vṛdho asmākam aṅçam ud avā bhare-bhare | asmabhyam indra varivas sugaṁ kṛdhi pra çatrūṇāṁ maghavan vṛṣṇyā ruja z 5 z tvāṁ deveṣu prathamaṁ sam ārabhe tvaṁ babhūtha pṛtanāsu sāsahiḥ | semaṁ naṣ kārum upamanyum udbhidam indra karāsi prasave rathaṁ puraḥ z 6 z 1 z

The reading given for st. 1c seems probable; but we must also consider saṁjayate samān ṛdhak. The general sense of st. 2 ab is fairly clear, but the exact reading I cannot get: RV. has tvaṁ jigetha na dhanā rurodhithārbheṣv ājā ° °. In st. 3a the reading given seems possible, but in view of RV. form gojitā bāhū amitakratuḥ simaḥ we might conclude that the Pāipp. form was ° ° simo 'mitakratur yaḥ. In st. 4d indro vihave might be considered a possibility. St. 5 is given as it stands both in RV. and Ç. 7. 50. 4. Our stt. 1 and 4 have no parallels.

The ms. corrects to jayāmi in st. 2 and asmākam in st. 5.

37. [f. 59 b, l. 10.]

smara smaro si
devāir datto si smara | amuṣya manāssara yathāhaṁ kā-
maye tathā çocayāmya hṛdayaṁ kāma gacchāṅga jvaro dahatu çoca-
tutmanā | saṅka-
lpāstya smarantādhībhir yamāivāsya didhmo hanam anyā-
narānandāḥ
pramuthyato manumaho nāivo naṣṭakarta arṇavaḥ āveçinīṣ
pradrupo ro-
payiṣṇur etās tvābhya prāhiṇo vrahmaṇā | ṛtukantunī ṛtvidā
grāmā-
bhyāsinī svapna yacchatu dudhnā manomuha | āveçinīṣ
pradrupo ro-
po ropayiṣṇur erās tvādya prahiṇomi vrahmaṇā | indrāgnī
mittrāvaruṇā cebhyotayata | dyāvāpṛthivī mā-
[f. 60 a.] tariçvā | açvinā devas savitā bhagaç ca mana-
stūdhnayantu naram āsā tṛtrayas triṅ-
ças tvā bhūdhnaṅtu devāgniç cid yam upa te bharadvājaç
cam uta yas triṅçatāṅç chinne
vanordhvaṁ dhanā pra plavasva *z* etāṣ patyanty ābhyo
vārṣikīr iva vidyutaḥ tāsāṁ
tigraho bhava sāyaṁ goṣṭho gavām iva niçīrṣo nipāti-
tābhyo veçayā-
mi te | tās tvāsam uttantīr bodhayantīr upā sabhām. etās
tvādya prahiṇo-
mi vrahmaṇā striṣ prā purogavāṁ tās tvā tṛṇam iva çoka-
yām atho tvā ro-
dayā bahuḥ *z 2 z*

In f. 59 b l. 15 the ms. corrects bhya to dya: also dyo to dhyo f. 60 a l. 3.

Out of all this I have been able to emend only some few portions; the sphere of the charm is evident but the particular intent is not.

For the first stanza we might read the following: smara smaro 'si devāir datto 'si smara | amuṣya manas smara yathāhaṁ kāmaye tathā çocayāsya hṛdayam. Next we seem to have four pādas of fair cadence, thus: kāma gacchāṅgā jvaro dahatu çocatu manaḥ | saṅkalpā asya smarantādhībhir †yamāivāsya dadhmāu. In the last pāda we might possibly read yān

evāsya. The next pāda would seem to be hanam anyanarānandāḥ meaning perhaps "may I smite those women who take pleasure with other women's husbands"; and next we seem to have pramuhyato manomuho. After this I can get nothing helpful until the sixth line below where the reading might be chinne vana ūrdhvaṁ dhanā pra plavasva.

We seem to get next the following stanza: etāṣ patyanty ādhyo varṣikīr iva vidyutaḥ | tāsāṁ pratigraho bhava sāyaṁ goṣṭho gavām iva. There follows a stanza whose first two pādas parallel Ç. 1: 131. 1 ab, and our pāda a seems to be the same with that of Ç.; the hemistich might read thus: ni çīrṣato ni pattata ādhyo veçayāmi te. A bold rewriting would give a second hemistich for this stanza thus: tās tvāsan uttarāvatīr bodhayantīr upā sabhām. It looks however as if the stanza ends at the colon after vrahmaṇā: perhaps this last clause which appears three times in the hymn might be read etās tvad ādhyaḥ prahiṇomi vrahmaṇā. Out of striṣ prā purogavāṁ I get nothing; but for the rest it seems fairly safe to read tās tvā tṛṇam iva çocayān atho tvā rodayān bahu.

It will of course be evident that these emendations are offered with no great assurance. The amount of material would make about nine stanzas: the hymn is no. 2 in the anuvāka.

38. [f. 60 a, l. 7.]

Verses found in Ç. 4. 14; 9. 5; and Kāuç. 68. 26.

ajo hy āgner ajaniṣṭa çokāt so paçyej janitāram agre | tena devā devatām āgrāyan tena rohān aroham upa medhīyāṅ-
saḥ z kramadhvam agnibhin nāka mekṣāṅ hasteṣu bibhrata divas pṛṣaṁ svar gatvā
miçrā devebhir ādhvaṁ | agne prehi prathamo deva etāṁ cakṣur devānām uta ma-
rtyānām. | iyakṣamāṇā bhṛgubhis sajoṣasas svar yantu yajamānā
s svasti z svar yanto nāpekṣantantā dyāṁ rohantu rādhasaḥ agni viçvatodhāraṁ sa-
vidvāṅso vitenire | agniṁ yunajmi çavasā ghṛtena divyaṁ samudraṁ payasaṁ

ruhantaṁ | tena geṣma sukṛtasya lokaṁ sa ruhāṇā adhi nākam uttamaṁ | imāu
te pakṣā ajarāu patattriṇāu yābhyāṁ rakṣāṅsy apahaṅsy odanaḥ tābhyāṁ patyāsmi
sukṛtasya lokaṁ yatrarṣayaṣ prathamajāṣ purāṇāḥ yadi tiṣṭho sivas pṛṣṭhe
vyomaṅn ady odanaḥ anvāyaṅ satyadharmaṇo vrahmaṇā rādhasā saha |
pṛṣṭhāt pṛthivyām antarikṣam ārham antarikṣā divam ārhaṁ divo nākasya pṛṣṭhā
t svar jyotir agām aham. | ajo sy aja svargo si tayā lokam añgirasaṣ pra-
[f. 61 a.] jānan. | taṁ lokam anu pra jñeṣma yena vā sahasyaṁ vahasi yena yā sarvavedasam. temaṁ yajñaṁ no vaha svar deveṣu gantave | aja ta pacata pañca codanā | ajaṁ pañcāudanaṁ paktvā devalokān samānaçuḥ |

Read: ajo hy agner ajaniṣṭa çokāt so 'paçyaj janitāram agre | tena devā devatām agra āyan tena rohān arohan upa medhīyāṅsaḥ z 1 z kramadhvam agnibhir nākaṁ mekṣān hasteṣu bibhrataḥ | divas pṛṣṭhaṁ svar gatvā miçrā devebhir ādhvam ż 2 z agne prehi prathamo devayatāṁ cakṣur devānām uta martyānām | iyakṣamāṇā bhṛgubhis sajoṣasas svar yantu yajamānās svasti z 3 z svar yanto nāpekṣanta ā dyāṁ rohantu rādhasaḥ | yajñaṁ ye viçvatodhāraṁ suvidvāṅso vitenire z 4 z agniṁ yunajmi çavasā ghṛtena divyaṁ samudraṁ payasaṁ ruhantam | tena geṣma sukṛtasya lokaṁ svo ruhāṇā adhi nākam uttamam z 5 z imāu te pakṣā ajarāu patatriṇāu yābhyāṁ rakṣāṅsy apahaṅsy odanaḥ | tābhyāṁ pathyāsma sukṛtasya lokaṁ yatrarṣayaṣ prathamajāṣ purāṇāḥ z 6 z yad atiṣṭho divas pṛṣṭhe vyomann adhy odana | anvāyan satyadharmāṇo vrāhmaṇā rādhasā saha z 7 z pṛṣṭhāt pṛthivyā aham antarikṣam āruham antarikṣād divam āruham | divo nākasya pṛṣṭhāt svar jyotir agām aham z 8 z ajo 'sy aja svargo 'si tvayā lokam añgirasaṣ prājānan | taṁ lokam anu jñeṣma z 9 z yena vā sahasraṁ vahasi yena vā sarvavedasam | tenemaṁ yajñaṁ no vaha svar deveṣu gantave z 10 z ajaṁ ca pacata pañca cāudanān | ajaṁ pañcāudanān paktvā devālokān samānaçuḥ z 11 z 3 z.

Stanzas 6 and 7 are in Kāuç. 68, the last three in Ç. 9. 5. In st. 4c I have adopted the reading of Ç. I think there

is reason to doubt whether the last part of st. 11 is really part of the hymn.

In st. 7b the ms. corrects to adhy.

39. [f. 60 b, l. 3.]

yā te prajā vihatā parābhū dhruveṇāçvitāpaṁ bharāmi | agniṣ ṭe tām ādyamaḥ punar dād vāiçvānaraḥ

Read parābhūd in pāda a; in b dhruveṇa is pretty clearly the first word, and saṁ bharāmi may be the verb, but I can get nothing more out of the pāda. For pādas cd we might read agniṣ ṭe tām †*ādyamaḥ punar dadād vāiçvānaraḥ: pāda c lacks one syllable.

paramasmābhyo mnastaṁ patiç çivo gni dvitīyaṁ mī prajāṁ jaradaṣṭī satasva | muñcāinaṁ grāhyān nirṛtir yad abandhāgne prajāṁ prajākāmāya dhehi |

Possible readings here seem to be 'mnas tāṁ and 'gnir in a, dvitīyāṁ me and jaradaṣṭiṁ in b: sādhasva is the only thing I can suggest for satasva. For cd we may read muñcāinaṁ grāhyā nirṛtir yad abadhnād agne ° °.

tvām agne vṛṣabhaṁ vāçiteyam ānyajāt putrakāmāsu paryati | tām ā roha sumanasyamānaṣ prajāpateṣ pra ṇaya reṣiṇīnāṁ |

At the end of a we might read vāçata iyam; anyajāḥ, if it may mean "ready to give birth again", might stand in b, with pary eti. It would seem that prajāpate ought to stand in d, but reṣiṇīnām I cannot solve; enām may be at the end of the pāda.

tubhyaṁ nārī putrakāmā yam agne çuddhaṁ pūtaṁ ghṛtam ā juhoti | tā m ani tām ani ṣkandha vīlayasva netodhā ugraḥ prajayā saṁ sṛjīnāṁ

In a we may read yad agne: in b I would read tām adhi skanda, for d retodhā ugraḥ prajayā saṁ sṛjāinām. Cf. Ç. 5. 25. 8.

parvatād divo yene gātrād-gātrāt samāçrutam. neto devasya devasmarāu parṇam iyādhāṅ

This appears in Ç. 5. 25. 1. In a read yoner, in b samāsṛtam seems possible; Ç. has samābhṛtam. For c read reto devasya devās, and for d sarāu parṇam ivā dhān seems possible; Ç. has çepo garbhasya retodhāḥ sarāu parṇam ivā dadhat.

indrasya jātasya prapapāta nābhis tām ekodenaṣ prati jagrāhaṣ kāmī | tvayā vayaṁ vrahmaṇās somapās supayā s sutayāna sūyate z 4 z

The first letter of the last line is not certain. I can do no more with this than the division of words indicates. The stanza is no. 6 and the hymn no. 4.

This is clearly a charm for successful conception, and it seems to be intended to help obtain a child in place of one lost.

40. [f. 60 b, l. 14.]

tyajanān tyajanaṁ jātaṁ tyajanaṁ jāyate çara | na eṣati na çocati yas tvā bibharti tejana pāutram asi tejanaḥ pāutraṁ te prabhañjanaṁ pāutro stu so kāmo yena mūrchām ayāmahe z yā doṣaç çaro stv odanebhyaṣ kṛṇavadbhyāṁ tāva doṣa tvaṁ tejanas tyajanaṁ maruto dadham. tyajanaṁ me viçve devās tyajanaṁ pitaro dadham. tenāham anyeṣāṁ striyo tyāksaṁ purā madhyadinād uta | purā sā-
[f. 61 a.] yityādi tyāksaṁ tejane ya mahad vilaṁ | asthād dyāuṁr asthāt pṛthivy asthād viçvam idaṁ jagat. asthād dvihvṛdevās tiṣṭhāt kāmo ayaṁ tava z 5 z a 8

zz zz ity ātharvaṇikapāipalādaçākhāyāṁ tṛtīyaṣ kāṇḍa s samāptāḥ zz zz

Read: tyajanāt tyajanaṁ jātaṁ tyajanaṁ jāyate çara | nāiṣati na çocati yas tvā bibharti tejana] z 1 z pavitram asi tejana pavitraṁ te prabhañjanam | pavitro 'stu sa kāmo yena mūrchām āyāmahe z 2 z yāvān doṣaç çaro 'stv odanebhyaṣ karṇavadbhyām | tāvān doṣas tvaṁ tejana tyajanaṁ maruto dadhan z 3 z tyajanaṁ me viçve devās tyajanaṁ pitaro dadhan | tenāham anyeṣāṁ striyo¿* * * * z 4 z * * * tyākṣaṁ purā madhyaṁdinād uta | purā †sāyityādi tyāksaṁ tejane yan mahad bilam z 5 z asthād dyāur asthāt pṛthivy asthād viç-

vam idaṁ jagat | asthād vihvarita eva tiṣṭhāt kāmo ayaṁ tava z 6 z 5 z anu 8 z

ity ātharvaṇikapāippalādaçākhāyāṁ tṛtīyaṣ kāṇḍas samāptaḥ zz

In st. 1b çaraḥ seems entirely possible though not necessary. The reading given for 3ab seems possible, but the word odanebhyas creates doubts; I should think that something like dhanubhyaṣ karṇavadbhyaḥ would fit the context better. The ms. gives no hint of the lacuna I have indicated in stt. 4 and 5 but I am fairly sure that my arrangement is correct. In st. 5c çāyitvād u would be good if we may take çāyitva to mean "bed-time". St. 6ab appears Ç. 6. 44. 1ab and 6. 77. 1ab; the conjecture for pāda c fits in so neatly that I have ventured to write it as a sure correction. But after all is said this hymn is left in an uncertain state.

POSTSCRIPT.

In each of the following stanzas the first line of transliteration does not correspond exactly with the ms. in spacing: in hymns 8. 5; 12. 8; 16. 3; 18. 3; 22. 4; 25. 12; 34. 8. In each case the line of transliteration should be indented a little to indicate that the first word of the line is *not* at the left margin of the ms.

This postscript seems the best way to correct these errors, which will probably cause no serious confusion.

The Vedic hapax suśiśvi-s. — By Edwin W. Fay, The University of Texas.

In *RV.* 1. 65, which is addressed to Agni, we find the following *pādas:*

2 *c* várdhantīm ā́paḥ panvā́ súśiśvim
d ṛtásya yoṇā́ gárbhe súj̄ātam,

of which the first means in Latin something like

augent eum lymphae laude (?) *súśiśvim*

But what does *súśiśvim* mean? Oldenberg (*Sacr. Books of the East,* 46, 54) renders by 'the fine child' and Griffith's rendering is 'the growing babe'. I suggest that *súśiśvis* is rather the result of spirant shifting, in which popular etymology played a rôle, for *śuṣi-śvis.* Native authorities define *śuṣi-*, for which *suṣi-* is a frequent variant (cf. also *suṣi-rá-s* (1) 'cavus', (2) 'reed, bamboo'), by (1) *śoṣa-* 'ariditas'; and actual usage attests (2) 'cavum'. For (1) cf. *śúṣka-* 'aridus', noting *RV.* 1. 68. 2 *b*:

śúṣkād yád deva jīvó *jániṣṭhāḥ*
arido <ligno> cum dive vivus natus es.

With these facts before us the interpretation of *súśi-śvis* as 'in arido <ligno> turgens' is self-suggesting, and the interpretation gains point for 1. 65. 2 *c* by the juxtaposition of the 'waters' with the 'dry'. The production of fire by the drill and the use of dry twigs as kindling need but to be noted, and I have elsewhere interpreted Skr. *óṣa-dhi-s* 'plant' as generalized from an original 'Brenn-Pflanze' (*TAPA.*, 41, 25). If, however — and this I did in *KZ.*, 37, 154, to the satisfaction of as sane a mythologist as the late V. Henry — we can trace the Prometheus myth in the *Brāhmaṇas,* we must ask ourselves whether the 2[d] meaning of 'cavum' is not rather to be recognized in *súśi-śvis.* Then the epithet will refer to the hollow reed of the Prometheus fire-myth. Even so, the reed is probably but an allotropic designation for the socket slab

wherein fire was begotten. The idea of 'hollow' in *súśi-śvis* lends point to the two references in 1. 65. 2 *d* to the womb wherein Agni was born.

For the posterius, *-śvi-*, only a word need be said: it is a weakest grade rootnoun used as a compounding final. The root is Skr. *śvā(y)-:* Av. *spā(y)-* 'turgere'. In the Agni-epithet *Matari-śvan-* which, as I am explaining in *KZ.* 45, 134 meant 'in materia turgens' (= 'materiae puer'), we have a cognate posterius *-śvan-* from the same root. As for the development of *mātari-:* Lat. *māteria* from *mātar-* 'mother', *credat Judaeus Apella.* But if I am right in deriving *māteria* from **(t)mater-* 'cutter' (of timber), it is possible that **māter-* 'mother' also comes from *(t)mater-* 'cutter'. Testimony to the activity of woman in wood-cutting in the savage and semi-savage races could doubtless be found in abundance (see, e. g., Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, pp. 32, 153), but the function of woman as a 'cutter' is better displayed, we may think, in the following: "The husband has slain the deer .... and there his share of the operation ends. The woman .... removes the skin ... and then divides the carcass for immediate consumption or to be dried. In these (*sic*) she is a butcher, and the whole earth are (*sic*) her shambles. This meat she then proceeds *to apportion according to the rules of her tribe and her clan*" (*ibid.* p. 27). In Germany, if my limited observation goes for anything, woman is still the carver. — In the final shaping of **(t)māter-* the inevitable fusion therewith of the babbling child's *mamma* is not to be lost to sight.

Postcript.

For the explanation of Skr. *óṣadhis* as 'brenn-pflanze' cf. φρύγανον (: φρύγει 'roasts'), which became a regular designation, in the botanical classification of Theophrastus, for the class of shrubs.

In *súśi-śvis* the posterius should perhaps be written *-śiśvis*, with reduplication, cf. *saṁ-śiśvarī* (in *K. Z.* l. s. c.).

Sanskrit dhénā = Avestan daenā = Lithuanian dainà. — By Dr. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Professor in Grove City College, Grove City, Penna.

The two objects of this paper are, first, to determine the meaning of the Sanskrit *dhénā* and then to establish the equation that gives its title.

The word *dhénā* is found fifteen times in the *RV.* In the later Vedic and Brahmaṇic literature we find seven[1] of these passages repeated a total of seventeen times. The word is found also in two compounds in the *RV.* One of these occurs twice only and in the same *sūkta.* The other occurs once in *RV.* and twice in the later literature. Two other instances, not in the *RV.*, are found later, one occurring in six different works[2] and the other in three[3]. Elsewhere it is found, — so far as the writer has discovered — only in Nāighaṇṭuka I, 11, in the *Unadiganasutra* (268 c) of Hemachandra[4] and in Sāyaṇa.

The *PWB.* defines *dhénā* in the sg. as "milchende Kuh" and in the pl. as "Milchtrank", in all passages of the *RV.*, except three. For I, 101, 10 and V, 30, 9, it says, "viell. Stute" and for I, 2, 3, "viell. vom Gespann Vayu's zu verstehen ist". Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* has the definitions "Milchkuh, Stute,

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[1] Thus *RV.* I, 101, 10b = *Nāigh.* 6, 17; *RV.* III, 34, 3d = *AV.* XX, 11, 3d; *Vāj. S.*, 33. 26d; *RV.* IV, 58, 6a = *Vāj. S.*, 13, 38a; 17, 94a; *KS.*, 40, 7a; *Tāit. S.*, 4, 2, 9, 6a; *MS.*, 2, 7, 17a; *Tāit. Ār. A.*, 10, 40a; *ÇB.*, 7, 5, 2, 11; *Āp. Ç.*, 17, 18, 1a; *RV.*, V, 62, 2c = *MS.*, 4, 14, 10c; *TB.*, 2, 8, 6, 6c; *RV.* VII, 94, 4c = *SV.*, 2, 150c; *RV.*, X, 43, 6b = *AV.*, XX, 17, 6b; *RV.*, X, 104, 3c = *AV.*, XX, 25, 2c, 33, 2c.

[2] *Dhenā bṛhaspateḥ* in *MS.*, 1, 9, 2; *KS.*, 9, 10; *GB.*, 2, 2, 9; *Tāit. Ār.*, 3, 9, 1; *Vāit. S.* 15, 3; *Āp. Ç.*, 11, 3, 14.

[3] *Dhenābhiḥ kalpamānāḥ* in *MS.* 4, 13, 4; *KS.*, 16, 21; and *Tāit. Br.*, 3, 6, 5, 1.

[4] The reference in *PWB.* to the *Anekārthasaṁgraha* (2. 271) of this author seems to be an error, as the edition of Zachariae (2. 267) defines *dhena* and *dhenī* but has no mention of *dhenā.*

Milchtrank" and in ten instances agrees with *PWB.* in their distribution, but not in the other five. Commentators and translators differ widely in their interpretations. Sāyaṇa gives six different definitions of the word. Grassmann in his *RV.* disagrees with himself in his *WB.* in five instances, withdraws "Stute" and enters "Lippen", "Weiber" and "Gewässer". Griffith's translation agrees in general with Sāyaṇa, but adds one definition and withdraws another. Ludwig consistently renders in all instances by "Stimme", "Lieder" or "Schall", but considers this difficult in V. 62, 2 and desiderates "Ströme". Geldner in *Ved. Stud.* II, 35 ff. has made a special study of the word and, as the result, propounds the definitions: 1. Schwester, viell. auch Geliebte, Frau. 2. Weibliches Tier, Kuh. 3. *a.* Zunge, *b*, Stimme, Rede, Lob. In all but three instances he practically agrees with Sāyaṇa. Oldenberg in his *Vedaforschung* 93 ff., has a special excursus on the word and concludes that in all but two instances its meaning is "Milchströme", either literally or figuratively, and in those two instances it still refers to potable fluids.

The table opposite shows at a glance the various renderings proposed in each instance.

In view of this diversity of interpretation which attaches several incongruous meanings to what would seem a single word, it has seemed advisable to study the word anew to establish its fundamental signification and to trace its semantic development.

In Nāighaṇṭuka (*l. c.*) we find *dhenā* listed as one of the fifty-seven synonyms of *vāk.* This is the one meaning most frequently given by Sāyaṇa and best supported by native tradition as will appear in the sequel. It lends itself to our equation. So we start with it in the consideration of the several passages.

Among these we find the greatest degree of unanimity in X, 104, 10—

vīrēṇyaḥ krátur índraḥ suçastír
utápi dhénā puruhūtám īṭṭe |

(Heroic strength and goodly praise is Indra. Yea, also *dhéna* praises him, invoked of many).

It seems clear as Ludwig observes "daß es nicht Kuh oder Milch bedeuten kann". So Grassmann's sober second thought leads him here to substitute "Lippen" in his *RV.* for the "Milch-

R. V.	PWB.	GWB.	Sāyana	Ludwig	GRV.	Griffith	Geldner
I, 2. 3	Gespann Vayu's	Milchkuh	vāk	Schall	Milchkuh	Voice	Rede
I, 55, 4	Milchende Kuh	"	stutilakṣaṇām vācam	Stimme	Milchtrank	"	Stimme, Rede
I, 101, 10	Stute	Stute	jihvopajihvike	Stimmen	Lippen	Lips	Zunge
I, 141, 4	Milchtrank	Milchkuh	vācaḥ	Lieder	Kühe	Songs	Reden
III, 1, 9	"	Milchtrank	vācaḥ	Stimmen	Tränke	Voices	Stimme, Rede
III, 34, 3	"	Milchkuh	gā	"	Kühe	Milch-kine	Schwester
IV, 58, 6	"	Milchtrank	nadyas (?)	Lieder	Tränke	Oblations	Reden
V, 30, 9	Stute	Stute	striyān	Stimmen	Weiber	Voices	Geliebte oder Frauen
V, 62, 2	Milchtrank	Milchkuh	dyutīḥ	"	Kühe	"	Kühe
VII, 21, 3	"	Stute	nadyas	Lieder	Gewässer	Rivers	Schwester oder Geliebte = Gewässer
VII, 94, 4	"	Milchtrank	vāk	Stimmen	Trank	Words	Stimme, Rede
VIII, 32, 22	"	"	stutīḥ	"	"	Voice	" "
X, 43, 6	"	"	"	Lieder	Milchgetränk	Songs of praise	" "
X, 104, 3	"	"	stutivācaḥ	Stimmen	Milchtrank	Voices	" "
X, 104, 10	Milchende Kuh	Milchkuh	"	Lied	Lippen	Song	" "

kuh" of his *Wörterbuch* and Bergaigne (*La Rel. Ved.* II, 278, n. 1) says: "La vache qui 'invoque' Indra ne peut être que la prière".

The worshipper's voice uplifted in the adoration of song or prayer would seem a better subject for the verb *īṭṭe* than the lexicographers' "cow" or Oldenberg's "oblation of milk". Moreover, this assumption is greatly strengthened by an examination of the ninety-five passages in the *RV.* that contain this verb. In sixty-three of these it may not be indubitably clear whether the praise, honor, worship, etc., expressed by the verb were manifested by thought and its expression in song, prayer, etc., or by the oblation, offering, etc. As a matter of fact, of course, both were integral parts of the sacrifice. In the great majority of these instances it would seem to the writer that the dominant idea in the verb is that of song or prayer. This may, however, be due to the more or less unconscious bias of one defending a thesis. So let us examine only the thirty-one instances — exclusive of our passage — in which there is an absolutely clear expression. In seven passages the subjects are decisive; *viz.*, I, 142, 4, *matír*; VII, 24, 5, *arká;* 45, 4, *gíraḥ;* 91, 2, *suṣṭutír;* 93, 4. *gīrbhír víprah;* 94, 5, *víprāsa*, with *tā́ gīrbhír* in 6; VIII, 60, 16, *saptá hótāras.* In no passage in the *RV.* is *havís* or any word meaning "oblation, offering", etc., used as the subject of this verb. In three passages, — VIII, 43, 22, 24; 44, 6 — the immediate juxtaposition of the verb *çru* shows that song or prayer is meant and in X, 66, 14, the same is clearly shown by *vā́cam.* In thirteen passages the expressed instruments of the action are *sūktébhir vácobhir* (I, 36, 1), *girā́* (II, 6, 6; III, 27, 2; VIII. 19, 21; 31, 14), *gīrbhír* (III, 52, 5), *námasā* (V, 12, 6; X, 85, 22), *námobhir* (V, 1, 7; 60, 1), *námasā gīrbhír* X, 85, 21), *stómāir* (VII, 76, 6) and *gā́thābhiḥ* VIII, 71, 14).

In five passages the expressed means are *havíṣā ghṛténa* (I, 84, 18), *havírbhir* (III, 1, 15), *srucā́* (V, 14, 3) and *havyébhir* (VII, 8, 1; VIII, 74, 6). In the remaining two the expressed means are *námobhir havíṣā* (V, 28, 1) and *yajñébhir gīrbhír* (VI, 2, 2). Excluding these last two passages as neutral because of their participation in both classes, we have a total of twenty-four passages that clearly associate thought, song, or prayer, with the verb and only five that so associate oblation, etc. If then *dhénā* could be either song or ob-

lation, the mathematical probabilities are about five to one in favor of song.

In the third stanza of this same hymn we have —

> *índra dhénābhir ihá mādayasva*
> *dhībhír víçvābhiḥ çácyā grṇānáḥ* | |
> (Rejoice thou here, O Indra, in our songs,
> Hymned mightily in all our thoughts).

We should on *a priori* grounds expect the word to have the same meaning here as in 10 below and we fail to find any reason for thinking otherwise. It is certainly as reasonable to interpret *dhénābhir* as the worshippers' voices uplifted in song as to substitute the "Milchtrank" of *GRV.* and the lexicographers. This harmonizes nicely with the general context of the hymn, which is replete with the idea of song and praise. *Cf. gíro* 1 [c], *ukthavāhaḥ* 2 [d], *dhībhír . . . grṇānáḥ* 3 [d], *grṇántaḥ* 4 [d], *stotára* 5 [d], *bráhmāṇi* 6 [a], *suvṛktím* 7 [b], *gíro* 7 [c], *huvema* 11 [a], *çṛṇvántam* 11 [c]. There are references, expressed or implied, to the oblation of soma in 1 [ad], 2 [bc], 3 [b], 6 [b] and 7 [b], but more than half of these are in the first two stanzas and they do not dominate the entire hymn as do the former.

As Oldenberg (p. 98 f.) feels that the verb *mad* supports the idea of "drink", we may add that this verb is predicated of Indra, relative to *stómebhir*, in I, 9, 3 and, relative to *gīrbhír*, in I, 51, 1; of the devás, relative to *stóme*, in III, 54, 2; of the worshippers of Indra, relative to *gīrbhír*, in III, 53, 10 and V, 36, 2. Hence the verb is appropriate enough with *dhénābhir* as songs in the passage before us.

That Indra rejoices in the songs of his worshippers is shown by many passages in the *RV.*; *e. g.*, I, 5, 7, 10; 9, 3, 9; 10, 3, 5, 9, 12; 16, 7; 30, 4, 10, 14; 51, 1; 54, 7; etc. In fact, every *sūkta* in his honor proves it and we have his own word for it in I, 165, 4. So he naturally takes note of such songs and looks with favor upon them. Thus in X, 43, 6—

> *víçaṁ-viçam maghávā páry açāyata*
> *jánānāṁ dhénā avacā́kaçad vṛ́ṣā* |
> (Maghavan came to all the tribes in turn,
> And of the songs of men the Bull took note).

and in VIII, 32, 22—

ihí tisráḥ parāváta
ihí páñca jánāṅ áti |
dhénā indrāvacā́kaçat | |
(Over the three great distances,
Beyond the peoples five, thy way pursue,
Taking note, O Indra, of our songs).

Oldenberg (p. 98) finds little difficulty in these passages. Their evidence is clear enough. "Wären die *dhénāḥ* Preislieder, so wäre das 'Herabblicken' zwar nicht undenkbar, aber viel näher läge es doch, ein 'Hören' erwähnt zu finden. Wo im Veda werden die *dhénāḥ* 'gehört'?" In reply to this question I trust it will appear that *dhénāḥ* are heard in every passage in which the word occurs in the *RV.* In controversion of his statement that "Herabblicken" is quite unthinkable in reference to songs of praise we would state that *bráhmāṇi ṛ́ṣīnām* is the object of *abhicakṣāthe*[1] in VII, 70, 5; that *stómān* is the object of *upadarçathaḥ*[2] in VIII 26, 4; that *stómā* is the subject of the medial passive *pratyadṛkṣata*[3] in VIII, 5, 3; that *dṛ́çīkam* is an epithet of *stómam* in I, 27, 10 and *paricā́kṣyāṇi* of *vácāṅsi* in VI, 52, 14. It is then a case of the Ṛṣis against Oldenberg as to whether it is so "unthinkable" that songs of praise could[4] be seen or "looked at". Our next passage is VII, 94, 4—

índre agnā́ námo bṛhát
suvṛktím érayāmahe |
dhiyā́ dhénā avasyávaḥ | |
(To Indra, Agni too, we raise
Our homage high and excellent hymn,
Our songs with prayers, their favor seeking).

Dhénāḥ as "songs" continues the *námo* of *a* and *suvṛktím* of *b* and forms part of the dominant thought of the entire hymn. This is expressed also in *mánmana pūrvyástuṭiḥ* of

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[1] *çuçruvā́ṅsā cid açvinā purū́ṇy*
abhí bráhmāṇi cakṣāthe ṛ́ṣīṇām |
(Having heard, O Açvins, look upon the many prayers of the Ṛṣis).

[2] *úpa stómān turásya darçathaḥ çriyé*
(For his glory, look ye on your zealous worshipper's lauds).

[3] *yuvā́bhyāṁ vājinīvasū práti stómā adṛkṣata*
(By you, lords of the swift steeds, our lauds were beheld).

[4] The very name Veda shows that the fundamental idea is that the songs have been "seen" by their composers.

1 [ab], *çrṇutám jaritúr hávam* of 2 [a], *vánataṁ gīraḥ* of 2 [b], *pipyataṁ dhíyaḥ* of 2 [c], *ílata víprāsa* of 5 [ab], *gīrbhīr ... havāmahe* of 6 [ab], *ukthébhir* 11 [a], *girā́* 11 [b] and *āñgūṣāír* of 11 [c]. Only in 6 and 10 is there any reference to the oblation. Even Oldenberg (p. 98) is forced to admit that song is implied in *dhénā* here, not directly, he adds, but only as the libation is joined with it or in so far as it represents the libation. But in the light of the context it would seem a strange perversion to say that "song" rather than "libation" is the implicit thought.

In I, 141, 1—

yád īm úpa hvárate sā́dhate matír
ṛtásya dhénā anayanta sasrútaḥ | |
(Whene'er he bends thereto, well speeds the hymn;
The songs of Ṛta bring him as they flow).

Oldenberg (p. 97) argues that *sasrútaḥ* plainly shows that "etwas Fließendes gemeint ist". This word, however, is found elsewhere in the *RV.* just twice, once as attributive to *apā́s* (IV, 28, 1) and once as attributive to *gíras*[1] (IX, 34, 6). The latter proves that songs may flow as well as "streams of milk" and that the passage is no more a bulwark of defence for his position than his "unthinkable" cases above.

In I, 67, 7 [b]; V, 12, 2 [b]; VII, 43, 4 [b]; VIII, 6, 8 [c]; IX, 33, 2 [b]; 63, 4 [c], 14 [b], 21 [b], we have mention of the *dhā́rās* of Ṛta; in I, 79, 3 [a] and III, 55, 13 [c], of the *páyas;* in I, 73, 6 [a] of the *dhenávas;* in I, 84, 16 [a], of the *gā́s;* in IX, 77, 1 [c] and X, 43, 9 [b], of her *sudúghā.* On the other hand, we have in I, 68, 5 [a]; 71, 3 [a]; IV, 23, 8 [b]; IX, 76, 4 [b]; 97, 34 [b]; 111, 2 [c], mention of the *dhītí* of Ṛta; in III, 31, 1 [b]; IV, 2, 16 [c]; IX, 102, 1 [b], 8 [c], of the *dī́dhiti*; in IV, 23, 8 [c] of the *çlóka* of Ṛta. So the mention of the prayers, holy songs, etc., of Ṛta is almost as frequent as that of her oblations of milk. Thus Vedic usage presents no difficulty to the interpretation of *dhénā* as songs in this passage.

The *dhénā* flow also in IV, 58, 6—

samyák sravanti saríto ná dhénā
antár hṛdā́ mánasā pūyámānāḥ |
eté arṣanty ūrmáyo, ghṛtásya
mṛgā́ iva kṣipaṇór īṣamāṇāḥ | |

---

[1] *gíro arṣanti sasrútaḥ* (The streaming songs flow on).
Cf. „Bathing in streams of liquid melody". Crashaw.

(Our songs, like streams, flow on together,
Cleansing themselves 'twixt heart and mind.
These waves of ghee flow on apace
E'en as wild beasts that flee before the bowman).

Oldenberg (p. 97) deems this passage "besonders wichtig" for his theory. His reasons are (1) the *dhénāḥ sravanti*; (2) "the entire hymn praises the streams of *ghṛta*; (3) *dhā́rāḥ* is found "four times" in the hymn. We have already shown that songs may "flow". They are here expressly compared with "streams". In VIII,[1] 49, 6 *dhītáyaḥ* "flow" and are compared with a copious gushing spring. They flow also in VIII,[2] 50, 4. A *gír* is described as "flowing" in I,[3] 181, 7, and if Aufrecht's reading in IX,[4] 108, 7 is correct, a *stóma* may be "pressed" and "poured out". These passages, with the one previously cited, amply demonstrate the fluidity of songs in the *RV.* and dispose of his first defence. To pass to his third point, we observe that *ghṛtásya dhā́rāḥ* is found five times, one more than Oldenberg claimed, in the hymn. It is in 5 c, 7 c, 8 c, 9 d, and 10 d, always in the third or fourth *pāda*. In 6 c, in exact formal correspondence with these, we find *ūrmáyo ghṛtásya*. The streams of *ghṛtá* are mentioned in every *ṛc.* of the *sūkta* from 5 to 10 inclusive, but in 6 *ūrmáyo*, not *dhénā*, represents the *dhā́rāḥ* of the others. To return to his second point, it is true that the hymn is in praise of the *ghṛtá*, of

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[1] *udrī́va vajrinn avató ná siñcaté*
kṣárantīndra dhītáyaḥ | |
(As a copious spring, O thou of the thunderbolt, gushes forth, our songs of adoration flow to thee, O Indra).

[2] *anehásaṁ vo hávamānam ūtáye*
mádhvaḥ kṣaranti dhītáyaḥ |
(To the peerless one that calls you for aid,
Songs of adoration, sweet as honey, are flowing).

[3] *ásarji vāṁ sthávirā vedhasā gír*
bāḷhé açvinā tredhā́ kṣárantī |
(Your strong laud, ye pious, was sent forth,
flowing threefold in mighty flood, ye Açvins).

[4] *ā́ sotā pári ṣiñcata*
áçvaṁ ná stómam aptúraṁ rajastúram |
(Press, pour forth as a steed, the song of praise, strong and piercing the air).

We may add also that in VIII, 13, 8, songs even dance like waters, — *krī́ḷanty asya sūnṛ́tā ā́po na.*

the strange, mystic and symbolically zoomorphic *ghṛtá*, as well as of the streams of *ghṛtá*. It is one of the most mooted of all the hymns of the *RV.* by the native commentators. It has several peculiar formal correspondences, arranged with almost mathematical precision. One of these has just been noted. We now have another. In 2 abc we read —

vayáṁ nā́ma prá bravāmā gṛtásya
asmín yajñé dhārayāmā námobhiḥ |
úpa brahmā́ çṛṇavac chasyámānam
(Let us tell forth the name of *ghṛtá;*
let us at the sacrifice uphold it with our homage;
let the Brahman hear it sung).

This is immediately followed by the description of the *ghṛtá* in bizarre animal form. In 6 ab, the mathematical center and the summit of the hymn, we have our passage, the next reference to the song of 2. In 10 ab, at the same distance from the medial summit, in the only other reference to song, the gods are asked to reward the singers, —

abhy àrṣata suṣṭutíṁ gávyam ājím.
asmā́su bhadrā́ drávinā̃ni dhatta |
(Send to our hymn of praise a herd of cattle;
bestow upon us goodly possessions).

Ghṛtá is dominant. Stanza 1 is a prelude but in *c* it has reference to the *nā́ma gúhyam* of *ghṛtá*. In 2 abc the singers are going to tell it forth in song. In 2 d and 3 they describe the mystic *ghṛtá*. In 5 c, 6 c, 7 c, 8 c, 9 d, 10 d the hymn masses effectively its mention of the streams of *ghṛtá*. In 10 ab the singers ask their reward, 10 cd and 11 are a postlude, but still emphasize the *ghṛtá*. In 6 ab the song announced in 2 is described as in full flow and in 10 it is practically over. We believe then the *dhénā* of 6 a is the song promised in 2 and the *suṣṭutím* for which the reward is asked in 10.

Oldenberg, for the benefit of his argument, has wisely refrained from any attempt at the exegesis of 6 b, which seems so admirably to sustain our interpretation. The commentator on *Vāj. S.* 17, 94, glosses *dhénā* by *vācaḥ* and places it among the *vāṅnāmasu* with reference to Nāigh. (*l. c.*). He adds — *kīdṛçyo dhenāḥ antar hṛdā manasā pūyamānāḥ çarīrāntarvyavasthitena hṛdā pāvanasthānīyena manasā ca pūyamānāḥ çabdadoṣebhyo vineyamānāḥ, i. e.*, they cleanse themselves, separate themselves, from the defects of speech in the mind which has a

pure place and in the heart which is situated in the interior of the body. Here we seem to have the native way of expressing the noble thought that the worshippers are striving in their adoration to clothe the thoughts prompted by the heart and conceived by the mind, both pure, in a noble form, pure from the defects of ordinary speech. However that may be, it is quite certain that the collocation of *hṛdā́* and *mánasā* points to thought, song, etc., rather than to libations of melted ghee. In fact, we have a close parallel in I, 61, 2 —

índrāya hṛdā́ mánasā manīṣā́
pratnā́ya pā́tye dhíyo marjayanta | |
(For Indra, ancient lord, they cleanse their songs,
In heart and mind and spirit).

It is appropriate that the songs should be purified and cleansed in heart and mind, for it is here that they are fashioned also, as shown by I, 171, 2—

eṣá va stómo maruto námasvān
hṛdā́ taṣṭó mánasā dhāyi devāḥ |
(To you, ye gods of storm, this laud, in homage rich,
and fashioned in heart and mind, is brought).

Nowhere in the *RV.* does the phrase *hṛdā́ mánasā* (VI, 28, 5; VII, 98, 2; X, 177, 1) or *hṛdé mánase* (I, 73, 10; IV, 37, 2) suggest even the possibility of Oldenberg's theory.

But in *Tāit. S.* IV, 2, 9, 6, we have

sám ít sravanti saríto ná dhénāḥ
antár hṛdā́ mánasā pūyámānāḥ |
[1]*ghṛtásya dhā́rā abhí cākaçīmi*
hiraṇyáyo vetasó mádhya āsām | |

This is a composite of *pādas a* and *b* of our stanza and of *c* and *d* of the preceding, in this order. This same *contaminatio* is found also in *Vāj. S.* 13, 38; *KS.*, 40, 7; *MS.*, 2, 7, 17; *ÇB.*, 7, 5, 2, 11 and *Āp. Ç.*, 17, 18, 1. The commentator on *Tāit. S.* glosses *dhénāḥ* by *pānayogyāḥ dadhimadhvavayavāḥ* (portions of curd and mead, fit for drinking). The commentator on *Vāj. S.*, who on two other [2] occasions, of which one is this same passage, gives *vācas* as the gloss of *dhénā*, here gives instead *annāni . . . hvayamānāni haviṅsi* (food . . . libations that make *invocation*), and the *ÇB.* gives *annam*, for

[1] Clearly do I behold the streams of ghee,
The golden reeds in the midst of them.

[2] Vid. n. 1, on first page.

"the food is indeed purified by the heart and mind within him that is righteous".

Here only in the ancillary Vedic do we find a note out of tune with our interpretation. The *Vāj. S.* seems to have some glimpse of the connection between *dhénā* and voice as it has *hvayamānāni* and, as we have said, on each of the later occasions in which the word is used, has *vācas.* If it is once wholly or partly against us, it is twice quite positively for us. We can easily believe that in this "contaminated" version the unusual or rare word *dhénā* has been misunderstood, possibly through *contaminatio* with the masculine [1]*dhenas*, or *dhenī* or the frequent *dhenavas* or possibly because used with such verbs as *mad*, *sṛj*, *pinv*, *āviṣkṛ.* etc. and the fact that songs as well as food and drink actually "strengthen" Indra and the *devās.*

In I, 55, 4—

sá íd váne namasyúbhir vacasyate
cā́ru jáneṣu prabruvāṇá indriyám |
vṛ́ṣā chándur bhavati haryató vṛṣā
kṣémeṇa dhénām maghávā yád ínvati | |

(He, truly, in the wood is called by worshippers;
When his fair Indrahood he shows 'mong men,
The Bull is lovely; one to be desired is he, the Bull,
Whene'er with peace the Maghavan promotes our song).

Sāyaṇa glosses *dhénām invati*, 1st by [2]*stutilakṣaṇām vācam prerayate,* and 2d by [3]*yajamānāiḥ kṛtāṁ stutim vyāpnoti.* Either of these makes excellent sense. The former is supported by such a passage as I, 10, 4—

éhi stómāṅ̃ abhí svara
abhí gṛṇīhy ā́ ruva |
(Come thou, laud our song of praise,
praise it, acclaim it).

also, VIII, 13, 27—

ihá tyā́ sadhamā́dyā
yujānáḥ sómapītaye |
hárī indra pratádvasū abhí svara | |

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[1] Hemachandra *Unadigansutra* 268c glosses *dhenaḥ* by *samudraḥ* and his *Anekārthasaṁgraha*, 2, 267 (Zach.) gives the same and adds *dhenī* = *nadyām.* Medinīkoṣa n. 12 has both *dhenī* and *dhenas* (m.) as *nadī.*

[2] Sends forth his commending voice.

[3] Promotes the laud made by the worshippers.

(Having yoked those feast-sharing,
wealth-increasing, dun steeds,
for drinking the soma come hither singing).

The second is supported by such parallels as VIII, 13, 32c—

vŕṣā yajñó yám ínvasi vŕṣā hávaḥ

(Strong the worship that thou dost promote, strong the invocation).

and X, 188, 3c—

tā́bhir no yajñám invatu

(With these may he promote our worship).

and I, 18, 7—

sá dhīnā́ṁ yógam invati

(He promotes the work of our psalms).

The latter is the better supported by such parallels as we have found, but our interpretation of *dhénām* is safe with either.

The passages I, 10, 4; VIII, 13, 27, cited above and many others give us the friendly, peaceful songs of Indra. The war-songs of his pealing thunder as it reverberates among the mountains, are called *dhénā* in VII, 21, 3—

tvám indra srávitavā́ apás kaḥ
páriṣṭhitā áhinā çūra pūrvī́ḥ |
tvád vāvakre rathyò ná dhénā
réjante víçvā kṛtrímāṇi bhīṣā́ | |

(O Indra, thou didst cause the waters flow,
The many waters, hero, that by Ahi were encompassed.
Thy war songs rolled from thee as if on chariots borne:
And all created things did quake with fear).

Of all translators and commentators, Ludwig alone is right with his "<ihre> tönenden lieder". The nearest we can get to the *nadyas* of Sāyaṇa and his followers would be to interpret *dhénā* as referring to the roar of the liberated waters. Such a parallel, however, as [1] I, 80, 14, is against it. There are

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[1] *abhiṣṭanê te adrivo*
yát sthā́ jágac ca rejate |
tváṣṭā cit táva manyáva
índra vevijyáte bhiyā́
(At thy deep roar, O hurler of stones,
Whate'er is fixed and what is moved doth tremble:
E'en Tvashṭar at thy mighty wrath,
O Indra, was all aquake with fear).

numerous references to Indra's roar, but they need not be cited here. As Oldenberg (p. 97), however, finds support in *rathyò ná*, we shall quote two passages which show that this comparison supports also our interpretation of *dhénā*. These V, 61, 17—

etám me stómam ūrmye
dārbhyáya párā vaha |
gíro devi rathír iva | |
(O Ūrmyā, bear thou far away
For me this song of praise,
O goddess, songs as if on chariots borne).

and VIII,95, 1—

ā́ tvā gíro rathír iva
ásthuḥ sutéṣu girvaṇaḥ
(To thee, O lover of song, our lauds
Arise, as if on chariots borne,
Whene'er we press the soma).

One more reference to Indra's *dhénā* is found in I, 101, 10—

mādáyasva háribhir yé ta indra
ví ṣyasva çipre ví sṛjasva dhéne |
ā́ tvā suçipra hárayo vahantu
uçán havyā́ni práti no juṣasva | |
(Rejoice in these dun steeds of thine, O Indra;
Ope thou thy jaws; let loose thy voices twain.
Let thy dun steeds thee bring, O fair-cheeked god,
And graciously take thy joy in our oblations).

Sāyaṇa interprets the dual *dhéne* as *pānasādhanabhute jihvopajihvike* (tongue and epiglottis becoming effective for drinking). He would have been more consistent had he said "effective for speech". Oldenberg (p. 94) ridicules Geldner's "Zunge" as not accounting for the dual, but when he comes to the interpretation of the passage (p. 99) he finds the dual difficult and dismisses it with the question, — "Sind die *dhéne* also vielleicht Soma und Wasser?".

We note that *sṛj* is not rare in reference to songs, etc. Thus we have *ásṛgram . . . gíraḥ* (I, 9, 4), *ávasṛjatam . . . dhíyo* (I, 151, 6), *ásarjī . . . gír* (I, 181, 7), *úpastutim . . . ásṛkṣy* (VIII, 27, 11), *sárgāṅ iva sṛjataṁ suṣṭutír úpa* (VIII, 35, 20); *stotúr medhā́ asṛkṣata* (VIII, 52, 9); *ghóṣā ásṛkṣata* (VIII, 63, 7), etc.

We have seen, in the foregoing, ample citations showing that Indra had two distinct *dhénā*, that of gracious commendation of his worshipper's praises and that terrifying, thundering battle shout. This gives one interpretation of our dual. An examination of the hymn suggests also another. In *pāda d* of each *ṛc* from 1 to 7 inclusive, in 8[a] and 9[c], Indra is invoked to come with his Marut band. Now the Maruts are great singers as shown by I, 19, 4; 24, 8; 37, 10, 13; 85, 2; 87, 3, 5; 165, 1; 166, 7, 11; V, 30, 6; etc., etc. Hençe, as Ludwig has suggested, the *dhéne* here are probably that of Indra himself and that of the Maruts. This would seem supported by 11[a]—

marútstotrasya vṛjánasya gopā́

in which the worshippers speak of themselves as the "guardians of the camp that is Marut-praised". Hence we may consider the two *dhénā* as the gracious, approving song of Indra and the Marut's song of praise.

We have the dual again in V, 30, 9—

strîyo hí dāsá āyudhāni cakré
kím mā karann abalā́ asya sénāḥ |
antár hy ákhyad ubhé asya dhéne
áthópa praíd yudháye dásyum índraḥ | |
(The Dāsa made his women his weapons.
What do his feeble armies do to me?
Indra distinguished both his voices
And then went forth to fight the Dāsa).

Oldenberg thinks the *dhéne* are the liquids that play so great a part in the Namucci myth. This fits his general interpretation of *dhénā*. Ludwig and Griffith think that Indra distinguished between the voice of Namucci and that of his women and knew from the latter that he had to contend with no army of demon warriors. This fits our general interpretation of the word and is parallel in usage with the word in the latter interpretation of the passage immediately preceding (*i. e.* I, 101, 10). An interpretation parallel to the former of the preceding would be to consider the *dhéne* as the war songs or yells of Namucci and his words cheering on his women. Either makes good sense and harmonizes with our interpretation of the word. As we had some preference for the latter interpretation in the preceding we have the same

for the corresponding interpretation here, the *dhénā* of Namucci and that of his women.

We have a reference to the song of Vāyu in I, 2, 3—

vā́yo táva prapṛ́ñcatī
dhénā jigāti dāçúṣe |
urūcī́ sómapītaye | |
(Vāyu, thy penetrating voice
goes unto the worshipper,
wide spreading unto the soma drink).

In 1 Vāyu is summoned to hearken unto the *ṛṣi's* invocation (*hávam*); in 2 the singers call him with their hymns of praise (*ukthébhir*). Here in 3, according to Sāyaṇa, his approving voice is heard in reply, "O worshipper, I will drink the soma given by thee". This harmonizes well with the context and we have already cited or quoted several passages that establish such commending voices of the gods. Vāyu is summoned and his *dhénā* comes. This then must be an essential characteristic that may be used as a metonym of the god. This could be no libation, but in the list of "wives" of the deities given in *Tāit. Ār.* 3, 9, 1, *vāk* is the wife of Vāyu and hence such a peculiar adjunct as would best represent him here.

In III, 1, 9, the reference is to the celestial Agni, —

pitúç cid ū́dhar janúṣā viveda
vy àsya dhā́rā asṛjad ví dhénāḥ |
(From birth he knew his father's bosom,
Sent forth his streams, his voices uttered.).

Sāyaṇa explains *ū́dhar* as the firmament, *dhā́rā* as streams of rain, and *dhénāḥ* as the voices of thunder (*mādhyamikā vācas*). This seems more probable than other interpretations, though this is one of Oldenberg's star passages to prove that *dhénā* means "streams of milk". He lays special emphasis upon *ū́dhar* and *dhā́rā* and the striking comparison of IV, 22, 6,—

prá dhenávaḥ sisrate vṛ́ṣṇa ū́dhnaḥ

as showing the synonymity of *dhā́rā* and *dhénā* in this passage. Here, however, *dhā́rā* replaces *dhenávas* there and it is clearly distinguished from *dhénā*.

We would quote as parallels in our favor such passages as VIII, 6, 8, in which *dhītáyaḥ* and *dhā́rayā* are associated; IX, 10, 4 in which *girā́* and *dhā́rayā* are associated; IX, 44, 2,

in which *matī́, dhiyā́* and *dhā́rayā* are associated; IX, 63, 21, in which *dhībhír* and *dhā́rayā* are associated; etc. Such passages show how natural the connection of *dhénā* as "songs" with *dhā́rā* would be in the passage before us.

As for the *ū́dhar* end of the argument, we may quote V, 44, 13—

víçvāsām ū́dhaḥ sa dhiyā́m udā́ñcanaḥ
(The udder and bucket of all holy psalms).

The *ū́dhar* of the firmament is not a rare figure. *Cf. e. g.* VII, 101, 1; IX, 107, 5; X, 100, 11; etc.

Our next passage is III, 34, 3—

índro vṛtrám avṛṇoc chárdhanītiḥ
prá māyínām aminād várpanītiḥ |
áhan vyàṅsam uçádhag váneṣu
āvír dhénā akṛṇod rāmyā́ṇām ‖
(The leader of his host, Indra encompassed Vṛtra;
Assuming shapes of those in magic skilled, he minished him.
Intensely burning in the woods, he slew Vyaṅsa
And made the voices of the nights apparent).

That *āvír akṛṇod* may be predicated of song is proved by IX, 3, 5—

āvíṣ kṛṇoti vagvanúm
(He makes his voice heard).

and IX, 95, 2—

devó devā́nāṁ gúhyāni nāma
āvíṣ kṛṇoti barhíṣi pravā́ce ‖
(As god, he makes heard the secret names
of the gods, to be told forth on the sacred grass).

That the "nights" have a voice is sufficiently shown by II, 2, 2,

abhí tvā náktīr uṣáso vavāçire

(The Nights and Dawns bellow to thee), and by VIII, 96, 1—

asmā́ uṣā́sa ā́tiranta yā́mam
índrāya náktam ū́rmyāḥ suvācaḥ |
(For him the dawns lengthened their courses;
By night, the nights became sweet-voiced for Indra).

This latter passage is a good commentary on the text before us as it, too, is from a *sūkta* that deals with the conflict of Indra and the demons. Otherwise we may think of the *dhénā* here as the shouts of the demonic foes, or the thunderings of Indra in the darksome night of battle, or we may endorse the commentator on *Vāj. S.* 33, 26, who thinks the

dhénā here are the *stutirūpā vācaḥ* of *yāyajūkās*, or those who worship frequently, even singing their adoration in the seasons of the nights.

Oldenberg (p. 95 f.) considers our next passage so strongly corroborative of his interpretation of *dhénā* that he has made it the foundation upon which he has reared much of his superstructure. This is V, 62, 2—

tát sú vām mitrāvaruṇā mahitvám
īrmā́ tasthúṣīr áhabhir duduhre |
víçvāḥ pinvathaḥ svásarasya dhénā
ánu vām ékaḥ pavír ā́ vavarta ‖
O Mitra, Varuṇa, this is your greatness;
(Each day they have milked the kine that stand here.
You have caused to swell all songs of the *svasara*;
Your single tire hath rolled along hither).

At first sight *pinvathaḥ* and *svásarasya* may seem to favor the synonymity of *dhénā* with *dhenú* but we find the verb *pinv* is used also with *dhíyaḥ*, the synonym of *dhénāḥ* according to the interpretation we have given throughout. Thus we have in IX, 94, 2—

dhíyaḥ pinvānā́ḥ svásare ná gā́va.

Also in I, 151, 6—

áva tmánā sṛjátam pínvataṁ dhíyo

and VII, 82, 3—

'pinvatam apítaḥ pínvatam dhíyaḥ

we have the act predicated of Mitra Varuṇa as in our passage. The Açvins are the subject in X, 39, 2—

codáyataṁ sūnṛ́tāḥ pínvatam dhíya.

Hence the argument from the verb fails, as it will support either interpretation. These *dhíyaḥ* in IX, 94, 2, even "bellow forth" (*abhí vāvaçra*) "a greeting to soma". This shows how completely the same words may be predicated of both "cows" and "songs".

It is here that Ludwig while still consistently rendering *dhénā* by "Stimmen" thinks the association with *svásara* difficult and desiderates "Ströme". Only in this passage does Geldner render *dhénā* by "Kühe" and that because of *svásara.* These have taken the word in the sense of "cow-pen, stall", etc. But Geldner (*op. cit.* III, 113 ff.) has more recently argued that this word signifies a time of day, identical with the

saṁgavá or morning milking-time, which according to *Tāit. Br.* I, 5, 3, 1, belongs to Mitra. We believe this is correct for it brings unity instead of diversity. The older translators required three meanings for the word, as in *GWB.* This, however, gives one meaning that makes very good sense in each of the thirteen passages in which the word occurs in the *RV.* In only five of these are kine in any way mentioned in connection with the *svásara.* In three of these five and in six others the gods are associated with the *svásara.* In four passages, exclusive of the one under discussion, there are references to songs, etc., to the gods. Thus in II, 2, 2, Night and Morning bellow greeting to Agni; in VIII, 88, 1, Indra is addressed with *gīrbhír*; in VIII, 99, 1, Indra is invoked to hear the *stómavāhasām*; the *dhíyaḥ pinvānā́ḥ* of IX, 94, 2 are cited above. In III, 60, 6, the *svásarāṇi* bring to Indra the *vratā́ devā́nām mánuṣaç ca.* We see as analogous to these a reference in our passage to the adoration of the worshippers at the early morning sacrifice. Mitra and Varuṇa make the cows swell with milk in the next stanza. The same idea is not needed here. Whether, however, *dhénā* in this mooted passage are, as we believe, the songs of adoration at the morning sacrifice, or the bawling of the cows at the pen for their calves, or, as Griffith thinks, "the voices of the thunder and the roar of the rushing rain from the vast aerial stall that holds the milchkine of the firmament, the word is in general accord with the interpretation we have given it throughout.

Three other passages in the *RV.* contain *dhénā* as the deuterotheme of a compound. These are not at all inconsistent with our meaning of the simple word. Thus in VII, 24, 2

vísṛṣṭadhenā bharate suvṛktír,
iyám índraṁ jóhuvatī manīṣā ‖
(This hymn of out-poured song is brought,
Invoking Indra with its prayer).

We find this word also in *KS*, 35, 9[a]—

visṛṣṭadhenāḥ salilā ghṛtaçcutaḥ
(Streams of song outpoured, distilling ghee).

and again in *Āp. Ç.* S. 14, 28, 4[a] with *saritā* for *salilā.* That *ghṛtaçcut* is applied to songs also, is shown by VIII, 51, 10—

turaṇyávo mádhumantaṁ ghṛtaçcútaṁ
víprāso arkám ānṛcuḥ |

(The zealous singers sang a song, distilling ghee and richly sweet). Cf. also II, 11, 7.

The other compound, *viçvádhenā*, is found only in IV, 19, 2—

áhann áhim pariçayānam árṇaḥ
prá vartanīr arado viçvádhenāḥ ‖
(Thou slewest Ahi who beleaguered the waters,
And thou didst open their courses all aroar in song),

and 6

tvám mahīm avánim viçvádhenām
turvītaye vayyáya kṣarántīm |
(For Vayya and Turvīti thou didst stay
The mighty stream, on flowing, aroar with song).

We take it that the rivers were roaring forth their songs of joy and praise at their liberation. This idea suits the entire context quite admirably. It has been shown that waters sing and dance in the *RV.*

In the ancillary Vedic literature we find in *Tāit. Ār.*, 3, 9, 1—

senendrasya | *dhenā bṛhaspateḥ* | *pathyā pūṣṇaḥ* | *vāg vāyoḥ* | *dīkṣā somasya* | *pṛthivy-agneḥ* | *vasūnāṁ gāyatrī* | *rudrānāṁ triṣṭuk* | *ādityānāṁ jagatī* | *viṣṇor anaṣṭuk* || ı ||

We have already listed the other five works in which this is given in whole or part. Some of these, as the *GB*, 2, 2, 9 give *senendrasya patnī*, etc., and thus, by supplying the missing word, make it clear that we have here a list of the "wives" of the several deities. An examination of this "Catalogue of Wives" reveals how truly each is the necessary complement of her lord and his practically constant companion. Indra, warrior god, and his army; Vāyu, the god of wind, and his voice, etc.

This passage in itself may be said to clinch the whole question, for our interpretation of *dhenā* makes it a vastly better complement or wife of Bṛhaspati than the "libation of milk". The word is actually the equivalent of the *bṛhas* in *bṛhaspati*, as Professor Bloomfield once remarked.

In *Tāit. Br.* 3, 6, 5, 1; *MS.* 4, 13, 4 and *KS.* 16, 21, we have *dhenābhiḥ kalpamānaḥ*, „aided by songs", or "furnished with songs".

Nāigh. 6, 17, quotes *RV.* I, 101, 10 and adds — *dhenā dadhāteḥ*, — "*dhenā* is derived from the verb *dadhāti*". As he has already defined *dhenā* by listing it as a synonym of *vāk*, it would appear that he uses *dadhāti* here in its sense of "fix in thought, as a prayer, etc."

Lastly Hemachandra's *Unadiganasutra* 268 c has the gloss —

dhenā sarasvatī mātā ca | dhenaḥ samudraḥ

Of this the only consistent[1] interpretation is that *sarasvatī* is the goddess of eloquence, the daughter of Vāk (?).

We consider *dhénā* a guṇated form from the root *dhī*, "think", and a synonym of *dhītí* and *dhī́*, with which words we have found it associated. As these words may pass in meaning from pure thought to its expression by the voice in prayer and psalm, so *dhénā* regularly in the Veda is the outward form in which the inward thought is expressed by the voice. In the case of human beings, it is a song of joyous praise or holy invocation to the gods. In the case of gods, it is their gracious words, commending the worshipper and expressing their appreciation of the strength imparted to them by the songs, or their war-cries and battle-shouts as they engage in combat with their foes. The streams, too, sing their joy at their release and roar in praise of the great deity that effected it.

Dhénā is the exact phonetic[2] equivalent to the Avestan *daēnā* and the Lithuanian *dainà*. The *daēnā* of the Avesta is (1) religion, especially the Ahuran religion, also (2) a theological-philosophical concept of the totality of the psychic and religious properties of man. It is the spiritual ego, the immortal part of man, the mental λόγος. Cf. Bartholomae, *WB. s. v.*

The Lithuanian *dainà* is a folk song, but these folk songs contain the best and highest expressions of the native heart and mind. They are frequently the media of expressing their religious sentiments and their philosophical reflections. Their whole philosophy of life is enshrined in these songs which

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[1] Unless *dhenā* is masc. dual; then *sarasvatī* is the river and the reference has no connection with our subject. Cf. n. p. 403.

[2] Cf. Sk. *tejas*, Av. *taēža*, Lith. *staigà*,
„ *meṣás*, „ *maēša*, „ *maiszas*,
„ *reṣa*, „ *raēša*, „ *raiszas*,
„ *vedas*, „ *vaēdā*, „ *vaidas*,
„ *heḍas*, „ *zaēša*, „ *žuzdà*, etc.

constitute their poetic literature. Here is expressed their thought about the great anonymous Dëvas, the moon god and the sun maiden, the morning and the evening star, Perkúnas, the god of thunder, etc., beliefs which transport us back to the primal days of our race. Like the Sanskrit *dhénā*, the Lithuanian *dainà* is a voiced λόγος, but unlike the former it frequently descends from the divine heights and becomes of the earth, earthy. Thus *dhénā*, *daēnā* and *dainà* are all thought, but thought in its higher and spiritual reaches. Both phonetics and semantics proclaim them own sisters in the old Indo-European family circle.

By way of summary we may say that in every passage in which *dhénā* occurs in the *RV.* it may consistently be interpreted as voice, song, etc. In several instances the context decidedly favors this against Oldenberg's rendering. Every adjective that modifies it and every verb of which it is subject or object is used in other *RV.* passages in reference to words that indubitably signify songs, prayers, etc., but not all are so used with *havis* or its synonyms. It is so completely identified with Vāyu that it is metonymic of him. Our interpretation is supported by Nāighaṇṭuka, Sāyaṇa and *Vāj. S.* It has the irrefragable support of the "Catalogue of Wives". Only in the commentators on a "contaminated" version of one Vedic passage, plus five passages in Sāyaṇa, does it fail in support of the ancillary Vedic literature. It is not difficult to posit reasons for this. It furnishes the Sanskrit member, otherwise missing, of an equation with the Avestan and the Lithuanian. Passages which Oldenberg finds difficult become easy. Every argument he uses against it, is amply refuted by the passages quoted from the *RV.* The cumulative effect is overwhelming for *dhenā* as a synonym of *dhī*, *vācas*, *gīr*, *stoma*, *arka*, etc.

Vedic, Sanskrit, and Prakrit. By Walter Petersen, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas.

It will be the object of this paper to point out some difficulties in the ordinary view of the relation of the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit to the popular or Prakrit dialects, and, if possible, to suggest another theory which will avoid these difficulties. And in making this attempt, instead of starting with a discussion of "What is Sanskrit?", a procedure which seems to have led to no definite result[1], I shall begin with the consideration of the question as to what is "Mittelindisch" or Prakrit[2], hoping that if a satisfactory solution of this question is reached, the problem of the origin of Sanskrit will be materially simplified.

The normal view of the relation of Prakrit and Pali to the Vedic and Sanskrit is that suggested by the word "Mittelindisch" itself, namely that Prakrit is the direct lineal descendant of "Altindisch" or the language of the oldest stage of the transmission[3].

And since this oldest stage is found in two distinct forms, namely the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, the inference is that Prakrit is derived either from the Vedic language[4] or the Classical[5], or at least from popular languages to which the Vedic or Classical Sanskrit was related like all literary lan-

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[1] Cf. e. g. the widely divergent opinions of the British scholars in the JRAS. 1904. 457—487 on the article of Rapson "In what degree was Skt. a spoken language", ib. p. 435 ff.

[2] For want of a better term Prakrit below is often used to include the earlier or Pali stage of "Mittelindisch" as well as the later stage to which it is ordinarily applied.

[3] See the language tree of Thumb, Handbuch des Skt. 19.

[4] See notes 2 and 3 p. 415.

[5] So Hoefer, De Prakrito Dialecto 8; Lassen, Institutiones Linguae Prakritae 25 f.; Monier Williams, Nalopākhyānam Intr. p. V; Jacobi, KZ. 24. 614.

guages to the nearest popular dialects from which they are taken. The latter alternative, however, we may dismiss once for all. The number of phonetic as well as morphological peculiarities[1] which are common to the Vedic and Prakrit but unknown to Sanskrit, prove definitely that Prakrit is much nearer to the Vedic than to the Classical Sanskrit, and that direct origin from the latter is no longer to be thought of. There remains the supposition that Prakrit is derived either from Vedic dialects[2] or from contemporary dialects which are close to the Vedic in character[3].

To this latter view, however, there are grave and unanswerable chronological difficulties on every hand. In the first place, it is a well-known fact that the Vedic hymns already contain a number of Prakritisms[4], forms which distinctly belong to the "middle-Indian" period and do not represent the normal status of the Vedic sounds, but are exceptional cases and consequently borrowings from a different dialect. Thus Wackernagel, loc. cit., quotes as examples words with a cerebral, e. g. kāṭá "Tiefe": kartá "Grube"; words with ṇ (< n), e. g. maṇí "Perle"; words with ṣ (< ṛs, rs, ḷs, ls), e. g. AV. kaṣati "kratzen": Lith. kaĩszti; práuga = *práyuga, títau = *títasu, etc. To quote Wackernagel himself: "Daneben (sc. der priesterlichen Sprache) aber war (wenigstens in bestimmten Volksschichten) schon zu der Zeit, da die uns erhaltenen Hymnen entstanden, eine Sprache gebräuchlich, die über jene priesterliche Sprache weit hinaus entwickelt war, und die Haupteigenheiten der ältesten Phase des Mittelindisch, der sogenannten Palistufe, an sich trug". The conclusion therefore can not be avoided that during the period of composition of the Vedic hymns two distinct groups of Indian dialects were developed and separated by an uncrossable gulf[5],

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[1] So e. g. the Nom. Pl. ending Ved. -āsaḥ = Prkt. -āho, Instr. Ved. -ebhiḥ instead of -āiḥ = Prkrt. ehim, ḷ and ḷh for ḍ and ḍh in both Veda and Prakrit. Cf. Pischel, Gram. d. Prakrit Spr. 4 f.; Franke, Pali u. Skt. 150; Thumb, op. cit. 19.

[2] Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. 2. 110 f.; Franke, loc. cit.

[3] Cf. Bradke, ZDMG. 40. 673 ff.; Thumb, loc. cit.

[4] Cf. Wackernagel, Ai. Gram. 1. XVII.

[5] Squarely opposed to this, but certainly not justifiable, is the statement of F. W. Thomas, JRAS. 1904. 461, that during the centuries preceding the Christian era Sanskrit and the vernaculars (Prakrit) were so

on the one hand the priestly language of the Veda, on the other hand the popular dialects, which later became "Pali" and "Prakrit"[1]. From this fact it follows again that Prakrit can not be a direct lineal descendant of the Vedic of the hymns or of a contemporary dialect which was close to the Vedic in its character.

If, then, Prakrit is nevertheless derived from the Vedic, it must have been at a time considerably antedating the hymns themselves. And here the question immediately arises whether time enough had elapsed since the separation of the Indian and Persian dialects so that such large differences as exist between Vedic and the earliest "Pali" could have been developed in addition to the equally large ones between the Avestan and Vedic. As Bradke, ZDMG. 40. 672, remarks, it is a question of how long a period we allow to have elapsed between the period of Indo-Iranian unity and the Veda. If we place the latter long after the former, there is nothing impossible about assuming that the popular dialects had been developed in Vedic times and that the Vedic poets borrowed certain words from these vernaculars. Now Bradke himself believes that the time could have been amply sufficient. He declares that the oldest stages of the Indian and Iranian languages are no closer to each other than Italian and French, and yet these two languages are fifteen centuries apart[2]. He seems to believe that in the time thus gained it is possible for the old Aryan language to have developed successively first into "Altindisch" and then into the earliest stages of "Pali". But this argument really contains a circulus vitiosus. In the first place, to those who maintain that the Vedic period can not have been too long after the period of Indo-Iranian unity because of the close resemblance of the earliest Indian and Iranian he interposes the objection that Italian and French are no farther apart and yet it took fifteen hundred years to

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close to each other as to preclude comparison with Latin even in countries where Romance languages were spoken, unless indeed he means only the most developed stages of the Romance languages.

[1] When Rapson, JRAS. 1904. 445, therefore maintains that Prakrit can not be traced even to Yāska (about 500 B. C.), he would be undoubtedly wrong if he had not meant by Prakrit merely the language in the exact form in which it was later known by that name.

[2] ZDMG. 40. 669.

develop the difference, that consequently it might take just as long to develop the difference between Indian and Iranian. In the second place, into these fifteen hundred years thus gained is to be put also the development of Pali from "Altindisch", presumably on the ground that fifteen hundred years would be amply sufficient for even such large dialectical differences to arise! First a large period of time is claimed as being probably needed to develop comparatively small differences, then this large period is in turn used as proof that comparatively large differences may have developed in the same. But we could as well counterargue that six hundred years are needed to develop the Classical Sanskrit from the Vedic[1], and the difference is very slight, how much more would we then expect for the large difference between either Classical Sanskrit or Vedic and even the earliest stages of Pali? Adding to this the fifteen hundred years assumed by Bradke for the development of Vedic from primitive Aryan, how many milleniums after the period of Indo-Iranian unity would the Veda be placed? And the earlier we place the latter the worse the difficulty would become for the Classical Sanskrit. If we accept Jacobi's date for the Rigveda we should have to assume at least five milleniums to account for the comparatively slight difference between the Avestan and the Classical Sanskrit. When, however, we omit precarious arguments of this kind, and seek other criteria, we find that it is really very hard to believe that the Rigveda was enough later than the period of Indo-Iranian unity to account for the large change from primitive Aryan to Pali; for the fact that the Rigveda is yet full of reminiscences of the conquest of the Panjāb, and that the larger part of the later Aryan India had not yet been settled[2], would make it exceedingly improbable that the Indian Aryans had been in the Panjāb a very long time before the hymns were composed. We would hardly expect a conquering people suddenly to stop for centuries in their process of expansion, and then to resume it later. Nor would it be credible that a very long period had elapsed between the time of Indo-Iranian unity and the conquest of the Panjāb. As long as the Indian Aryans dwelt together

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[1] So Grierson, JRAS. 1904. 477, though for a different purpose.

[2] Cf. Macdonell, Hist. Skt. Lit. 139 ff.; Thumb, op. cit. 14.

with the Iranians toward the northwest of the Panjāb, they were virtually one people[1], and only after they separated in order that one part might invade India did large differences of language develop. The difficulty then becomes greater and greater: it is impossible for me to conceive how Prakrit could have had time to develop from "Altindisch" in the usual way at a time when the Veda evidently shows that is must have existed.

But let us assume for argument's sake that there nevertheless was ample time, in what relation then would we conceive the language of the Rigveda to stand to these vernaculars? The first alternative that might occur to us is that Vedic, like the later Classical Sanskrit, was already a petrified language, kept alive only by the priests and literary men. But to this idea there are several grave objections. In the first place the character of the Vedic language and literature is such that scarcely any one has seriously doubted that it was close to the living language of the time of the poets.[2] There may have been dialect mixture and archaisms and poetic peculiarities of diction, and the actual spoken language differed from that of the hymns as the Greek vernaculars of the Homeric age differed from the language of the Homeric poets, or as the popular languages to which any literary dialects owe their origin differ from the latter, but no more. Moreover, if Vedic was a dead language when the hymns were composed, how can we assume that this old language escaped complete obliteration in so long a time? A dead language is perpetuated only in its literature, and when it dies before a literature is produced, as it would have to in this case, it will be forgotten before it has a chance to perpetuate itself. It is

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[1] How close this period probably is to the Vedic can be seen from the retention of intervocalic s instead of the change to h, one of the most characteristic changes of the Persian group, in a word identical with the Vedic Násatya found in the recently discovered inscription of Boghazköi. The retention of the s in the Iranian word thus points virtually to the period of Indo-Iranian unity, and that about 1800 B. C. On the other hand few would put the Rigveda much later than 1200 B.C. Cf. Keith, JRAS. 1909. 1100 ff. Like Keith, I assume that E. Meyer, not Jacobi, has drawn the correct chronological conclusions from the inscription.

[2] Cf. Whitney, Skt. Gram.[3] XV; Wackernagel, op. cit. XVII; Macdonell, op. cit. 20; Grierson, JRAS. 1904. 471.

thus evident that at least the beginning of the literary Vedic period must have antedated the petrification of the language. But there is another and still more conclusive reason why the Vedic of the hymns could not have been a dead language. There is no one who could affirm that the art of writing was known at such an early date.[1] Now let us try to picture to ourselves how this older language (supposing it to have been established as a fashionable language so early) could have been transmitted orally. It might be possible for traditions as to new and old forms and phonetic doubles to be transmitted from one generation to another by means of oral instructions; for such changes are recognized by every one most easily, since the new and old forms continue to exist side by side, at least temporarily. But when we come to sound changes that do not result in phonetic doubles, particularly the spontaneous unconditioned sound changes, the question is altogether different. These are so gradual that no one notices the fact that he is pronouncing a certain sound differently than formerly or differently than the older members of the linguistic community. It follows that a consciousness of change never appears,[2] and that the old pronunciation thus will no longer be a norm with which to compare the new, since the whole community will keep so close together that no one notices a difference, and when the end of the development has finally been reached the old original pronunciation, no matter how different from the new one,[3] will be forgotten with no possibility of recovery. In case of a written language directions for the pronunciation of certain letters might reveal the change to later generations, but in a language which is spoken only, there is no possibility of establishing a previous sound change of this kind except by comparative philology. Thus the change of I. E. o to Germanic a has been so universal[4] that not a single trace of the old pronunciation could possibly have existed to the speak-

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[1] Cf. Macdonell, op. cit. 15 f., who quotes Buehler for the date 800 B. C. for the introduction of writing.

[2] Cf. Delbrück, Einleitung[4] 154 f.

[3] Every new nuance created in this way in fact displaces the older one. Cf. Sievers, Phonetik[5] § 728.

[4] Universality in fact is a characteristic of all gradual changes. Cf. Sievers, op. cit. § 731.

ers of the language after it had taken place, and since it was a gradual change, even those that lived while it took place were unconscious of it. In the same way Skt. n became Prakrit ṇ spontaneously[1] and under all circumstances (except before dental stops), and there was no way for the speaker of the latter sound to find out that he was pronouncing a different sound than his ancestors. But not only in case of spontaneous sound changes, but everywhere where no phonetic doubles result the old pronunciation is lost beyond recovery just as soon as the new is established. So it is with the dropping of the y in práuga < práyuga, or with the change of rt>ṭ, rs>ṣ, etc. The development of all of these new pronunciations should have completely obliterated the old, if really, as is claimed, Vedic and Prakrit were successive steps in the development of the same language. The existence of Prakrit forms with the above mentioned peculiarities in the Rigveda proves conclusively therefore from this point of view also that the two can not have been chronologically successive stages of one and the same language.

It follows that Vedic and Prakrit are sister dialects instead of being related as mother to daughter. In some way or other they must have been differentiated from their common ancestor, so that both could continue to exist side by side. It is obvious, however, that this differentiation can not have been local, i. e. Vedic and Prakrit can not have been contemporaneous dialects which arose in different localities; for it is incredible that all people in one section of the country should be so conservative in their pronunciation that they continued to speak a language very close to the primitive Aryan, while in other places, near by and not separated by any linguistic barrier whatsoever, they were so prone to innovations that it would appear as though the language they spoke was immeasurably a more recent or modern stage than that of the former. We should in vain look for analogies to this. Evidently the cause of the differentiation must be sought in different social strata of the same communities, one a strongly conservative

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[1] In the light of the following these changes were not gradual, but due to the substitution of one sound for the other. Here we argue from the standpoint of those who maintain that Prakrit is a direct descendant of Vedic. If that be true, these changes must be gradual.

element, another offering no opposition to the tendency to innovation. At first sight this postulate, however, would seem to lead to the view held by Wackernagel and quoted above, namely that Vedic was merely a priestly language, jealously guarded by the priestly aristocracy in its pristine purity, while the natural development of the language resulted in the popular dialects. To this view, however, the objection will also hold that this presupposes a consciousness of difference, while on the other hand this very theory would presuppose that those characteristics of Prakrit which were already developed in Vedic times were largely due to spontaneous sound changes,[1] of which the priests no less than the common people must have been unconscious even while they were in the process of becoming. Whatever theory accounts for the difference between Vedic and Prakrit must show how the differentiation could take place through causes not controlled by the human will.

This as well as all the other above mentioned difficulties will disappear if we assume that Vedic and Prakrit were caste-languages from the beginning, and that the differences originated with the differences between the castes. And since the origin of the castes was intimately connected with the difference between Aryan and not-Aryan, we may say that Vedic was the language of the higher or Aryan castes,[2] while Prakrit was the language of the lower or non-Aryan castes. As the old Aryans invaded the Indian peninsula and conquered certain aboriginal tribes, they would impose their language upon those whom they enslaved[3] and which consequently formed a part of their society.[4] But since these black aborigines had organs of speech as well as linguistic habits that differed widely from those of the Aryan invaders, they were unable to learn the language in the same form as the one in which it was spoken by their conquerors, and it was modified to suit their own characteristics in much the same way as the

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[1] Cf. foot-note p. 420.

[2] Cf. Baden-Powell, JRAS. 1899. 328, who states that the middle and lower castes were either not Aryan at all or badly mixed, while the higher castes were predominantly Aryan.

[3] Cf. Hirt, Die Indogermanen 101.

[4] Cf. Oldenberg, ZDMG. 51. 275: "Schon das rigved. Altertum hat die dunkelfarbigen Aboriginen nicht allein als Feinde, sondern auch als der arischen Gemeinschaft attachierte Unterworfene gekannt".

American negro has modified the English language through his own physiological and mental peculiarities. And just as many peculiarities of the negro dialect are common to the whole large area of the South or his original American home, since the peculiarities which cause these aberrations are common to the whole race, just so a number of phonetic changes in Prakrit were common to all of the widely scattered areas where these popular dialects were spoken, since here also common racial peculiarities would cause common effects. And since these peculiarities primarily affect the phonological aspect of a language, it is intelligible that the Prakrit peculiarities in the Veda are exclusively phonological.[1] Moreover, since these sound-changes from primitive Aryan to the earliest Prakrit were not due to gradual change of pronunciation, but to the substitution of one sound for another, if this theory is correct, we need not expect larger periods of time to account for such a thoroughgoing change of phonetic aspect, and it is therefore not surprising that Prakrit and Vedic should have been virtually coexistent not only from the beginning of the transmission, but ever since the Aryans first invaded India and began enslaving the aborigines.

The conclusion that the phonetic character of the Prakrit dialects is due to imposing the Aryan language upon an inferior race is further strengthened by the character of the sound changes. Franke, Pali und Sanskrit 141 ff., calls attention to the fact that many peculiarities common to all "Pali" are similar to the mistakes of children. The same assimilation or simplification of consonant groups, the same substitution of familiar for unfamiliar sounds is common to both. Franke compares e. g. from the German: tüschen for zwischen, woore for Worte, aam for Arm, golle for Golde, bume for Blume, daitipf for Bleistift. This want of discrimination between different sounds, usually characteristic of childhood, is just what we would expect of a race inferior in intelligence learning a language so largely different from its own.[2] In

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[1] Cf. Wackernagel, op. cit. XVII: „Keine sichere Spuren mittelindischer Formenbildung sind (sc. im Veda) erhalten".

[2] It is of importance that those Skt. sounds for which others are substituted in Prakrit are largely those which to a great extent are characteristic of Sanskrit, and so probably would not be known to the non-Aryans. Thus, ṛ, ṝ, ḷ, āi, āu, and ḥ are all lacking in Prakrit.

fact the latter factor alone might cause similar changes even in case of a people of high intelligence, as can be seen particularly by a study of borrowed proper names. Thus in all of the following Greek borrowings from the Egyptian certain unfamiliar sounds or combinations of sounds have been replaced by sequences which were familiar to the Greek: Pa-Uat't became Βουτώ, Chufu became Σοῦφις, Σαῶφις or even Χέοψ, MeNKaURA became Μυκερῖνος, Bokenrenf became Βόγχωρις (Βόκχορις), SCHaBaK became Σαβάκων, UaHABRA became Ἀπρίης, AAHMeS became Ἄμασις.

If the above explanation of the origin of Prakrit is once accepted the problem as to the origin of the Classical Sanskrit becomes much simplified. There is no longer any necessity for assuming that a certain locality was so much more conservative than other neighboring ones that it was enabled to retain a language with such old characteristics,[1] while all other communities were many centuries ahead in the development of their speech. Classical Sanskrit was rather the direct lineal descendant not of the Vedic[2] in its literary form,[3] but of the spoken dialects of the Vedic age, which differed from it only very slightly and may with propriety, as they are below, be designated as "Vedic". It was natural after the difference between Vedic and Prakrit had once been developed, that the old Aryan aristocracy of priests and soldiers should be proud of their language, which formed one of the principal distinctions between themselves and the despised conquered Dāsas, that they should therefore guard it most jealously from all change. Since, however, the Aryan speakers of the Vedic dialects continually had practical relations with the enslaved speakers of the Prakrits, it became necessary that they should have an acquaintance with Prakrit also, and sometimes, perhaps, they would even condescend to use it themselves, e. g. to make a command clearer. In this way there was a bridge

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[1] Cf. Franke, BB. 17. 73, Pali u. Skt. 88; Rapson, JRAS. 1904. 450 ff

[2] So Franke, BB. 17. 82; Rapson, loc. cit. According to our view the Vedic had only one direct descendant and did not split up into two streams, as is claimed by Weber, Ind. Stud. 2. 110 f.; Grierson, JRAS. 1904. 472.

[3] The absence in Skt. of the Vedic change of intervocalic ḍ > ḷ shows that the former is not directly descended from the dialect of the hymns. Cf: Thumb, Hdb. d. Skt. 91.

by which the Prakrit could gradually encroach on the Vedic or Sanskrit. Those Aryans who were less fortunate and did not succeed in becoming a part of the aristocracy gradually lost their racial pride and came to use the Prakrit language exclusively. In the same way the Aryan women, whose more menial duties brought them into more continual and closer contact with the lower classes, gradually let the Prakrit take the place of their pure Aryan mother tongue. In the beginning, however, it was not thus. All the Aryans, women[1] as well as men, spoke the pure Aryan language when the enslaved Dāsas first tried to learn the language of their conquerors.

As the circle of the speakers of the original Vedic languages became more and more narrow, they more and more took upon themselves the character of polite languages, with the result that the conservatism of the speakers also increased, and Vedic gradually became Classical Sanskrit. In this way is explained both the continuity of development between Vedic and Sanskrit in literature, which is the unanswerable objection against those who maintain that Sanskrit was a late artificial product and never was a spoken language,[2] and at the same time the growing stability of the same, with the proscription of all new formations.[3] As in all polite languages, the speakers, who prided themselves on the correctness of their speech, sought for norms which should insure them correct principles of speaking, and this on the one hand led to the stationary nature of the Sanskrit, since all new formations are, of course, to begin with mistakes, on the other hand it led to the study of the grammar, which ended in the canonization of the whole grammatical system by Pāṇini,[4] after which the language became permanently crystallized and no longer showed even a semblance of growth.

The above view, then, agrees on the one hand with those who maintain that Sanskrit was in origin not only a living language like any other polite language,[5] but even a vernac-

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[1] Cf. Ludwig, Rigveda 3. 44 f.

[2] Cf. Franke, BB. 17. 86; Rapson, JRAS. 1904. 441.

[3] Cf. Wackernagel, op. cit. XXIII.

[4] Cf. Franke, BB. 17. 80.

[5] That Sanskrit was a spoken language, but not really a living language is maintained by Grierson, JRAS. 1904. 472. Similarly M. Senart, quoted p. 471 of the above. Dr. Grierson's statement (p. 476) that Skt.

ular, though only of certain strata of society, but by these it was not learned as an additional language to their own Prakrit vernacular,[1] but it was rather an inheritance from ages long past, while originally, if these persons also spoke Prakrit, it was the latter that was learned as a second language. On the other hand, in course of time the growing ascendancy of the Prakrits with all except the haute-volée may have caused this condition to have been reversed, and at any rate Sanskrit became more and more stereotyped until it may properly be said to have become a dead language.[2] This was, however, an exceedingly gradual development, mainly due to natural causes, though perhaps hastened by Pāṇini's canonization, and it would be impossible to fix upon a single point in time and to say its life ended here even if we were in possession of all the facts of the history of the language. Its development from the Vedic moreover was also a natural development, by an ultra-conservative society, it is true, but yet a development from which even sound change was not altogether excluded, as Wackernagel, loc. cit., maintains; for on the one hand he himself mentions the change of iy to y and of uv to v, on the other hand he has failed to point out the probability of certain sound changes which do not appear in the spelling, sc. the change of I. E. ai (doubtless still so pronounced in the early Vedic period) to ē,[3] similarly of au to ō, āi with long ā

could never have been a living language because it had to borrow or imitate Prakrit words for objects of every-day life, is not well taken. In the ordinary life of the Sanskrit-speaking aristocrats there was no call for words designating every-day objects, and when they were needed Sanskrit naturally borrowed from the Prakrit or language of the common people, in the same way as every living language uses borrowed words for ideas hitherto unfamiliar. As well might we argue that the Germanic languages are dead because many words designating objects which are now familiar are Latin borrowings.

[1] Cf. Grierson, p. 480 of the above.

[2] Cf. Rhys Davids, Buddha Dec. 1903 p. 254 f.

[3] The fact that the Pratiṣāḳhyas classify e and o as diphthongs, even though their rules for pronunciation imply simple sounds, together with their treatment in euphonic changes, implies that they were true diphthongs in the Vedic period. The Pratiṣāḳhyas must have received a tradition in this respect, and this tradition certainly could not have antedated the Veda, since grammatical studies originated in the very desire to interpret the Veda. Cf. Whitney, Skt. Gram. § 28 a; Macdonell, op. cit. 38 f.

to ai[1] with short a, similarly āu to au, and finally the thoroughgoing change of accentuation from the Vedic accent to that of the Classical Sanskrit, which is pointed out by Wackernagel himself, op. cit. 296 f. All of these changes are certainly phonetic changes and point to a living spoken language.

If Sanskrit was the only direct lineal descendant of the Vedic and in turn of the original language of the first Aryan settlers of India, it was not necessarily a local dialect, but we should a priori expect that wherever there was an Aryan people in the ascendant we would find the Sanskrit language or some language differing from it only by minor dialectic variations spoken by the kings and priests with their racial pride in their Aryan blood; it is to be expected that Sanskrit was spoken as a caste language throughout the whole Aryan territory of India. When therefore it is maintained e. g. by Macdonell that "there is no doubt that in the second century B. C. Sanskrit was actually spoken in the whole country called by Sanskrit writers Āryāvarta, or 'Land of the Aryans', which lies between the Himālaya and the Vindhya range", the statement is in exact accord with our theory.

These statements, however, must not be construed to mean that Sanskrit in the very form in which it occurs in literature was the vernacular of the men of the upper castes in all of the vast territory of Āryāvarta. Largely, of course, the same conservatism that kept the language so nearly stationary during such a long period also prevented the development of dialectic peculiarities, but yet there must have been some of them. The actual literary Sanskrit is no doubt related to these different spoken Sanskrit dialects just as any other literary language is related to the popular dialects. One or the other of them, by means of literary, religious, or political ascendancy,[2] became the norm to which the speakers of related dialects everywhere were expected to conform, with the result that it displaced all others, which was all the easier because the dialects displaced were themselves fashionable languages, and not, as e. g. in German, popular dia-

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[1] When e was still ai, ai must have been āi with long ā, otherwise the two would have been indistinguishable and treated alike. Cf. Whitney, op. cit. § 28 b.

[2] Cf. Rapson, p. 451 of the above mentioned article.

lects, the speakers of which largely had no sympathy with this process of normalization. Moreover, we must bear in mind that the languages displaced could have differed from the language now known as Classical Sanskrit in but a minimal degree, and that it was not the displacing of the real popular dialects of Prakrit by the polite language, which was so different as to nearly exclude mutual intelligibility. While therefore the arguments of Franke[1] and Rapson[2] to establish a narrower region as the original home of Sanskrit may be perfectly valid, it must always be borne in mind that they concern only that particular form of the language which appears in literature, but that other closely related almost identical dialects existed in almost all Āryāvarta from the beginning. It may have happened occasionally, of course, that the pure Aryan speech in a certain locality died out altogether because of the operating of the same forces which caused the poorer Aryans and the women to give it up, but on the whole the racial pride of the aristocracy was too strong a factor to let us assume that it died out everywhere except in a narrowly circumscribed locality, from where it then had to start out to reconquer all the territory lost before.

It cannot be my object here to discuss anew the question as to the interpretation of the fact that Pali appears in inscriptions before Sanskrit, or what is the explanation of this "break in the continuity" of development. My only concern is to show that the results of Franke's book "Pali und Sanskrit" do not necessarily conflict with the above theory. According to op. cit. 49 the results of Franke's examination of inscriptions show "daß auch spätestens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und noch geraume Zeit danach auf der vorderindischen Halbinsel unterhalb des Himālaya und auf Ceylon als allgemeine Landessprache der arischen Bevölkerung kein irgendwie geartetes Sanskrit in irgend einer Provinz vorhanden war, sondern erst allmählich aufgekommen ist." The emphasis should be on the "allgemeine"; i. e. Sanskrit, as shown above, was indeed never a universal vernacular, but a caste language from the beginning, which explains the fact that the

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[1] Pali u. Skt. 88.

[2] JRAS. 1904. 451 f.

inscriptions, which were meant to be understood by as many people as possible, were originally in Pali. It was but natural, consequently, that the speech of the aristocracy, not understood by enough people to be used in public inscriptions, and also often not the vehicle of literary works, since they, even when they finally appeared, were written in the imported Classical Sanskrit, should have completely disappeared to our view from most localities. Finally, when the renewed ascendancy of Brahmanism caused a greater number of persons to understand if not to speak the Brahman language, the Classical Sanskrit, originating in a certain locality and displacing the polite languages of other localities, made its way not only into the inscriptions of Āryāvarta, but to every part of India where Brahman culture was disseminated.

Remarks on the Carthaginian Deity.[1] — By W. Max Müller, Professor in the R. E. Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.

For long years, Semitists do not seem to have occupied themselves in any way with the strange name of the principal divinity of the Carthaginians, the "Taneit", as scholars used to call her in the period of Gesenius, or Tanit, as it has, somewhat more recently, become the fashion to vocalize her name.[2] I find a trace of skepticism concerning that name only in O. Meltzer's *Geschichte der Karthager*, where occasionally she is spoken of as "the goddess whom we have become used to calling Tanit." The consonants תנת, of course, are sufficiently well attested by numerous inscriptions, but if we ask for the reasons of the vocalisation, we have to go down to the infancy of Semitic epigraphics to discover attempts at proving that strange pronunciation, attempts which do not stand the test of any critical examination. The most exhaustive discussion will be found in Gesenius, *Monumenta linguae Phoeniciae*, p. 115 to 117. I enumerate his arguments (repeated Movers, *Phoenizier* I, 625).

1. Strabo XI, 13, p. 532, speaks of the Persian and Armenian goddess Ἀναΐτις (genet. Ἀναΐτιδος). For this form variant readings give Ταναΐτιδος, hence Eustathius, *ad Iliad.* 14, 295, repeats: Ταναιτης δαίμων, and Clemens Alex., *Protrept.* p. 43, *Sylb.*, speaks of Artaxerxes who first introduced the image of Aphrodite Tanais (τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Ταναΐδος); in the latter place, however, the reading seems to be disputed, as in

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[1] This paper, after having been read before the American Oriental Society at the meeting in New Haven, in 1906, was mislaid by its author, and not found again by him until the present year. *Ed.*

[2] Evidently, because the diphthong was felt to be too strongly un-Hebrew. — Tanit is written by Clermont-Ganneau, Lidzbarski, and others up to 1906 [and 1912].

Eustathius, *ad Dion. Perieg.* 846 ("the Armenian goddess Tanaïtis or Anaïtis"). It is nowadays no longer necessary to weigh the authority of the codices in every single case for deciding between Anaïtis and Tanaïtis, Tanais, for which form Gesenius himself decided. We know now sufficiently well that the Persian chief goddess was called *Anâhita.* Consequently, those forms with a prefixed *t* have no authority and are evidently due to comparative speculations of Greek scholars who wanted what Movers, II, 101 etc., called "the Taurian Artemis," i. e. some connection with the remote river Tanais. The notice about Artaxerxes Mnemon returns then with the correct reading; 'Aneitis, Anaïtis, in Berossus (C. Müller, II, 508), Plutarch, *Artax.* 27, Pausanias III, 16, 6; Pliny 33, 24; Dio Cass. 36, 31, 31, etc.[1] Consequently, no goddess Tanais existed.

2. (Gesen. p. 117). Akerblad is said to have compared the Carthaginian *Tnt* with the Egyptian (!) goddess Neit (Νηϊθ) "praeposito articulo *ta.*" Modern scholars know, of course, that the Egyptian feminine article *t-* (not *ta*) cannot be connected with proper names; such a connection as the good pioneer Akerblad ventured is quite impossible, not to speak of the various other improbabilities of his bold comparison which already Movers rejected (although he strangely kept the conclusions in the form of that vocalisation!).

3. Finally Gesenius desperately referred to proper name like Tennes, Mutten-Mythonius; to city names with prefixed *t-* (see below) like Tynis-Tunis, Tingis etc.; even to Libyan names like Masintha, Masinissa, etc. None of these "arguments" deserves now any dicussion. Tennes, however, still seemed to be meant in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religonsgeschichte,*[2] I, 235 (Fr. Jeremias): "the divinity TNT, after a Greek personal name to be pronounced Thent". If Jeremias really meant the Sidonian king Tennes, adduced by Gesenius, we ought to demand some plausible etymology for that royal name, for the king cannot have borne the name of the goddess herself. Above all, as long as the worship of TNT is strictly limited to Carthage and its nearest dependencies and cannot

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[1] Cp. Movers I, 626. I confess not to have verified every quotation.

be traced epigraphically to Phoenicia,[1] I consider it inadmissible to use an argument from any Phoenician name.

Consequently, the old attempts at vocalizing those 3 consonants fail completely. I regret that, after having destroyed the old theories, I cannot offer any substitute for them; there is hardly any basis for the pronunciation of that enigmatic name (cp. below on Anna). I believe, however, that I can offer at least one small advancement towards its explanation. That "local divinity of the Carthaginians" (*δαίμων τῶν Καρχηδονίων*) as Polybius calls her, cannot well have had a Semitic name; it is a difficult task to fit her name into Semitic etymologies. Its formation, on the other hand, clearly betrays a Libyan formation. Prefixed *t* (which becomes in the dialects, *th* or *t*, even *ts*) + suffixed *t* or *th* are the usual characteristics of Libyan (I avoid the senseless name "Berber, Berberic") feminines.[1] Cp. e. g. Kabylic *thamdint*, from Arabic *medîne* "city". This formation agrees too remarkably with the divine name TNT to be accidental. Consequently, we have to consider this name as a feminine formation from a root with *n* and one or two weak consonants, among which the *n* may take the first, second or third place, may be doubled or not. At present, it would be merely a frivolous play to enumerate, from the modern Libyan dictionaries, the numerous roots with *n* which a fanciful mind could use for a more or less improbable etymology of T-N-T. I only lay stress on the result that, evidently, the name of that local divinity dates from earlier time than the Phoenician immigration and has been kept untouched by the Carthaginians; as we should indeed expect with the *spiritus loci*.

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[1] In do not consider the title "TNT of Lebanon", Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* I, 19, as a proof of origin in Phoenicia; Lidzbarski, p. 21, assumed with probability that this Lebanon was some locality near Carthage. More important is the first Athenian bilinguis mentioning a "Sidonian, *'Abd*-TNT", in Greek *Artemidoros*. This would, ideed, point to a Sidonian cult. But why are the inscriptions of Sidon herself absolutely silent about our divinity? Hence I must assume that the name of that Sidonian betrays a relation to Carthage; such wandering merchants and sailors may have claimed various nationalities, even if "Sidonian" does not, in an archaizing way, mean "Carthaginian".

[2] Those not acquainted with Libyan may consult Hanoteau, *Essai de grammaire Kabyle*, p. 17; his *Grammaire Tamachek*, p. 17, Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt*, p. 18, etc.

This simple result becomes very complicated only if we compare the name with that of Anna, the sister of Dido. Doubtless Anna is the principal divinity of Charthage herself, as may be seen even from Vergil where Anna plays such a supernumerary part at the side of Dido as we are wont to see with two identical personages, differentiated from synonymous names. Roman writers complete the proof by reporting of that superfluous sister Anna the same things as of Dido, above all seduction by Aeneas, and suicide.[1] Now it would be very easy to connect Anna and TNT by vocalizing the latter name Tannat, Tannath, and treating it as the Libyanized form of Semitic Anna (a Semitic adaptation by stripping a Libyan word of its double feminine mark would lack all analogies and would be very improbable). That explanation has, however, serious difficulties, if we accept the often repeated comparison of Anna with the Hebrew name *Ḥanna.* Ancient Libyan, indeed, had no *ḥ*, and should be expected to drop the initial of *Ḥanna* (or to change it to *h*); but I have great doubts if a foreign proper name could be Libyanized by the feminine characteristics. The analogies are very much against this. It would be more plausible to assume that Anna was a Semitic adaptation of an original Libyan **Tannath*, i. e. Anna, originally without initial *ḥ*. It is true, the alleged name of a Punic goddess *Ḥanna* cannot be proved with certainty epigraphically,[2] and we need not trouble ourselves much with that suppositional form. Still, I confess not at all to be satisfied with the above explanation: Anna (whatever its initial may be) as a Semitisation of a supposed **Tannath.* I consider this theory not very plausible and would prefer leaving the explanation of the relation of the two names in doubt. A relation seems to exist, but it cannot be determined and explained with sufficient certainty, I fear.

It remains to say a word on the regular titles of our god-

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[1] Ovid. *Fasti* III, 523; Varro in Servius, *Aen.* IV, 682; cp. Movers I, 612 who, however, does not notice the identity clearly.

[2] חנא seems masculine, the well known *Ḥanno.* Prof. Torrey directs my attention to a seal which he considers Punic, mentioning an עבר־חנא; I feel strong doubts whether this proves to be a female divinity. [The seal was published in this Journal, XXVIII (1907), 354. Its genuineness has been questioned by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* III, 69, but on insufficient grounds. *Ed.*]

dess "the mistress TNT (with?) the face of Ba'al", as she is called on so many funerary inscriptions. The last two words (פן־בעל) have, so far, remained obscure. I have proposed an explanation, *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1904, IX, 168, derived from the symbol of the divinity reproduced on the Carthaginian funerary stelae. It appears in a great many fanciful variations, but all these seem finally to go back to the symbol of the *bukranion*, with the solar disk between the crescent shaped horns which evidently symbolize the moon. Hence that combination of symbols of the "*dea coelestis*", which has a wide use in the art of all countries touching the Mediterranean, representing the heaven as a cow, bearing sun and moon upon her head. This agrees well with the designation "face of the heavenly god." The syncretism of two different conceptions of heaven, as a female or (later?) as a male divinity, presents no difficulty.

A Magical Bowl-Text and the Original Script of the Manichaeans. — By James A. Montgomery, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

The writer has been occupied for some time in preparing for publication the magical bowl-texts from Nippur in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Six of the texts of the collection are in a peculiar Syriac script, related to the Estrangelo, and in the Syriac dialect, but of a form much contaminated by dialectic influences of Mandaic character. The texts have the same contents as the bowls already numerously published in the "Rabbinic" and Mandaic dialects.

As a sample of this fresh species of script I present here a bowl-text which has been kindly placed in my hands by Mr. Wm. T. Ellis, of Swarthmore, Pa. In the winter of 1910—11 Mr. Ellis travelled through Mesopotamia and was interested as a Pennsylvanian in visiting the mounds of Nippur. He was greatly impressed by the remains of the excavations made at this site by the University of Pennsylvania expeditions, and has been urging since his return home that American scholarship should resume the operations begun on so stupendous a scale. Among the curios he acquired at Nippur from the Arabs were three inscribed bowls, doubtless private spoils from the strata uncovered by the excavators. One of these is illegible, one is in the square script and "Rabbinic" dialect, and the third, in the peculiar Syriac script and dialect referred to, is the one I now publish.

The bowl is of earthenware, the usual material and size, and of 6 1/2 in. diameter by 2 1/2 in. in depth. The text is written spirally on the inside from within out; the last six lines alone are legible, the action of water collected in the bottom of the bowl having washed out the first lines, probably four in number. The characters are frequently very faint, but the readings can

usually be made out by the aid of the vocabulary and formulas occurring in similar texts.

Text (Plate I).

. . . לא לביתה אנתתה ובנהּ וקינינה מן זְמנא ולעלם עלמין אמין יה
יה [יה י]ה יה יה יה שבע . . . זה וזה על סכרא ת . . . תי דרומ[י] ביתא
דסְרְפיהון ברקאּ ברקא דנורא וסכר[א] . . . וערפאלאּ דחשוכא ומרכבתהון
מרכבת לטאבאּ חראם עליכוֹן שמשא וסינא גזרדינא עליכוֹן אסתאנא
ואור . . . ותא ונאבלא אסוריהון קורקאּ נחאשא ועברא ופרזלא וחתימין
בעיזקתה דשמחיזא מריא בגדאנא תיהוא חתמתא ונטרתא לגניבא בר
דודאי ולביתה אנתתה בנהּ וקנינה וניזחון וניפקון כול שידאּ דיואּ חומראּ
פתכראּ ו[ע]סתרתאּ ולליתאּ מנה דגניבא בר דודאי ומן ביתה אנתתה בנהּ
וקנינה דלא נחטון ולא נאסכלון בהנא גניבא בר [דודאי]

Translation.

[A charm for Geniba against the evil spirits that they may not touch him] nor his house, wife, children and property, from now and forever and ever. Amen. Ya, Ya, [Ya], Ya, Ya, Ya, Ya!, seven [times?]. Avaunt, avaunt to the [southern?] bolt (pole?) of the heights of the house (?) whose flames are the lightnings, lightning of fire, and the [northern?] bolt of the shades of darkness, and their chariots the chariots of the *laṭṭâbê*. Exorcism upon you, Sun and Moon, condemnation upon you, Astânâ and Ŭr . . . ûthâ. And I make fast[1] their bonds, links of brass and lead and iron, and they are sealed in the name of Šamhîzâ, the lord Bagdânâ. Be there sealing and warding for Genîbâ bar Dôdâi and for his house, wife, children, and cattle, and flee and depart all demons, devils, amulet-charms, idol-spirits (= gods), goddesses and liliths from Geniba bar Dodai, and from his house, wife, sons and cattle, that they transgress not nor do harm against this Geniba bar [Dodai].

Commentary.

I speak of the script below. The orthoëpy (e. g. נאבלא, נאסכלון), forms (e. g. בנה, "his sons", Mandaic), and vocabulary are such as appear in the similar bowl-texts. The client's

---

[1] Error for נאבלנא?

name is known in the Palmyrene, cf. the biblical גנבת, 1 Ki 11 20. סינא I have found elsewhere, and it appears in the Syriac. עברא = אברא and אבארא in other texts of mine, and is cited by the native Syriac lexicographers under the form אברא (see Payne Smith, *Thes., ad voc.*) The ע is reminiscent of the parallel Hebrew word עפרת. It may mean *plumbum nigrum* or *album* (probably with different vocalizations), either metal having atropaic value — here probably the former.

The syllables toward the beginning, יה, etc., זה, etc., are found in the other texts, used as deterrents to the devils. יה appears, from the spacing and faint traces of the letters, to have been written seven times, and so I explain the following שבע. זה = זח, from זחח, = "avaunt". What follows is obscure. Syriac ܣܟܪܐ = an obstruction, water-dam, ܣܟܪܐ, a bolt, and the term may be understood from the Babylonian myth of Tiâmat's hide fastened up as the firmament with a bolt,[1] or else of the function of the sky as the dam-breast to the celestial waters. The following word may possibly be read תימניתי (a feminine form, but why so with סכרא?), and the reference be to the southern bolt, or pole, of the sky, the source of the lightnings, the second use of סכרא meaning then the north pole, the abode of darkness. The demons are commanded to flee to the ends of the earth. "The heights of the house" is obscure (for רומא = astrological ὑψώματα, see Newbold, *JBL*, XXX, 204).[2] The לטאבא appear in other texts from Nippur; I can explain it only as a metathesis of בטל (in Pael form), which is used of the "undoing" operations of demons (e. g. לילתא מבטלתא).

The deity, whose seal is referred to, "the lord Bagdâna", appears in one of my other texts. The plural is also found, = gods. The first syllable is the Iranian *bhâg*, "god", but the remainder of the word I cannot identify. Here another personal name is also added, Šamhîzâ; Prof. G. F. Moore suggests to me the doubtless correct identification with the fallen angel Semyaza in Book of Enoch. I have found a

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[1] See King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, tablet iv. l. 139, "he fastened a bolt".

[2] Dr. von Oefele suggests to me that in the astrological scheme for drawing horoscopes the peak of the "tenth house", which is at the zenith, is the abode of fire.

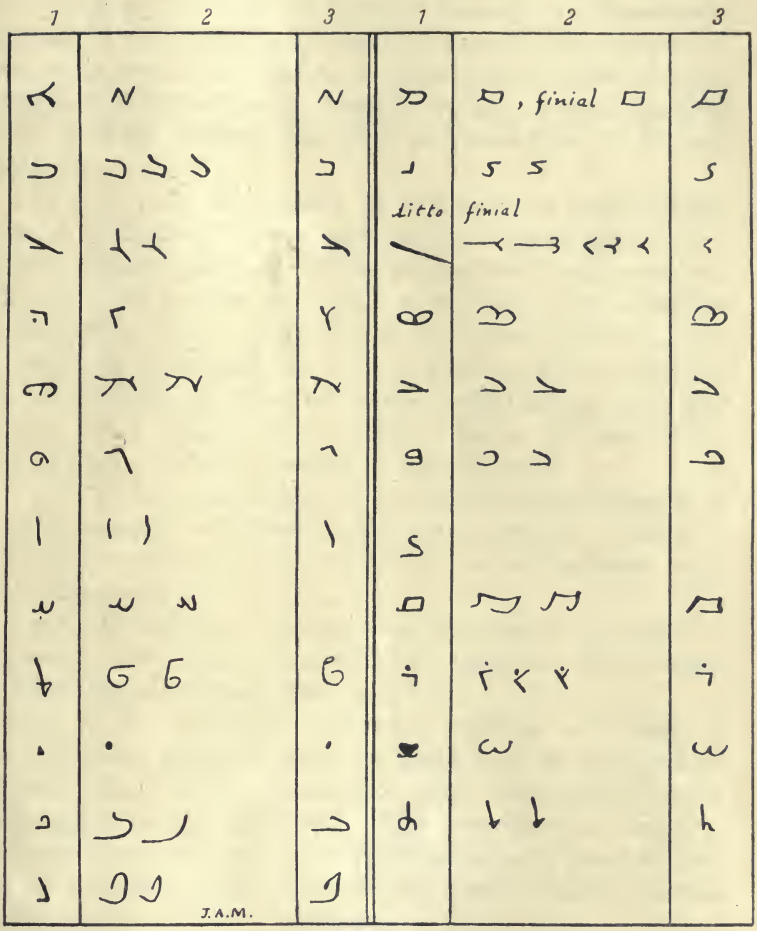

Plate 2.

Col. 1, the Estranghelo alphabet; col. 2, the Syriac script on the bowls, with variants; col. 3, the Turkish Manichaean script.

number of connections between the bowl-texts and Ethiopic angelology. The phrase may simply mean "Š. the Lord God". In its opposition to the sun and moon, regarded as baneful, the text is in line with the Mandaic theology (cf. Lidzbarski's Mandaic Amulet published in the de Vogüé *Florilegium*), otherwise it is pagan and shows no direct Jewish influence, the formula "forever and ever, Amen", being a magical commonplace. אסתאנא = סטנא, "Satan" in perverted form; cf. Ethiopic Mastema.

The chief point of interest in this and the similar Syriac texts is the script. In my work on the Nippur texts I have made a detailed study of this script and need only note here summarily the peculiar features. A superior point is used to distinguish ר from ד, and also in my other texts to distinguish the feminine suffix in ה. The plural points are used in all plurals, the feminines of nouns, verbal forms (also pronouns), being almost always written above the final letter. The characters of form worthy of remark are:

ד and ר, with head turned to the right for distinction from ו, which assumed an identical shape with original ד and ר.

כ, with a prolonged tail to the left, the original head sometimes disappearing.

ל, with an elaborate flourish from the head to the left.

Final נ, a horizontal, pitchfork-like character, with various modifications, the stroke often very long.

Most of the characters have close relations with forms of the Palmyrene alphabet, and the script may be described as an elder sister of the Estrangelo, with close affinity in its peculiarities to the Palmyrene. The antecedent relations of our script were thus fixed, and it appeared as a peculiar provincial alphabet, found only on the bowls without leaving further mark in literary history.

But my attention chanced to fall upon the Manichaean fragments in a Turkish dialect found in Eastern Turkestan, a series of which have been published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, between 1904 and 1910.[1] The ac-

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[1] For the alphabet, see F. W. K. Müller in the volume for 1904, p. 348. The script was evidently of Syriac origin, with the addition of some Arabic characters. For the Arabic tradition of the Manichaean alphabet, see G. Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, 167.

companying table, Plate 2, presents the two alphabets comparatively. Some variant forms are given in the Syriac column. The similarity or rather indentity of the alphabets is evident, and is most striking in the coincidence of the Turkish with the characters of the peculiar form in our Syriac alphabet, e. g. ד (n. b. turning of head to the right), ל, finial נ. The Turkish differs in keeping ר turned to the left, as its point served to distinguish it from ו. I have not found צ in my Syriac texts and in this lack the alphabet agrees with the Manichaean.

Our provincial Syriac script has thus an interesting history forward. It is the alphabet which was used by the Manichaeans and taken by them as the basis of the alphabet they devised for the Turkish dialect of their converts in China. And presumably it was the script of Mani himself, for he was a citizen of Babylon and our texts come from neighboring Nippur. Mani died A. D. 276 [1]; the bowls from Nippur are to be dated at the latest (on archaeological grounds, as I show elsewhere) about the beginning of the seventh century, with leeroom backwards of a century or two. The Turkish texts belong, I suppose, somewhere toward the end of the first millennum. We are thus presented with a well established provincial script which endured for several centuries and which, as a sectarian alphabet, was finally adopted for the representation of an alien tongue. Our only survivals of this peculiar alphabet, which has played its part in religious history, are rude magical texts from Babylonia and a Turkish script from distant regions. This is one more instance of the literary peculiarism of the oriental sects; Jew, Samaritan, Manichaean, the Syriac Christian churches, each party developed its own peculiar literary vehicle, starting from the native dialect or script, and in the end asserting it as its own. And so the provincial script in which Mani had learnt his letters became the peculiar alphabet of his church.

It may be added that the bowls themselves contain no traces of Manichaeism.

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[1] Probably now to be corrected to 273; see *TLZ*, 1912, 446.

JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT ITS

MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA, PA.

1913

The annual meeting of the Society, being the one hundred twenty-fifth occasion of its assembling, was held in Philadelphia, Pa., at the University of Pennsylvania, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter week, March 25th, 26th, and 27th, 1913.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Adler, C.	Ellis	Keiser	Poebel
Arnold	Ember	Kent, R. G.	Price
Barret	Gottheil	Kupfer	Reider
Barton	Grant, E.	Kyle	Rosengarten
Bates, Mrs.	Grieve, Miss	Lanman	Rudolph, Miss
Bender	Groton	Lyman	Schoff
Bloomfield	Haas	Malter	Scott, Mrs.
Bolling	Haupt	Margolis, M. L.	Steele
Brockwell	Hirth	Michelson	Sulzberger
Burlingame	Hock	Montgomery	Torrey
Carus	Hopkins	Moore, G. F.	Vanderburgh
Clay	Jackson	Müller	Ward, W. H.
Cunningham	Jackson, Mrs.	Nies, J. B.	Ylvisaker
Edgerton	Jastrow	Nies, W. E.	Yohannan

TOTAL: 56.

The first session was held in Room 205, College Hall, on Tuesday afternoon, beginning at 3:15 p. m., the President Professor George F. Moore, being in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the meeting in New York, April 9th, 10th and 11th, 1912, was dispensed with, because they had already been printed in the Journal (vol. 32, part 4, p. i-xi).

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, through Professor Jastrow, in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Wednesday morning at half past nine, Wednesday afternoon at a quarter before three, and Thursday morning at half past nine. It was announced that there would be an informal meeting of the members on Tuesday evening; that the members of the Society were invited by Dr. Cyrus Adler, President of the Dropsie College, and his colleagues to a luncheon at the College on Wednesday at one o'clock; and that the Oriental Club of Philadelphia would, in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation, entertain the men of the Society at dinner at the Franklin Inn Club on Wednesday evening at seven o'clock, while the visiting ladies were invited to be the guests of Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson at dinner at her home at the same hour.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, presented the following report:

The correspondence of the Society has been constantly increasing, and during the past year the Secretary has interchanged letters with a large number of Oriental scholars in Europe and Asia, as well as with members in this country. As directed at the last meeting, the Secretary sent a greeting by cablegram to the International Congress of Orientalists, which met at Athens at the same time, and transmitted the good wishes of the Society to a number of the members longest on the roll. Replies have come in acknowledgment of these greetings, and the newly elected members have sent letters of acceptance and appreciation.

Among the correspondence with foreign members may be specially mentioned an interesting letter from Mr. Ely Bannister Soane, written at Chia Surkh in Southern Kurdistan and dated May 26, 1912, in which he makes some noteworthy remarks regarding the sect of the Ali Illahi and their possible connection with the Yezidis, numbers of whom are scattered through Kurdistan. He writes:

> 'They are just as secretive as the Yezidis, and though the religious chief, Sayid Rustam, is a close personal friend of mine, I have never got much out of him; but I find that in Kerind, which is a stronghold of the Ali Illahis, there is the same aversion to any mention of Satan, who is also called Malek Taus (see Layard), and the same secret meetings take place. This seems rather interesting and looks as if they and the Yezidis are two branches, from a common origin, which have

developed along different lines — the Ali Illahi, or Persian section, adopting Muhammadan outward semblance as a self-protective measure. Their initiation ceremony is also called *Jaoz*. Do you think this is any relic of the Avestic *Yaozhdāh*, the modern ritual also being one of purification?'

It is a sad duty to record the loss of several valued members by death during the past year.

Professor Willis J. Beecher, D. D., of the Theological Seminary at Auburn, N. Y., whose work along theological lines is well known, died May 10, 1912. He had been a member of the Society for twelve years.

Rev. Dr. David Blaustein, who became a member of the Society in 1891, died in the summer of 1912. He will be long remembered for his ability and noble character, no less than for his educational and humanitarian work.

Rev. Dr. Arthur W. Ewing, of Philadelphia, President of the Christian College at Allahabad, India, died September 20, 1912, at Allahabad. Dr. Ewing had devoted himself for years to philanthropic and educational work among the Hindus, but had found time also for the pursuit of Oriental studies. A number of years ago he published in the Journal a valuable article entitled 'The Hindu conception of the functions of breath' (JAOS. 22 [1901], p. 249—308).

Professor William Watson Goodwin, the distinguished Greek scholar of Harvard, has likewise died since the last meeting. He was one of the oldest members of the Society, having joined in 1857, and he always attended some of the sessions when the meetings took place in Boston or Cambridge. After the meeting last year the Secretary sent Professor Goodwin a hearty letter of greetings from the Society, as instructed, and received from him a cordial response expressing his appreciation of the remembrance.

Professor Alfred Ludwig, of the University of Prague, Bohemia, who had been an honorary member of the Society since 1898, died June 15, 1912. The work of this noted scholar, especially in the line of Vedic criticism, is too well known to require any record here. His learning was profound and his scholarship broad and varied, including not only researches in various branches of linguistics, but likewise investigations in Homeric studies, in Hebrew, and even in Finnish literature.

In concluding this report the Secretary wishes to express once again his appreciation of the continued co-operation of those who are associated with him in the work of the Society.

Professor Lanman spoke briefly on the character and achievements of Professor Goodwin; Professor Bloomfield, on Professor Ludwig; Professor Barton, on Dr. Blaustein.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The annual report of the Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, was presented by Professor Torrey, as follows:

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1912.

Receipts.

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1911		$ 1358.73
Annual dues	$ 1305.20	
Life membership	75.00	
Contribution for the Library	100.00	
Sales of the Journal	345.36	
State National Bank dividends	128.14	
Coupons from bonds	50.00	
Sale of 13 shares of National Bank stock	2600.00	
Withdrawn from Savings Bank	1017.08	5620.78
		$ 6979.51

Expenditures.

Printing of the Journal, Volume 32	$ 1208.21	
Sundry printing and addressing	57.34	
Freight and mailing	21.76	
Library Fund (deposited in Savings Bank)	200.00	
Editor's honorarium	200.00	
Postage of the Treasurer, 2 years	21.30	
Subvention to Dictionary of Islam, 3 years	150.50	
Investments in bonds	3842.91	5702.02
Balance to new account		1277.49
		$ 6979.51

STATEMENT.

	1911	1912
Bradley Type Fund	$ 3052.29	$ 3178.21
Cotheal Fund	1000.00	1000.00
State National Bank shares (sold 1912)	1950.00	
National Savings Bank deposit	20.76	225.51
Interest, Cotheal Fund	330.05	380.38
2 Ch., R. I. & Pacific Ry. bonds (bought 1912)		1787.50
1 Virginian Railway bond (bought 1912)		990.00
	$ 6353.10	$ 7561.60

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The report of the Auditing Committee, Professors Torrey and Oertel, was presented by Professor Torrey, as follows:

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Treasurer of this Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass books and have found all correct.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., March 17, 1913. CHARLES C. TORREY, HANNS OERTEL } *Auditors.*

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Librarian, Professor Albert T. Clay, presented the following report:

During the past year much has been done in classifying the books of the Library. Under my predecessor the serial publications were classified and given their own shelf number. Since then many new serials have been added to the Library, but they have been placed on the shelves without any attempt at cataloguing. This year we have made an inventory of all these publications, some 200 titles, with a view to cataloguing them and completing the classification. We have also some 244 volumes ready for binding, which will represent an outlay of about $200. This has been provided for by the appropriation made one year ago. The catalogues of manuscripts were also catalogued under my predecessor, as well as the Bibliotheca Indica, but the work has not been kept up to date. This is now being done. In addition we have commenced to make a classified arrangement of the other accessions.

In order to make the work permanent in character and make the Library really accessible to the members of the Society, it is planned to prepare: (1) an author catalogue; (2) a scheme of classification adapted to the needs of an Oriental library; (3) a shelf-list, in which the cards are arranged in the order of the books on the shelves. The shelf-list will in reality be an inventory of the Library and should always be complete.

With the assistance of a trained librarian who is giving partial time to the work, we hope to accomplish these things in about two years, after which it will not require much time to take care of the accessions and keep everything up-to-date.

I might add that among the book accessions we frequently receive books for review. These have heretofore been acknowledged in the same way as other books, but with the consent of the Editors of the Journal acknowledgment of these will hereafter be made in the columns of the Journal.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

The report of the Editors of the Journal, Professors Oertel and Torrey, was presented by Professor Torrey, as follows:

In spite of a slight increase over last year's bill, the cost of printing the last volume of the Journal was well within the limits of our budget. The delay in issuing the last parts of last year's volume and of the first parts of the current volume was due to the tardiness of the contributors in sending in copy. The Editors hope that the remaining numbers of the current volume will be issued at the regular quarterly dates.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society (for convenience the names of those elected at a subsequent session are included in this list):

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mr. Eckley B. Coxe, Jr.
Mr. Edward T. Curran
Rev. Dr. C. E. Keiser
Dr. G. I. Kheiralla
Mr. Walter S. Kupfer
Rev. Dr. David Levy
Prof. Henry Malter
Rev. John Meighan
Dr. Felix Freiherr von Oefele
Mr. T. Ramakrishna
Dr. Joseph Reider
Mr. J. G. Rosengarten
Prof. William C. Thayer
Rev. Dr. Royden K. Yerkes
Dr. S. C. Ylvisaker

ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1913-1914.

The committee appointed at New York to nominate officers for the year 1913—1914, consisting of Professors Montgomery, Gottheil, and Barret, reported through the chairman, Professor Montgomery, and nominated the following, who were thereupon duly elected:

President—Professor Paul Haupt, of Baltimore.

Vice-Presidents—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia; Professor Hanns Oertel, of New Haven; and Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York.

Recording Secretary—Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.

Treasurer—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

Librarian—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.

Directors—The officers above named, and Professors Richard Gottheil, of New York; Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge; E. Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven; Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore; George F. Moore, of Cambridge; Robert Francis Harper, of Chicago; Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York.

Professor Jastrow announced that Provost Edgar F. Smith was unfortunately prevented from being present and welcoming the members to the University.

After a recess of ten minutes, the President delivered the annual address, the subject being 'Babism and Bahaism.' The Society thereupon adjourned for the day, at 5:10 p. m.

SECOND SESSION.

The members reassembled on Wednesday morning at 9:35 a. m. for the second session. The President, Professor Moore, was in the chair. After the election of a corporate member (included in the list above), the Society proceeded to the hearing of communications, as follows:

Professor G. A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: Kugler's criterion for determining the order of the months in the earliest Babylonian calendar. — Remarks and a question by Professor Jastrow and reply by the author.

Dr. S. C. Ylvisaker, of Luther College, Decorah, Iowa: Dialectic differences between Assyrian and Babylonian. — Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Professor G. M. Bolling, of the Catholic University of America: The Śāntikalpa of the Atharva-Veda.

Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University: A possible metrical original of the Lord's Prayer. — Remarks by Professor Moore.

Professor M. Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University: A preliminary exploration of the Reverse Vedic Concordance. — Remarks by Dr. Michelson.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of greetings from Professor Toy, and was instructed to send a message to him and to some of the members longest on the roll. After a recess of ten minutes at eleven o'clock, the reading of papers was resumed, as follows:

Mr. W. H. Schoff, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia: Identifications of South Indian place-names mentioned in the Periplus. — Remarks by Professor Hopkins, Professor Jackson, and Professor Moore.

Professor C. A. B. Brockwell, of McGill University: The couvade in Israel. — Remarks by Dr. Michelson, Professor Max Müller, and Professor Montgomery.

Professor Max Müller made a few remarks, presenting a specimen of the Kunjāra language of Dār Fūr in Arabic script.

At noon the Society took a recess until a quarter before three o'clock.

THIRD SESSION.

The afternoon session was opened at 2 : 55 p. m. in the large lecture-room at the Dropsie College, President Moore being in the chair.

President Cyrus Adler, of the Dropsie College, made a brief address explaining the foundation and purposes of the College. Professor Bezold, who was present at the meeting, was invited to say a few words regarding a new projected Assyrian dictionary.

After the election of an additional corporate member (included in the list above), the reading of papers was resumed, in the following order:

Dr. E. W. Burlingame, of the University of Pennsylvania: Buddhaghosa's Dhammapada Commentary. — Remarks by Professor Lanman.

Mr. F. A. Cunningham, of Merchantville, N. J.: The identity of Phul with Tiglath-Pileser II.

Dr. A. Poebel, of Johns Hopkins University: The Sumerian noun. — Remarks by Professor Jastrow and Professor Arnold.

Mr. W. S. Kupfer, of New York: On some modern vernacular folk-songs of India. — Remarks by Professor Gottheil.

Dr. A. Ember, of Johns Hopkins University: Some Egyptian and Coptic etymologies.

Dr. F. Edgerton, of Johns Hopkins University: Pañcadivyādhivāsa, choosing a king by divine ordeal.

Professor P. Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University: Two poems of Haggai in the Book of Zechariah. (Presented in abstract.)

Professor P. Haupt: The fifth Sumerian family law. (Presented in abstract.)

Professor P. Haupt: A new Assyrian verb. (Presented in abstract.)

Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University: On some fragments of Persian poetry.

Rev. Dr. J. B. Nies, of Brooklyn, N. Y.: The Sumerian signs Tūr, Gam, Allu, Mēšu. — Remarks by Professor Barton.

Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia University: The Peshitta text of Genesis 32. 25.

Dr. A. Yohannan, of Columbia University: On the date of composition of Niẓāmī's five romantic poems according to different Persian manuscripts.

Professor R. G. Kent, of the University of Pennsylvania: Classical parallels to a Sanskrit proverb. — Remarks by Dr. Yohannan.

Professor I. M. Price, of the University of Chicago: The animal DUN in Sumerian inscriptions. — Remarks by Dr. J. B. Nies.

Professor M. L. Margolis, of Dropsie College: Additions to Field from the Lyons Codex of the Old Latin. — Remarks by Professor Moore.

Rev. Dr. F. A. Vanderburgh, of Columbia University: A deed of sale in the reign of Nabopolassar.

At 5:40 p. m. the Society adjourned for the day.

FOURTH SESSION.

The Society met for the fourth session at 9:40 a. m. on Thursday morning in Room 205, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, the President, Professor Moore, being in the chair.

The President reported for the Directors that the next annual meeting would be held at Cambridge and Boston, Mass., on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter week, April 16th, 17th, and 18th, 1914. He reported further that the Directors had reappointed Professors Oertel and Torrey as Editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The President then announced the following appointments:

Committee of Arrangements for 1914: Professors Lanman and Lyon, and the Corresponding Secretary.

Committee on Nominations: Professors Hopkins, Kent, and Ropes.

Auditors: Professors Oertel and Torrey.

The President announced that, because of the large number of technical papers and the brief time available at the meetings, one half-day session at the next meeting would be held in two sections, for special Indo-Germanic and Semitic communications respectively.

On motion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its thanks to the Provost and Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania for their hospitable welcome, to the President of the Dropsie College and his colleagues for the entertainment so generously provided, to the members of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia and to Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson for their gracious hospitality, to the University Club, the College Club, and the Lenape Club for courtesies extended, and to the Committee of Arrangements for the thoughtful provision they have made for the entertainment of the members.

The reading of papers was then resumed, in the following order:

Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia University: Modern frauds in Ancient Palestine. — Remarks by Dr. Ward and Professor Jastrow.

Professor P. Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University: The Maccabean prototype of Luther's 'Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott.' Remarks by Dr. Michelson.

Professor E. W. Hopkins, of Yale University: The Lokapālas, or world-protecting gods. — Remarks by Professor Lanman and Dr. Edgerton; additional statement by the author.

Professor M. Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania: Wine in the Pentateuchal codes. — Remarks by Professors Jackson, Haupt, Moore, Brockwell, Arnold, Max Müller, and Montgomery.

Mrs. S. B. Scott, of Philadelphia: Notes on Mohammedanism in Borneo. — Remarks by Professor Gottheil, Dr. Yohannan, Mr. Ellis, Professor Barret, Professor Jastrow, and Dr. Michelson.

Professor C. R. Lanman, of Harvard University: Symbolism in India. — Remarks by Professor Hopkins and Miss Grieve.

Dr. T. Michelson, of the Bureau of American Ethnology: On various attempts to connect the language of American Indians with the languages of the Old World. — Remarks by Professors Jastrow, Max Müller, and Moore.

Professor J. A. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania: A Mandaic inscription on a lead tablet. — Remarks by Professors Max Müller, Gottheil, and Barton.

Mr. William T. Ellis exhibited a vase from Korea, Grecian in form, inscribed in ancient Chinese characters, for the inspection of the members. Professors Haupt and Brockwell made some remarks regarding it.

The following communication was then presented:

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College: The names of two kings of Adab. (Presented in abstract.)

The Society adjourned at 12:27 p. m., to meet at Cambridge and Boston on April 16, 1914.

The following communications were presented by title:

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College: A Syriac grammatical manuscript of the fifteenth century.

Dr. F. R. Blake, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The expression of indefinite pronominal ideas in Hebrew; (b) Some peculiar Philippine constructions.

Dr. E. W. Burlingame, of the University of Pennsylvania: *Dukkhaṃ ariyasaccaṃ* quoted in Bidpai's fables.

Professor C. E. Conant, of the University of Chattanooga: Notes on the phonology of the Tirurai language (Philippines).

Dr. F. Edgerton, of Johns Hopkins University: The verses of the Vikramacarita.

Dr. A. Ember, of Johns Hopkins University: The origin of the pronominal suffix of the third person masculine singular, in Egyptian.

Professor I. Friedlaender, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: (a) Gnostic elements in heterodox Islam; (b) The rebirth of the Hebrew language in Palestine.

Dr. L. H. Gray, of Newark, N. J.: Iranian Miscellanies.

Dr. G. C. O. Haas, of the College of the City of New York: The Tapatīṣaṃvaraṇa, a drama by Kulaśekhara Varman, translated from the Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Professor E. W. Hopkins, of Yale University: The epic Nārada.

Dr. Mary I. Hussey, of Cambridge, Mass.: A deed of land dated in the reign of Ellil-bāni.

Professor A. V. W. Jackson, of Columbia University: On some words in the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions.

Mr. Charles Johnston, of New York: A catechism of the Vedānta.

Professor R. G. Kent, of the University of Pennsylvania: The chronology of certain Indo-Iranian sound-changes.

Dr. T. Michelson, of the Bureau of American Ethnology: On Vedic archaisms in Epic Sanskrit.

Dr. A. Poebel, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Nisan; (b) Gold and silver in Babylonia in the third millennium B. C.; (c) A new Creation and Deluge text.

Professor J. D. Prince, of Columbia University: (a) An unread Babylonian ideogram; (b) A Tammuz incantation.

Mr. G. P. Quackenbos, of the College of the City of New York: A study of Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka.

Rev. Dr. W. Rosenau, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Some psychological terms in the Hebrew text of Maimonides; (b) The Strack edition of the Talmud.

Mr. G. V. Schick, of Johns Hopkins University: Some unpublished cuneiform fragments in the British Museum.

Mr. W. H. Schoff, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia: (a) Some features of the Kushan coinage; (b) A note on the name of the Erythrean Sea.

List of Members.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

M. Auguste Barth, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.

Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, C. I. E., Dekkan Coll. Poona, India 1887.

James Burgess, LL. D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.

Prof. Charles Clermont-Ganneau, 1 Avenue de l'Alma, Paris. 1909.

Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, Harboro' Grange, Ashton-on-Mersey, England. 1907.

Prof. Berthold Delbrück, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.

Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.

Canon Samuel R. Driver, Oxford, England. 1909.

Prof. Adolph Erman, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr. 72. 1903.

Prof. Richard Garbe, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.

Prof. Karl F. Geldner, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.

Prof. Ignaz Goldziher, vii Holló-Utcza 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.

George A. Grierson, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.

Prof. Ignazio Guidi, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.

Prof. Hermann Jacobi, University of Bonn, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany. 1909.

Prof. Hendrik Kern, 45 Willem Barentz-Straat, Utrecht, Netherlands. 1893.

Prof. Gaston Maspero, Collège de France, Paris. France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.

Prof. Eduard Meyer, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mommsenstr. 7.) 1908.

Prof. Theodor Nöldeke, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbsgasse 16.) 1878.

Prof. Hermann Oldenberg, University of Göttingen, Germany. 1910. (27/29 Nikolausberger Weg.)

Prof. Eduard Sachau, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.

Emile Senart, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François Ier, Paris, France. 1908.

Prof. Archibald H. Sayce, University of Oxford, England. 1893.

Prof. Julius Wellhausen, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weberstrasse 18a.) 1902.

Prof. Ernst Windisch, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitätsstrasse 15.) 1890. [Total: 26]

II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with * are those of life members.

Rev. Dr. Justin Edwards Abbott, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.

Mrs Justin E. Abbott, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.

Dr. *Cyrus Adler, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.

Prof. Felix Adler, 33 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1912.

Ronald C. Allen, 148 South Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.

F. Sturges Allen, 246 Central St., Springfield, Mass. 1904.

Miss May Alice Allen, Northampton, Mass. 1906.

Rev. Dr. Floyd Appleton, 230 New Jersey Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.

Prof. William R. Arnold, (Harvard Univ.), 25 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.

Prof. Kanichi Asakawa, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.

Rev. Edward E. Atkinson, 94 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.

Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

Prof. Leroy Carr Barret, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.

Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.

Mrs. Daniel Bates, 35 Brewster Street, Cambridge, Mass. 1912.

Prof. L. W. Batten, 418 West 20th St., New York. 1894.

Prof. Harlan P. Beach (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

Prof. Harold H. Bender, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., 1906.

Rev. Joseph F. Berg, New Brunswick, 5 Seminary Place, N. J. 1893.

Prof. George R. Berry, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.

Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.

Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.

Prof. John Binney, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown. Conn. 1887.

Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Bishop, 500 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1898.

Dr. George F. Black, Public Library, Fifth Ave. and 42d St., New York, N Y., 1907.

Dr. Frank Ringgold Blake, Windsor Hills, Baltimore, Md.

Rev. Philip Blanc, St. Johns Seminary, Brighton, Mass. 1907.

Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, Protestant Syrian College, Beirut Syrien. 1898.

Francis B. Blodgett, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1906.

Prof. Carl August Blomgren, Augustana College and Theol. Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. 1900.

Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.

Dr. Alfred Boissier, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.
Dr. George M. Bolling (Catholic Univ. of America), 1784 Corcoran St., Washington, D. C. 1896.
Rev. Dr. Dan Freeman Bradley, 2905 West 14th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1911.
Prof. James Henry Breasted, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
Prof. C. A. Brodie Brockwell, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. 1906.
Pres. Francis Brown (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1881.
Rev. George William Brown, Jubbulpore, C. P., India. 1909.
Prof. Rudolph E. Brünnow (Princeton Univ.) 49 Library Place, Princeton, N. J. 1911.
Prof. Carl Darling Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Hammond H. Buck, Division Sup't. of Schools, Alfonso, Cavite Provinces, Philippine Islands. 1908.
Alexander H. Bullock, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
Dr. Eugene Watson Burlingame, 20 Graduate House, West Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
Charles Dana Burrage, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
Granville Burrus. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.
Prof. Howard Crosby Butler, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.
Rev. John Campbell, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
Pres. Franklin Carter, LL. D., Williamstown, Mass.
Dr. Paul Carus, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
Dr. I. M. Casanovicz, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
Rev. John L. Chandler, Madura, Southern India. 1899.
Miss Eva Channing, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
Dr. F. D. Chester, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
Walter E. Clark, 37 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.
Prof. Albert T. Clay (Yale Univ.) 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
*Alexander Smith Cochran, New York 16 E. 41 st. Street. 1908.
*George Wetmore Colles, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.
Prof. C. Everett Conant, 5423 Greenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1905.
Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., 1604 Locust st., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
Rev. William Merriam Grane, Richmond, Mass. 1902.
Francis A. Cunningham, 508 W. Maple St., Merchantville, N. Y. 1912.
Edward T. Curran, 346 State St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. Charles W. Currier, 913 Sixth St., Washington, D. C. 1904.
Dr. Harold S. Davidson, 1700 North Paysan St., Baltimore, Md. 1908.
Prof. John D. Davis, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Prof. Alfred L. P. Dennis, Madison, Wis. 1900.
James T. Dennis, University Club, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
Mrs. Francis W. Dickins, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
Rev. D. Stuart Dodge, 99 John St., New York. N. Y. 1867.
Rev. Wm. Haskell Du Bose, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.
Dr. Harry Westbrook Dunning, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.
Dr. Franklin Edgerton, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1910.

Prof. Frederick G. C. Eiselen, Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill. 1901.
William T. Ellis, Swarthmore, Pa. 1912.
Prof. Levi H. Elwell, (Amherst Collsge), 5 Lincoln Ave., Amherst, Mass. 1883.
Dr. Aaron Ember, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.
Rev. Prof. C. P. Fagnani, 606 W. 122d, St., New York, N. Y. 1901.
Prof. Edwin Whitfield Fay (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.
Prof. Henry Ferguson, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1876.
Dr. John C. Ferguson, Peking, China. 1900.
Dr. Henry C. Finkel, District National Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1912.
Rev. Dr. Fonck, Instituto Biblico Pontifico, Via del Archelto, Roma, Italia. 1913.
Rev. Theodore Foote, Rowland Park, Maryland. 1900.
Prof. Hughell E. W. Fosbroke, 9 Acacia St., Cambridge, Mass. 1907.
Dr. Leo J. Frachtenberg, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. Jas. Everett Frame (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
Dr. Carl Frank. 23 Montague St., London, W. C., England. 1909.
Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, 356 2nd Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909.
Prof. Israel Friedlaender (Jewish Theological Sem.), 61 Hamilton Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.
Dr. Wm. Henry Furness, 3d, 1906 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
Robert Garret, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
Miss Marie Gelbach, Prospect Terrace, Park Hill, Yonkers, N. Y. 1909.
Eugene A. Gellot 290 Broadway, N. Y., 1911.
Prof. Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1858.
Prof. Alexander R. Gordon, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada. 1912.
Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
Prof. Elihu Grant Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.
Dr. Louis H. Gray, 291 Woodside Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.
Mrs. Louis H. Gray, 291 Woodside Ave., Newark, N. J. 1907.
Miss Lucia C. Graeme Grieve, Martindale Depot, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. Louis Grossmann (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O., 1890.
Rev. Dr. W. M. Groton, Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, 5000 Woodlawn Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.
*Dr. George C. O. Haas, 254 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
Miss Luise Haessler, 1230 Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909.
Mrs. Ida M. Hanchett, care of Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Nebraska. 1912.
Newton H. Harding, 110 N. Pine Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
Prof. Robert Francis Harper, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
Prof. Samuel Hart, D. D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1879.
Prof. Paul Haupt (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.

Prof. Hermann V. Hilprecht, München, Leopoldstr. 1887.
Rev. Dr. William J. Hinke, 28 Court St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. Friedrich Hirth (Columbia Univ.), 401 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
Prof. Charles F. Hock (Theological Sem.), 220 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1903.
*Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
Rev. Dr. Hugo W. Hoffmann, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
*Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
Wilson S. Howell, Box 437, Pleasantville Station, N. Y. 1911.
Henry R. Howland, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
Miss Sarah Fenton Hoyt, 17 East 95th St., New York, N. Y. 1910.
Dr. Edward H. Hume, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.
Miss Annie K. Humphrey, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.
Dr. Archer M. Huntington, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
S. T. Hurwitz, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
Miss Mary Inda Hussey, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1913.
*James Hazen Hyde, 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.
Prof. Henry Hyvernat (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
Mrs. A. V. Williams Jackson, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
Prof. Morris Jastrow (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St. Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
Rev. Henry F. Jenks, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.
Prof. James Richard Jewett, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
Prof. Christopher Johnston (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 21 West 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
Rev. Dr. C. E. Keiser, (Yale Univ.) 233 Chapel St., New Haven, Conn. 1913.
Arthur Berriedale Keith, Colonial Office, London, S. W., England. 1908.
Prof. Maximilian L. Kellner, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
Miss Eliza H. Kendrick, 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.
Prof. Charles Foster Kent (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
Prof. Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
Dr. G. D. Kheiralla, Rapid City, S. Dak. 1913.
Prof. George L. Kittredge (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Richard Lee Kortkamp, Hillsboro, Ill. 1911.
Walter S. Kupfer, Leonia, N. Y. 1913.
Rev. Dr. M. G. Kyle, 1132 Arrow St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909
M. A. Lane, 451 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1907.
*Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanman (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.

Dr. Berthold Laufer, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.

Dr. Otto Lichti, 146 Tremont St., Ansonia, Conn. 1912.

H. Linfield, 52 Middle Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.

Prof. Charles E. Little (Vanderbilt Univ.), 19 Lindsley Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.

Prof. Enno Littmann, Schweighäuser Str. 24, II, Strassburg i. Els. 1912.

Percival Lowell, 53 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.

Dr. Daniel D. Luckenbill, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.

Dr. Albert Howe Lybyer, Urbana, Ill. 1909.

*Benjamin Smith Lyman, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.

Prof. David Gordon Lyon, Harvard Univ. Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.

Albert Morton Lythgoe, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.

Prof. Duncan B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.

C. V. McLean, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York. 1912.

Prof. Herbert W. Magoun, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.

Prof. Henry Malter, Dropsie College, Broad & York St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.

Prof. Max L. Margolis, 1519 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.

Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.

Prof. Winred Robert Martin, Hispanic Society of America, West 156th St., New York, N. Y. 1889.

C. O. Sylvester Mawson, Box 886, Springfield, Mass. 1910.

Rev. John Meighan, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.

Prof. Samuel A. B. Mercer (Western Theol. Sem.), 2735 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.

J. Renwick Metheny, "Druid Hill," Beaver Falls, Pa. 1907.

Martin A. Meyer, 2109 Baker St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.

Dr. Truman Michelson, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.

Mrs. Helen Lovell Million, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.

Prof. J. A. Montgomery (P. E. Divinity School), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.

Prof. George F. Moore (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.

*Mrs. Mary H. Moore, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.

Rev. Hans K. Moussa, Jefferson, Wis. 1906.

Prof. W. Max Mueller, 4308 Market St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.

Mrs. Albert H. Munsell, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.

Dr. William Muss-Arnolt, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.

Rev. Jas. B. Nies, Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.

Rev. William E. Nies, Port Washington, Long Island, N. Y. 1908.

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Dennis J. O'Connell, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.

Dr. Felix, Freiherr von Oefele, 326 E. 58th St. New York, N. Y. 1913.

Prof. Hanns Oertel (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.

Dr. Charles J. Ogden, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
Miss Ellen S. Ogden, Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.
Prof. Samuel G. Oliphant, Grove City College, Grove City, Penn. 1906.
Prof. Albert TenEyck Olmstead, 911 Lowry St., Columbia, Mo. 1909.
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*Robert M. Olyphant, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. ·1861.
Rev. Dr. Charles Ray Palmer, 562 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
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Ely Bannister Soane, care of Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, S.W., England. 1911.
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John G. White, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1897.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be: —

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidades for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors,

may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

Article X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

Article XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY—LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committe shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and

shall also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. Candidates for membership who have been elected by the Society shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them. A failure so to qualify shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS.

I. For the Library.

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.

XXIII

Recent Researches in the Sumerian Calendar. — By George A. Barton, Professor in Bryn Mawr College Bryn Mawr, Pa.

There are many unsolved problems in Sumerology, and one of these is the arrangement and development of the calendar. For the period of the dynasty of Ur the area of uncertainty has been for Lagash and Nippur reduced to narrow limits, but for the earlier period there is as yet no agreement. The uncertainty is well illustrated by the fact that Genouillac in 1909 arranged the names of the months in a certain order for the period of Urkagina, beginning the year with the month Ezen-Bau at the vernal equinox;[1] the present writer in 1910 found thirty six month-names for the same period, which applied to thirteen months, (one of them being the intercalary month), which he believed represented a year beginning at the autumnal equinox;[2] in the same year Myhrman compiled four lists of months which were in use during the period of Ur, one of which began with ŠE-KIN-KUD, and two with the month GAN-MAŠ.[3] He was influenced in the arrangement of these last mentioned lists by an old theory of his friend Radau, who had contended that the calendar began with that month. Finally Langdon 1911, arranged for the Urkagina period a calendar of twelve months. He ignored may the variant names. He began the year with the month August-September.[4] Each of the three investigators who treats the calendar of Urkagina has arranged the months in a different order and would begin the year at a different period. Langdon endeavors to connect the calendar of the Urkagina period with that of the Ur period, and believes that he has discovered a law

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[1] *Tablettes sumériennes archaiques* p. xvii ff.

[2] JAOS, XXXI, 251 ff.

[3] *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.* III, 45 ff.

[4] *Tablets from the Archives of Drehem*, Paris, Geuthner, 1911, p. 5 ff.

by which the months were gradually shifted. If one could accept his system and believe that his knowledge of the Babylonian seasons and harvests is accurate, Langdon would persuade him that the Sumerian calendar was invented 2100 years before the Ur dynasty or about 4400 — 4500 B. C. Such wide differences of opinion serve to show that we are all in a good degree groping in the dark.

Meantime Thureau-Dangin has collected from unpublished tablets the names and order of the months as he believes they were arranged in the calendars of Umma and Jôkha. While these calendars belong to the Ur period and the arrangements proposed rest in many instances on doubtful data, their variations in one or two clearly established points from calendars previously known throw light on a number of problems. They also make it clear there was no such thing as a uniform Sumerian Calendar for the whole of Babylonia.

It is the fashion among some Sumerologists to assume that all who engage in Sumerian studies except one's self and one's teacher or pupil, are ignorant of the first principles of the science, and accordingly each scholar fiercely asserts the correctness of his own opinions. So long as this is the case, and so long as the results obtained differ as widely as those referred to above, the general public cannot be blamed for thinking that Sumerology is not yet a science, but belongs to the realm of imaginative fiction.

It is not in this spirit that the writer approaches the study. He readily acknowledges his own humble position among the devotees of the craft, and is eager to learn from any and every quarter. So long as we are dealing with a matter which strives to escape from imaginative literature and to find standing room in the realm of science, it is quite right to test each theory by such facts as can be ascertained, and in this testing the humblest workers may find a place. It is with this purpose that the following criticisms are offered.

Myhrman, followed by Langdon, gives two lists of months of a year beginning with a month GAN-MAŠ. There is really no decisive evidence offered in support of such a year. It is true that in the great grain account published in CT, III, (Nr. 18343), the accounts run from GAN-MAŠ to ŠE-IL-LA, but that does not prove that the year began with GAN-MAŠ, but only that at the beginning of that month was

the new grain ready to be put into circulation. A modern firm might for economic causes run their fiscal year from Feb. 1st to Jan. 31st, but this would not imply that the calendar of the time did not begin its year with Jan. 1st. That the year of the authors of this tablet began with ŠE-IL-LA is shown by the fact that the intercallary month was DIR-ŠE-KIN-KUD (cf. col. x, 48, xii, 40, and xiii, 9). If the year had begun with GAN-MAŠ, the intercalary month should have been a second ŠE-IL-LA. The lists which begin with GAN-MAŠ may, therfore, be disregarded.

On the other hand a tablet published by Radau, EBH, 299, (viz: EAH, 134), testifies to a year which began with ŠE-KIN-KUD and concluded with EZIN-MI-KI-GAL. This list which simply couples the names of certain officials with the different months, clearly arranges them in their calendar order. This is confirmed by a tablet recently published from Drehem.[1] Clearly, then, there were places in the Ur period where the calendar began with the month with which in other places it ended. Langdon[2] has rightly pointed out that in the tablets from Drehem published by him one can see the year shifting from one system to the other, sometimes DIR-EZEN-MI-KI-GAL[3] being the intercalary month, and sometimes DIR-ŠE-KIN-KUD.[4] As ŠE-KIN-KUD is a name which signifies the "grain" or "barley-harvest" and as that harvest begins now about the middle of April,[5] it is clear that originally that month came a month later than in the calendar of the time of Ur at Telloh. For some reason, probably because intercalary months were not appointed often enough, it had been drawn back one place in the calendar. At Drehem we see the change in progress.

The recognition of this fact solves a difficulty which I felt when writing on the calendar two years ago;[5] but the right solution of which I did not then find. It accordingly necessitates a slight modification of my arrangement of the months, as will be pointed out below.

Langdon's inference that this process had been going on for such a length of time that the calendar had been drawn five

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[1] *La trouvaille de Drêhem*, par H. de Genouillac, Paris, 1911, Nr. 65.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 6. [3] *Ibid.* Nr. 55. [4] *Ibid.* Nr. 2.
[5] JAOS, XXXI, 259, n. 1.

months out of its original position, is based upon a number of misconceptions. One of the most fundamental of these is the notion that the barley harvest ever came as late as July-August, and that the date harvest came in July. These are simple facts which can be ascertained from modern conditions without a knowledge of Sumerian. Barley harvest began in the latter part of March and extended into April.[1] The wheat harvest followed on after it. The date harvest at Buṣrah, which is farther south than Telloh, begins now about the middle of September[2] and lasts for six or eight weeks. Langon has also overlooked the fact that as early as the time of Urkagina the appointment of an intercalary month was in use.[3] It is inconceivable that a people who had invented an intercalary month to keep their agriculturally named months in coincidence with the agricultural seasons, should permit it to be drawn absolutely out of touch with them at a time when the agricultural names were fully understood. Indeed, on Langon's theory the month names must have become fixed about 4400 B. C. and the process of dislocation must have been far advanced by 3000—2800 B. C., where we must place Urkagina. The month names of the time of Urkagina make such a theory wholly untenable. They are not only in a thoroughly fluid state, some months being named from any one of several agricultural processes which took place in it, but the names themselves occur in their fullest forms. They are still whole sentences, which have definite agricultural meanings. They are not the mere meaningless fragments which some of them had become by the Ur Period. Such changes as are traceable in the Sumerian calendar before the Ur period occurred in the space of 500 years and not 2100 years.

Langdon rightly begins the year toward the autumn. He makes the first month Aug.-Sept., instead of Sept.-Oct. In the present state of our knowledge this is not a serious divergence, though his reason for choosing it, viz: —that ŠE-KIN-KUD and ŠU-NUMUN originally belonged five months from the time where we later find them, is a misconception of the

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[1] JAOS. XXXI, 259, n. 1.

[2] Zwemer, *Arabia the Cradle of Islam*, p. 125.

[3] DP, Nr. 99.

Babylonian seasons. That the year began in the autumn as late as the time of Gudea[1], is a fact to which attention has previously been called.[2] The change from this to a year which began with the vernal equinox was an innovation introduced between the time of Gudea, therefore, and the dynasty of Ur. What was the cause of the change, we can only conjecture, and conjecture in the absence of facts is futile. But all the information points to the theory that a definite change to a year beginning in the spring, had been made at Telloh within the comparatively short period between Gudea and the dynasty of Ur.

Langdon equates the stellar month-name of the period of Urkagina, viz: —ITU MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA-ŠUB-A-A, (i. e.) with ITU BAR-ZAG (i. e.), which occurs in the Ur period at Nippur. Langdon reads Bar instead of BABBAR, which is, of course, possible. He then takes BAR-SAG as the name of the star, instead of interpreting SAG in the sense of "front" or "leadership" as I would do,[3] and takes the reading BAR-ZAG as another spelling for this. There is hardly a possibility that this is right, since in EAH 134 it is spelled ITU BAR-AZAG-GAR ( ). Though the BAR-ZAG is spelled differently in the two texts the presence of the GAR or GA-RA in both the Ur names introduces an element which is not in the earlier name, and the identification of either with the earlier name is extremely improbable. Langdon thinks that its use as a month name arose from the acronic setting of some unidentified star, though he admits that this is the opposite of the usage of the Persian period. The view formerly expressed by me,[4] that the star is Sirius, that the reference is to its heliac rising, and that the month is identical with the month LIK (month of the dog), once called LIK-BAD (month the dog dies), though conjectural, is still the most probable conjecture.

In this connection the date of DP 99 should be discussed. When writing two years ago, I recognized it as an intercalary month, though a part of the name was not then clear

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[1] Stat. E, v, 1—2; stat. G, iii, 5.

[2] Cf. JAOS, XXXI, 255, and the references there given.

[3] JAOS, XXXI, 266. [4] *Ibid*, 266 f.

to me. The month name is written (turning the signs into Assyrian script), [illegible]. The [illegible] is very puzzling, and two years ago I was inclined to regard it as "day 2" inserted in a peculiar way. Analogy of later texts proves, however, that that is impossible. Hammurapi, for example, (King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, pl. 14, l. 6), says, in appointing an intercalary month ITU KIN-^{d} NANA II^{kam} *li-iš-ša-ṭe-ir*, "a second Ululu let it be registered".[1] We thus learn that an intercalary month could be called the "second" of the preceding month. Applying this to the [illegible] of this old month name, we should render it, "Second Babbar, appointed". The inference lies close at hand, that BABBAR is an abbreviation for ITU-MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA-ŠUB-A-A. If this was the case, this astral month was the closing month of the year, and not the first month, as Langdon supposes.[2]

Kugler[3] has made an interesting suggestion concerning another month name, Antasurra. A longer form of it occurs, though mutilated by the breaking of the tablet, in DP 116. It is ITU^{d}-NIN-GIR-SU-E-BIL-AN-TA-SUR-RA, "Month when the god Ningirsu pours out fire from heaven". Kugler interprets it as a reference to a shower of meteors. Kugler shows that about 2700 B. C. the Leonid meteors which now come about the middle of Nov. fell about July 14th. According to the data given by him, the Persid meteors, which now fall in August, then fell about June 25. At that time, accordingly, the month, June-July, would include both these showers, and a month might well be named for them. Langdon objects to this interpretation of the name (op. cit. p. 13, n. 5), on the ground that Antasurra was a part of the temple of

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[1] Similarly Bu 88—5—12, 12 (CT, VIII, 3) is dated in ITU KIN-NANA II^{kam}, and Bu 91—5—9, 320 (CT, VIII, 27) is dated ITU BAR-ZAG-GAR II^{kam}. These are other instances of the practice in question, and the last example shows that in the reign of Abishu Nisan was used as an intercalary month.

[2] That GAL-LA-A is to be taken in the sense of *sakânu*, "appoint", (Br. 2253), is shown by CT, III, 18343 *passim*, where, whenever an intercalary month occurred in the year, we read ITU DIR I^{a-an} ŠABA-NI-GAL, "One additional month in (it) was appointed"; cf. iii, 35, 45, vii, 40, ix, 12, 22, 32, 41, 48, xvi. 45.

[3] *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, II, 174 ff. and ZA, XXV, 278. In my former article I read the name Antagarra, but this is incorrect.

Ningirsu (SAK, 243), and that it was also a proper name of men. Kugler's interpretation is plausible and attractive, though as yet uncertain.

Of the reconstruction of the calendars of Umma and Jôkha by Thureau-Dangin one feels some doubt. For example, it is assumed from the statement of a text, that "From the month ŠE-KIN-KUD to the month Dumuzi was twelve months", that the year began with the month ŠE-KIN-KUD. While the fact that at Drehem ŠE-KIN-KUD began the year establishes a presumption that the same was the case at Umma, the statement itself does not prove it any more than the statement that from December to November is twelve months would prove that our year begins with December.

The statement does prove that at Umma, (and the same seems to have been true for Jôkha), the Feast of Amaraasi was called the feast of Tammuz. A deity sufficiently akin to Tammuz to be identified with him, seems to have been especially honored in the winter time.

Taking into account the new information which has come to light, the table of months published in vol. XXXI should be corrected as in the following list. The position of those preceded by an interrogation is still in doubt: The position assigned to those preceded by two question marks is wholly conjectural.

The exact date of the new year cannot as yet be accurately ascertained. Probably it was not accurately determined astronomically, but came somewhere near the date harvest. It may have ranged from the end of August to the end of September.

Tentative List of Months.

First month,	ITU EZIN-^{d}BA-U
Second month,	ITU EZIN-BULUK-KÙ-^{d}NINA ITU EZIN-ŠE-KÙ-^{d}NINA ITU EZIN-AB-UD-DU ITU GAR-KA-ID-KA
Third month, (??)	ITU ŠI-GAR-MA
Fourth month, (??)	ITU UZ-NE-GU-RA-A

Fifth month, (??)	ITU GAL-ŠAG-GA[1]
Sixth month,	ITU AMAR-A-A-SIG-GA ITU AMAR-A-A-SI-DA ITU AMA-UDU-TUK
Seventh month,	ITU ŠE-KIN-KUD ITU MAL-UDU-UR ITU MAL-UR ITU SIG-BA ITU SIG-^{d}BA-U-E-TA-GAR-RA-A
Eighth month,	ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A-IL-^{d}NINA ITU UDU-ŠE-A-IL-LA ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A-KÙ ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A-^{d}NINA ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A-^{d}NIN-GIR-SU ITU ŠE-GAR-UDU ITU KARU-DUB-BA-A ITU KARU-IMI-A-TA ITU ŠI-NAM-DUB-NI-BA-DUR-BA-A ITU-KARU-IMI-DU-A[2]
Ninth month,	ITU ḪAR-RA-NE-MA-A[3] ITU ḪAR-RA-NE-MA-A-^{d}NINA
Tenth month,	ITU EZIN-^{d}NE-ŠU (?) ITU-^{d}NIN-GIR-SU-E-BIL-AN-TA-SUR-RA (?) ITU AN-TA-SUR-RA-A

[1] This conjecture is based upon the fact that at Umma and Jôkha the feast of Tammuz came in the winter. As there is some probability that this was a feast of Tammuz, (cf. JAOS, XXXI, 268), I place it tentatively here.

[2] This name, which occurs in DP, 114, was overlooked by me when writing my former article. It means "Month when the storehouse tablets are sealed".

[3] I regret that in my former article (JAOS, 263, n. 1), I misunderstood Thureau-Dangin's position as to the reading of this name. It is not certain that GUD should be read ḪAR, but Thureau-Dangin still holds that opinion.

Eleventh month,	ITU EZIN-BULUK-KÙ-^{d}NIN-GIR-SU ITU EZIN-ŠE-KÙ-^{d}NIN-GIR-SU ITU EZIN-DIM-KÙ
Twelfth month,	(??) ITU EZIN-^{d}LUGAL-ERIM (??) ITU GAL-UNUG^{ki}-GA (?) ITU MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA-ŠUB-A-A
Intercalary month,	ITU BABBAR-MIN-GÀL-LA-A

A Political Hymn to Shamash. — By J. Dyneley Prince, Ph. D., Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

This hymn of *Šamaš-šum-ukîn*, the rebellious viceroy and brother of the last great Assyrian king *Ašur-bâni-pal*, is of peculiar interest, because it is more than the ordinary invocation of a king to a god. After the usual praises of the divine power of the sun-god, *Šamaš-šum-ukîn* says, in line 9: "a mighty one as a partner thou givest me", a clear allusion to his imperious brother *Ašur-bâni-pal.* The hymn continues significantly in line 13: "the unopened documents of my glory thou proclaimest", implying that an unknown, but glorious future awaits the king. Most signsficant of all, *Samaš-šu-mukîn* prays in line 27: "my partner may I overcome", and in line 30: "may I change my command"; viz., release himself from the Assyrian overlordship, plainly showing that, at the time when this hymn was composed, the rupture between *Ašur-bâni-pal* and *Samaš-šum-ukîn* was contemplated, even if it had not become a fact.

The Semitic-Babylonian cuneiform text is published by David H. Myhrman in *Babylonian Hymns and Psalms* (Philadelphia, 1911), Plates 22—23, without photographic reproduction. The plates, although mutilated here and there, are plain enough to indicate the nature of the inscription, which is couched in fine style, characterized by an abundance of epithet, giving a literary merit to the production far above that of the ordinary conventional prayer. The whole hymn breathes a sincerity entirely natural in view of the special purpose and earnest desire of the supplicant.

Obverse.

1 *(ra)-bu-u git-ma-lu a-pil ili ina arxi il Babbar-ra*
Great one; perfect one; son of the god in the month of Šamaš;

2 . . . . *-tu šu-u pi-tu-u pa-an kalam-me mu-kal-lim nûra*
. . . . he who opens the face of the lands; who reveals light;

3 (*muš*)- *te-šir ina šarru-ti-ma* UB-KAL *mimma šum-šu*
Who rules aright in my kingdom, the mighty ruler of everything;

4 . . *dannu il Šamaš* (*d U-tu*) *ša-ru-ur matâti*
. . powerful one, Šamaš, glory of the lands.

5 (UD-KIB)-NUN-KI *cu-lul E-Babbar-ra*
Sippar, the shadow of the Temple of Šamaš

6 . . . . *ina il Marduk tuk-lat Babîli* (KA-DINGIR-RA-KI)
. . . . by means of Marduk the help of Babylon

7 . . . . (*eli?*) *bi-ti-ka u-taq-qu-u il Annunaki il Igigi*
. . . . (upon?) thy house the Annunaki (and) Igigi pour out (bounteously).

8 *il Me um-me cal-mat qaqqa-du ṭ-tal-la-la mêšara-ka*
The goddess Me, mother of the black-headed, justifies thy righteousness.

9 *danna ina tap-pa-a tu-šar-ši*
A mighty one as a partner thou givest (me).

10 *ana la i-ša-ru ta-nam-din ap-lu*
To him who is unworthy thou givest a son.

11 *da-*(*al*)*-ti sik-kur šam-e tu-pat-ti*
The door (and) the bolt of heaven thou openest.

12 *ana la na-ṭi-lu ta-šak-kan nûra*
For him who seeth not thou makest light.

13 *duppi tanadâtia* (UB-MU) *la pi-ta-a tu-ša-as-si*
The unopened documents of my glory thou proclaimest.

14 *ina libbi immere tu-šat-tar šira*
Among the lambs thou makest plenteous the meat.

15 *daiân* (DI-KUD) *il Annunaki bêl il Igigi*
Judge of the Annunaki, lord of the Igigi;

16 *il Šamaš bêlia dûr ši-ma-a-ti at-ta-ma*
Šamaš, my lord, wall of my fate art thou.

17 *ana-ku m; il Samaš-šum-ukîn mâr ili-šu*
I Šamaš-šum-ukîn the son of his god, (thee)

18 *ina xul-lu-pa-ni dub-lu giš da-*(*al-tu*) *giš as-ma-ru-u*
For our protection a foundation, door (?), lance;

19 *lu šal-ma iccur nûri* (XU-CAB) *giš narkabat ci-*(*mit-tim*) *še-ma*

Verily propitious, bird of light, to the chariot of my span favorable

20 *pal-xa-ku ad-ra-ku u šu-ta-du-ra-ku*
I reverence, I fear and I am greatly in awe (of thee)

21 *(mu)-ṭib-bi ia-ši u bitia* (E-MU)
who makest glad myself and my house.

22 *(at-taz-) kar ab* (A-A) *amêli abu* (A-A) *-ku-nu ab* (A-A) *mât ili* . . . .
I proclaim the father of mankind, your father, father of the land of . . .

23 *(na-piš)-tu ši-i-mu a-lak-ti dum-mi-iq*
(my life) do thou order; my going do thou favor.

24 *(tu-šar)-ši ra-i-ma luš-tu-u-a*
Do thou grant mercy; may I drink

25 *ni-me-qa šuttu ianu-u-a* (ME-U-A)
wisdom; in dreams where am I?

26 *šuttu aṭ-tu lu ana damiq-tim šuk-na*
O turn the black dream to favor!

Reverse

27 *i-ša-riš lul-lik tap-pa-a lu-uk-šu-ud*
Righteously may I walk; my partner may I overcome!

28 *ina u* (UD)*-mi-ia lu-rak damiqtam*
In my days may I prolong (thy) favor!

29 . . . *šu* . . . . *-ma-ka ša damiqtim*
. . . . . thy . . of favor.

30 *daiân* (DI-KUD) *lu-(nak)-kir qa-bu-ua*
O judge, let me change my command!

31 . . . . . *ri-ša-a-tu bît biltuia* (BIL-TU-MU)
. . . . . (may he fill?) with joy the house of my tribute!

32 *il Me ri-* . . . . . *li-iz-ziz ina xegallia* (KAN-MU)
Goddess Me . . . . . may she be strong for my plenty!

33 *il Me ma-* . . . . . *li-iz-ziz ina damiqtia*
Goddess Me . . . . . may she be strong for my favor!

34 *šêp tal-lak-(ti lu)-šal-li-mu ina idia*

The foot of my progress may she make perfect for my power!

35 A-A . . . . . *pa-(ká)-di ina arkia*
. . . . . to preserve behind me!

36 li . . . . . *il Bu-ne-ne rubu-ka damiq-tim*
(May) the goddess Bunene (endow) thy prince with favor!

37 il A-(A) . . . . . *ta(?)* . . . . . *ši xul-qu-ma*
May the goddess A-A . . . . . they are destroyed.

38 il Šamaš abu (A-A) . . . . . *at-(ta) ri-ša-a ri-e-mu*
Šamaš, father (?) . . . . . do thou grant mercy!

39 il Šam-ši alu(?)-ka . . . . . .
O Šamaš, thy city . . . . . .

40 il Me . . . . . *ru-bu-ka*
Goddess Me . . . . . thy prince

41 il Me . . . . . *-ka li-ṭib-bu*
Goddess . . . . . may thy . . be sweet!

42 KA-KA(?)-MA(?) . . . GA(?)-ṬU-LAL *il Sam-še*
a prayer . . . . . a complete one to Šamaš.

Grammatical Commentary

1. *ina arxi Babbar-ra* 'in the month of *Šamaš*' = the seventh month, *Tašrîtum* = *Tišri*, which was dedicated to the sun-god. The form *Babbar* is a reduplication of Sum. *bar*, the primary meaning of which is 'divide, penetrate' (see my MSL., 53 and cf. below on line 4). The reduplication has its counterpart in Sum. *tattab* from *tab* 'two'.

It is probable that this line is not the first line of the inscription, as the epithets herein contained apply rather to the king than to the god. The expression "son of the god" implies always a pious person (cf. line 17) and could only have been used of *Šamaš-šum-ukîn*, whose name probably precedes this first line. The following epithets in lines 2—3 ff. are undoubtedly descriptive of the god himself.

3. UB-KAL is clearly a combination of UB = *na'âdu*, Br. 5783 and *tanattu*, Br. 5784 respectively = 'be lofty' and 'glory'. KAL = *kal* and *lig* = *dannu* 'mighty'. The familiar *abkallu* 'leader' in Semitic, from Sum. *ab-kal*, is probably a

variant of this *ub-kal*, as AB = Sem. *nasîku* 'prince, prominent person' and appears also as a prefix in Sum. *ab-xal* 'seer'.

4. *Šamaš* is here called *il U-tu*, which I interpret to mean the god of the setting sun; viz., *u-* is the abstract prefix so common in Sumerian, + *tu* = *erêbu* 'enter, set', said of the sun. *U-tu* is, therefore, the epithet of the setting *Šamaš*, while *Babbar* = UD is the sun-god in his noonday glory. I am not inclined to connect *u-tu* with UD = *ud* etymologically, as I did in MSL. 355, although there was, no doubt, a paronomastic suggestion between the two forms.

5. *Samaš-šum-ukîn* restored Sippar; cf. Lehmann, *Šam.* II., 9, 24 ff.

7. *Utaqqû* is the *Iftaal* of נקה; an unusual form. *Šamaš* is the god of plenty here, as in line 14.

8. *il Me* is evidently a variant of the reduplicated *il Meme*, a secondary name of the goddess *Gula*, who seems to figure here [as the consort of *Šamaš*. The form *il Me* appears in this inscription in lines 32; 32; 40; 41.

9. *Ina tappâ* 'as a companion'; *ina* = 'for'; we should expect *ana*. *Tappû* 'partner' is probably a Sumerian loanword from Sum. *tab* 'two, another', and is not from Sem. יפה; Muss-Arnolt, *Dictionary*, s. v. *tappû*.

10; 12. Note in these lines the characteristic Babylonian disregard for the case-endings, an indication that these suffixes probably ceased to be pronounced at a comparatively early date.

14. The sun-god appears here as the god of plenty, as in line 7.

18. *Ina xullupani dublu* 'a foundation to protect us'; a difficult phrase. *Xullupu* = 'cover'; hence 'protect' and *dublu* = *išdu* 'foundation', II. R. 35, 43 cf. The *-ni* is probably the 1 p. pl. suffix. The metaphor is plainly that of a fortification. The sun-god is called here "the door" (*daltu*) evidently of safety for his worshippers, and also "the lance" (*asmarû*, from the same stem as Ar. *musmâr* 'nail'), because of his penetrating power. He is therefore a weapon of defence.

19. XU-CAB = *iccur nûri* 'bird of light', because of his flight across the heavens. Note that the storm-god *Zû* is also pictured as a bird.

22. This A-A here = *abu* 'father', as in line 38, and is not the goddess *Â*, seen in line 37.

26. *Aṭ-tu*, an unusual feminine adjective from עטה 'be dark, cloudy'.

36. *il Bu-ne-ne* was the consort of *Malik* with whom she attended the sun-god.

37. Clearly the goddess *Â* here, the consort of *Šamaš*.

38. Here again A-A = *abu* 'father', as in line 22.

42. KA-KA-MA = Sum. *inim-inim-ma* = Sem. *šiptu* 'incantation, exorcism'. We expect rather Sum. *a-ra-zu* = *teslîtu* 'prayer', as this hymn is an invocation. GA-ṬU-LAL is composed of the elements GA-ṬU = *malû* 'be full' + redundant LAL = *lá*; also = *malû*.

Some Notes on the So-called Hieroglyphic-Tablet. — By Ellen Seton Ogden, Ph. D. Albany, N. Y.

The following notes are an attempt to read the so-called Hieroglyphic Tablet published in T. S. B. A. Vol. VI, p. 454 ff. Menant[1], Houghton[2] and Delitzsch[3] have each discussed it wholly or in part, and for their suggestions grateful acknowledgment is here made.

The tablet is clearly a sign list. The characters at the right hand of each column correspond to those on the kudurrus of the Cassite and Pashe dynasties, differing from those of Hammurabi's time on the one hand and from the archaic forms of Nebuchadnezzar II on the other.[4] The signs on the left, except a few obviously late ones, are seemingly older and show little more than a passing resemblance to Babylonian traditions of writing.

Two problems are therefore to be solved:

1. The general plan and interpretation of the sign list.

2. The identification as to origin and date of the archaic characters at the left.

The association of several words under one sign seems to have been determined partly by unity of idea and partly by similarity of sound. In some groups a clue was found in the

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[1] *Leçons d'épigraphie Assyrienne* (Paris, 1873), p. 51 ff.

[2] *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archeology*, Vol. VI p. 454 ff.

[3] *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 199 ff.

[4] My attention was first called to this fact by Dr. Geo. A. Barton of Bryn Mawr.

chief syllabic value, which under varying transcriptions stood for other more or less closely related words. Elsewhere, with several syllabic values, the divergence is greater. Generally the meanings given to the signs at the left fall within those listed by Brünnow and Meissner under the case-sign, but this has not been held to rigidly, because the present knowledge of lexicographical material is still far from complete. Of course the equations assigned these unknown characters and couched in the phraseology of Babylonian signs hold only as far as the *idea*, if the theory of a non-Babylonian origin is accepted.

As to the identification of the archaic signs three theories are tenable: —

a) That they are Babylonian, of a date and locality as yet unknown.

b) That they are foreign to Babylonian life and writing.

c) That they are Babylonian, but strongly under some foreign influence. In favor of the first view is the resemblance of certain of the characters to Babylonian signs, but at best this evidence is slight. A more clearly defined similarity exists between them and the proto-Elamitic, and if the parallel tablet in C. T. V., 81—7—27, 49[1] and 50, be collated together with this one, it makes a total of thirty-one signs in which this similarity challenges attention. What really results therefore is a triangular relationship between the three, the Babylonian, proto-Elamitic and these characters. Whether this is due to coincidence or to common origin with subsequent independent development, only future research can answer.

Meanwhile the writer would suggest the following as a possible solution, though one as yet unproved.

If, as has been thought by some, the Cassites were an Elamitic people, it is likely that they used or were familiar with the early Elamitic writing now known as proto-Elamitic, and also with its later forms. As part of their very strong influence upon Babylonian affairs, may not these Cassites have made some attempts to equate their own older signs with those of the language about them? If so, something like the present sign-list would have resulted.

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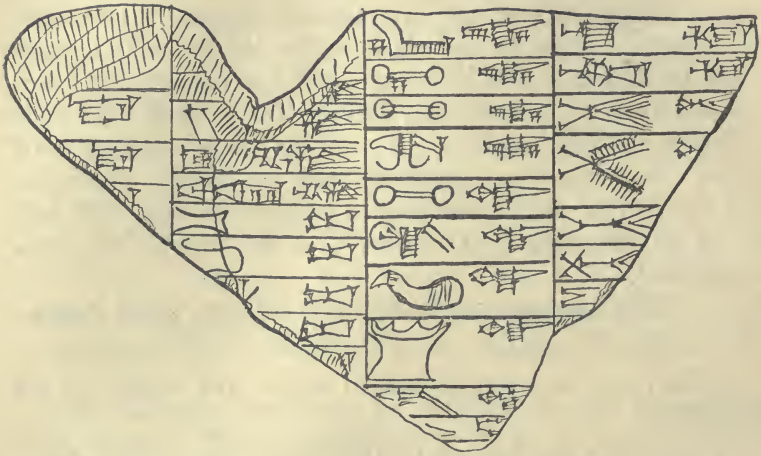
[1] See J. A. O. S. Vol. 32.

A



Col. I. Cases 1, 2. The case sign is RA (Hinke 113).[1]

Col. II. Cases 3, 4. The case sign is NAM (Hinke 37).

3) = ? ?

4) = ? ?

Cases 5, 6. The case sign is AB, *ÊŠ* (Hinke 77).

5) = , AB, (Rec. 344, 550 bis),[2] *abu*, father; *nasîku*, prince; *sibu*, old man. Allied with this sign is AB = , *littu*, offspring; *mîru*, the young of an animal; *banû*, *ša alâdi*.

6) = , AB (Rec. 345) *tâmtu*, sea; *aptu* enclosure; (*araḫ*) *Tebîtu*, the month of floods; (*amelu*) *irrešu*, irrigator. Allied with this sign is *ÊŠ* = house, inclosure.

Col. III. Cases 1—4. The case sign is AZA, AZ, AS. (Hinke 206). The sign is a compound of PIRIḲ = lion, and ZA = stone, jewel. In the early archaic inscriptions it appears only in the place name AZ (*ki*). Later it is equated with

a) (*iṣ*) *šigaru*, some means or implement of restraint.

b) *asu*, physician, or according to Langdon[3]

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[1] Hinke, *Selections from the Kudurru Inscriptions.*

[2] Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme* (Paris, 1908).

[3] *Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy* (Paris, 1911), p. 204.

"An ointment or paste used in medicine."

The use of AZ = *šigaru* in the sense of 'chain' or 'fetter' is indicated by the combination in which the sign occurs.

AZ. BAL = *êrinnu*, *nâbaru*, cage.

AZ. GU = (*iṣ*) *šigaru*, *ša kišadi*, chain for neck.

AZ. LAL = (*iṣ*) *šigaru*, *ša kalbi*, harness or leash for a dog. (LAL = *kasû*, *kamu*, *rakâšu*, to bind, and *ṣamâdu*, to yoke).

AZ. BAL. LAL. E = (*iṣ*) *êrinnu*, cage, but used also as a synonym of *šigaru*. There is probably a connection between this *šigaru* = (*iṣ*) SI. GAR and *iškaru* = (*iṣ*) GAR or ḲAR, fetter or chain, if they are not the same word differently transcribed.

1) = (?) + , UR (?) + ZA (Rec. 438, 9), stone lion colossus. UR. MAḪ is the usual transcription for *nergallu*, the stone bas-relief of a lion placed at the entrance of palace or temple to ward off the evil power of Nergal the "destroyer". Rec. 439, as yet unidentified, resembles this present sign more closely than Rec. 438, but may be only a variant. UR. MAḪ is also the usual form for *nêšu*, lion, whereas *ûmu*, *labbu*, and (*ilu*) *Nergal* as the lion-god are transcribed by PIRIḲ.

2) = + , NUNUZ + ZA (Rec. 282, supl. 480), (*aban*) *êrimmatu*, necklace, or chain in the sense of fetter; cf. DAK. NUNUZ. GU = *nîru*, yoke (Br. 8182).[1] Is this the same as *êrinnu* above? The pictograph represents a link-chain plus the sign for stone.

3) = + , NUNUZ + ZA (Rec, 283, supl. 480), (*iṣ*) *šigaru*, chain or fetter.

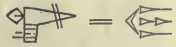
4) = , AZA (Rec. 185, supl. 518), *asu*, physician. The pictograph is difficult to explain, unless by an association of both form and idea with GIR below, which see.

Cases 5—8. The case sign is GIR, NÊ, PIRIḲ, UG, (Hinke 202). Primarily this is GIR the sign for sandal,

[1] Brünnow, *A Classified List of All Simple and Compound Ideographs* (Leyden, 1899).

foot, but through similarity of form, there have been confused with it three other signs, as follows.[1]

a) = KIŠ (*ki*).

b)  = GIR, sandal, foot.

c) = ANŠU, ass.

d) = PIRIḲ, UG, lion.

Even the inscriptions of the archaic period show interchange of usage, a process heightened by time and growing complexity of the language. This interchange accounts for some of the parallelism between the groups above and this.

5) = (Rec. 283, supl. 480) *kurzu*, "Fußfessel" (H. W. B. p. 355). This is the same sign, without ZA, as in cases 2, 3 of the AZ group.

6) = , GIR (Rec. 224, 226, supl. 224),[2] *šêpu*, foot; *kibšu*, step; *gašru*, powerful. Without syllabic value it equals *tallaktu*, *padânu*, *urḫu*. The pictograph represents a sandal with thongs. The expression GIR or GIR NITAḪ = *šakkanakku* and the association with *emûḳu* suggests that this form of sandal was one of the insignia of power.

7) = ? = NÊ (?), *namru*, bright, *nûru*, light. The pictograph represents a lamp in the form of a bird, such as appears on the seal-cylinders and kudurrus as the emblem of the fire-god Gibil-Nusku.[3] Its presence here is accounted for by the confusion between NÊ = and NÊ = , fire.

8) = ? = NÊ (?), GUNNI (?) (Cf. Br. 9703) *ḳinunu*, brazier. For pictograph see Rec. 176 and the discussion under ID below.

Col. IV, Cases 1, 2. The case sign is DAR, SI, SU, UGUN

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[1] For fuller discussion of this group, see E. S. Ogden, *The Origin of the Gunu-Signs in Babylonian*, Leipzig, 1911.

[2] See also Langdon, *op. cit.* p. 272.

[3] Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910).

(Hinke 267 and Clay, *Marushu*, 28).[1] Two signs, SI-GUNU and TARRU, have coalesced under this sign.[2]

1) = , DAR (Rec, 34) *tarru*, bird, or SI, SU (Rec. 48)

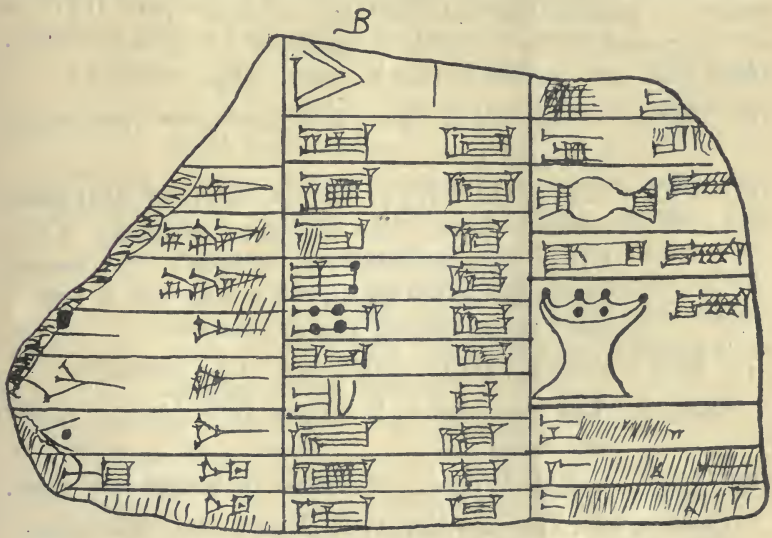
2) = ? ? The sign seems to be composed of AŠ + ŠA + GA. For a possible connection compare = *kalû* (Br. 3486) and II. Rawlinson 37, 45 e, f, where this is equated with *libbi*.

Cases 3, 4. The case sign is ṢUM, ṢU, RIG (Hinke 172), *kîlutu*, burning. *šassûru*, uterus (or foetus?); *arkâtu*, back, behind; *baltu* fullness, pudendum feminae; *mašâdu*, to press. The pictograph equals SAL + SU (Rec. 190), the latter in the sense of *mašku*, skin; *šîru*, *zumru*, body; *ruddu*, to increase; *erêbu*, to enter.

3) = , ṢU (Rec. 330) *šassûru*, uterus.

4) = , ṢUM (Rec. 59), *daḫâdu*, be plentiful. The pictograph represents two crossed palm branches.

Case 5. The case sign is broken, but in C. T. V, 81—7—27, 49 and 50 and J. A. O. S. Vol. 32, the sign at the left of this case is equated with , DU, be plentiful.



[1] *List of Signs Found on Tablets of the Cassite and Neo-Babylonian Periods.*

[2] See E. S. Ogden, *Origin of the Gunu-Signs in Babylonian*, p. 26 ff.

Col. I. Cases 4—6. The case sign is ŠAL, SAL, MURUBT (Hinke 167), *zinništu*, woman; *urû*, pudendum feminae; *rapâšu*, to extend.

4) = ? (broken).

5) = , SAL, Rec. 327) *zinništu*, woman.

6) = , MURUB (Rec. 231), *ḫizbu*, fullness; *pû*, mouth; *urû*, pudendum feminae (Br. 10962—4). For the pictograph, cf. Prince, M. S. L. p. 217.

Cases 7, 8. The case sign is SAL + KU = NIN (Hinke 170) *beltu*, lady, mistress.

7) = , NIN (Rec. 335) *beltu*, lady.

Col. II. Cases 2, 3. The case sign is GE, KIT, SAḪ, LIL (Hinke 136) *kîtu*, structure (?) (Prince, M. S. L. p. 131); *lîlu*, storm-demon; *šâru*, *zaḳiḳḳu*, wind.

2) = , LÊL, (Rec. 415), *kisallu*, a spacious place.

3) = (?) E. LIL (?) Cf. Ê. LIL. LAL (Br. 6249, M. 3799),[1] *bît irṣiti*; *bît ṣêri; bît zaḳiḳi.*

Cases 4—7. The case sign is BAR, DAG (Br. 5528) BAR = *parru*, net; *šuparruru*, to spread out, DAG = *rapâdu*, to spread out; *naḳâru* and *nagâšu*, to destroy.

4) = ? BAR (?) (M. 3869) *šubtu*, dwelling.[2]

5) = , BAR, (Rec. 426) *parru*, net; *šuparruru*, to spread out.

6) = , DAK (?), I, NA, ṢI, ZA (Rec. 322) *abnu*, stone or jewel. The sign was originally NI + UD = "shining light", "full of light". The present pictograph is analogous, NI + ZA, "full of brightness", or a "shining stone".

7) = , GUG, GUK (Rec. 463), *kukku* (?).

Cases 8. The case sign is Ê (Hinke 133) *kibû*, to speak; *iḳû*, canal.

8) = , Ê (Rec. 109), *kibû*, to speak; *iḳû*, canal.

Cases 9, 10. The case sign is Ê (Hinke 252), *bîtu*, house.

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[1] Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme* (Leipzig, 1909).

[2] Langdon, *op. cit.* p. 263.

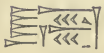
9) = , Ê (Rec. 423) *bîtu*, house.

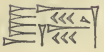
10) = (?), E. LIL, Cf. , E. LIL. LAL = *bît irṣiti; bît ṣêri* (Br. 6249, M. 3799).

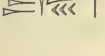
Case 11. The case sign is KU, DUR (Hinke 258).

11) = , UDU (Rec. 456, Clay, *Murashu*, 219) = *immeru*, lamb.

Col. III, Cases 3—5. The case sign is ID, I, A, (Hinke 146). The original pictograph represents a forearm and hand. The meanings overlap those of DA = *idu*, hand or side, and of ZAG = *idu*, side, and it is evident that the three signs were more or less exchanged.

3)  = , NÊ or , GIBIL (Rec. 82—5), burning torch. For a possible channel of connection compare , GIBIL (Br. 9702) *kilûtu*, torch; (sign name KI-IZAKKU) and , AZAG (Br. 6592) *asakku*, sickness? demon? It is possible that this is an allusion to the torch burned at the exorcism of demons of sickness.

4)  = ID (Rec. 115) *idu*, hand; *êmuḳu*, power. It requires very little conventionalizing to reduce the pictograph of a hand and forearm to this character, which differs in outline from the Cassite sign to the right only by the grouping of the so-called *gunu* wedges.

5)  = , ZAG (Rec. 176) *idu*, *pâtu*, hand, side; *êmuḳu*, power. Also *ašru*, *êšrêtu*, shrine. The pictograph represents an hour-glass shaped altar such as appears on the seals.[1] In support of this compare ZAG-AN (*usug*) = *êšrêtu* (Br. 6499); (LU) U. SUG, GA, and (LU) U. SAG, GA = *usukku*, temple devotee.[2]

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[1] Ward, *op. cit.* p. 361—7.

[2] Gudea, B. 3, 15; A, 13, 14.

Three Babylonian Tablets, Prince Collection, Columbia University. — By Rev. Frederick A. Vanderburgh, Ph. D., Columbia University, New York City.

Three light dull-red baked clay-tablets, each five and a quarter centimeters long by three and a half in breadth and two in thickness; corners and edges rounded.

Nr. 1.

Memoranda for the month of *Simânu* of food consumed by messengers going to *Anšân*, *Sabûm* and *Šimâš*; also of those returning from *Susa*, *Ḫuḫunuri* and *Adamdun*. The temple in which the memoranda were made and the approximate date can only be conjectured. Perhaps the capital city at this time was *Ur*. The obverse contains eleven lines and the reverse nine. The signs are all legible.

Obverse

BAR *zid ud-min-kam šà-uru*
Ten (*ḳa*) of meal for two days in the city,

ia ḳa zid kaskal-šù
five *ḳa* of meal on the journey,

i-me-ta šukkal
for *Imeta* the messenger,

an-šá-an-ki-šù gin-ni
on going to *Anšân*.

5 BAR *zid ud-min-kam šà-uru*
Ten (*ḳa*) of meal for two days in the city,

ia ḳa zid kaskal-šù
five *ḳa* of meal on the journey,

lù-na-ba-a gîn-gìš
for *Lunabâ* the weigh-master,

sa-bu-um-ki-šù gin-ni
on going to *Sabûm.*

ia ḳa zid lugal-má-gur-ri šukkal
Five *ḳa* of meal for *Lugalmagurri* the messenger,

10 *nanâ-erin-ki-ta gin-ni*
coming from *Susa.*

BAR *zid ud-min-kam šà-uru*
Ten (*ḳa*) of meal for two days in the city,

Reverse

ia ḳa zid kaskal-šù
five *ḳa* of meal on the journey,

i-ti-da šukkal
for Itida the messenger,

ši-ma-áš-ki-šù gin-ni
on going to *Šimâš.*

15 *ia ḳa zid dingir-ra-ne šukkal*
Five *ḳa* of meal for *Dingirrane* the messenger,

ḫu-ḫu-nu-ri-ta gin-ni
coming from *Ḫuḫunuri.*

ia ḳa zid à-ne-ni šukkal
Five *ḳa* of meal for *Aneni* the messenger,

a-dam-dun-ki-ta gin-ni
coming from *Adamdun.*

itu gud-du-ne-sar-sar
The month of *Simanu.*

The first two signs are BAR and KU. BAR with *ḳa* equals 'ten', otherwise BAR equals 'one half'. Here *ḳa* must be understood with BAR, whose value when standing for 'ten' was probably *u*; we know it to be *maš* when standing for 'half'. KU as 'meal' or 'flour' has the value *zid* = Assyrian *kêmu.* One *ḳa* is approximately equal to one liter. The duties of a *šukkal* (LAḪ), equal to *sukallu*, also called *luḫ*, were more than those of merely bearing a message; they were doubtless administrative and representative. This is confirmed by such expressions as the following which

is taken from a brick of *Temti-agun:* "*Temti-agun* the *šukkal* of *Susa* for his life a *zî-anam* to *Išmekarab* has built". *te-im-ti-a-gu-un šukkal šu-si-im a-na ba-la-ṭi-šu zi-i-a-nam a-na iš-me-ka-ra-ab i-pu-uš.*[1] In a brick by *Temti-ḫalki, Temti-ḫalki* is called the *šukkal-maḫ* of *Elam* (and) *Šimaš. ăraḫ simâni* is the third month of the year — May-June; the ideogram *itu gud-du-ne-sar-sar* given in the tablet is old Babylonian; the Assyrian ideogram is *itu šeg-ga.*

Nr. 2.

Memoranda for the month of *Airu* of wine consumed by messengers returning from *Susa* and also *Sabûm,* as well as those journeying to *Anšân.* The nature of the mission of these messengers is not divulged. Their names are given and in some cases their occupation, or the fact that they are officials. The obverse contains thirteen lines and the reverse nine, including the date, which, however, forms a line separated from the rest of the composition by the space of a centimeter. One sign was almost wholly erased by the pressure of a finger before the tablet was baked. The characters are clear, although made with a fine stylus.

Obverse

ia ḳa kaš
Five *ḳa* of wine,

šú-dingir-nin-šul šukkal
for *Šu-ninšul* the messenger,

ia ḳa kaš ur-dingir-igi-ši gîn-gìš gal
five *ḳa* of wine for *Ur-igiši* the chief weigh-master,

nanâ-erin-ki-ta gin-ni
coming from *Susa.*

5 BAR *kaš šà-uru*
Ten (*ḳa*) of wine while in the city,

áš kaš u-sa kaskal-šù
one (*ḳa*) of wine of the *sa*-plant on the journey,

la-ni-a lù-giš-ku gu-la
for *Lania* the chief spearsman,

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[1] Scheil, *Textes Élamites-sémitiques première et troisième Série,* Pl. 7; 15; 20; 74.

ia ḳa kaš i-šiš-ki-ni šukkal
five *ḳa* of wine for *Išiškini* the messenger,

ia ḳa kaš zib-iš-ni-šú dumu nu-banda
five *ḳa* of wine for *Zibišnišu* the junior overseer,

10 *sa-bu-um-ki-ta gin-ni*
coming from *Sabûm.*

BAR *kaš ud-min-kam šà-uru*
Ten (*ḳa*) of wine for two days in the city,

áš kaš ú-sa kaskal-šù
one (*ḳa*) of wine of the *sa*-plant on the journey,

šú-dingir-en-lil šukkal
for *Šu-enlil* the messenger,

Reverse

DIŠ *kaš šà-uru*
sixty (?) (*ḳa*) of wine while in the city,

15 DIŠ-AŠ *kaš kaskal-šù*
ninety (?) (*ḳa*) of wine on the journey,

nim an-šá-an-ki-me
for the ruler of the *Anšânites,*

gir šú-dingir-en-lil šukkal
for the gir *Šu-enlil* the messenger,

an-šá-an-ki-šú gin-ni
going to *Anšân.*

ia ḳa kaš i-sar-ba-kal šukkal
Five *ḳa* of wine for *Isarbakal* the messenger,

20 *ia ḳa kaš ba-ba-a dumu nu-banda*
five *ḳa* of wine for *Babâ* the junior overseer,

nanâ-erin-ki-ta gin-ni
coming from *Susa.*

itu gan-maš
The month of *Áiru.*

1. *ḳa* is a measure for liquids as well as for dry material, with the same capacity in either instance.

3. *gîn* (ṬU)-*gìš* (UŠ) = 'weighing-man'; here we have *gîn-gìš gal*; in Tablet Nr. 1 simply *gîn-gìš.*

6. There are two kinds of wine mentioned in this Tablet. One is plain *kaš* (BI); the other is *kaš* (BI) *-ú-sa.* The ordinary Assyrian word for *kaš* is *šikaru* 'strong drink', also 'date-wine', the verb being *šakâru* 'be drunk'. The *sa*-plant, from which the other wine is made, may be the same as the *sa*-tree which had a strong fibre with which ropes were made, the word being connected with *sa* used for 'net'.

7. *lù-giš* (IZ) *-ku* = 'man of wooden weapon'; the value of KU in this connection, I must say, is not determined. In the expression 'chief helper', or 'chief spearsman', 'chief' is expressed by *gu-la* 'great'; in line three, where we have the expression 'chief weighmaster', 'chief' is expressed by *gal.*

14. If the sign DIŠ stands for 'one', it should probably have the value *áš*; if it stands for 'sixty', *gíš* should doubtless be the value.

16. *nim an-šá-an-ki me* = 'ruler of the *Ansanites*'. *nim* = *šaḳu* 'high', i. e., a ruler or minister like a secretary of state. *me* at the end of the line may be the sign of the plural, a shortened form of *meš.*

17. *gir* = *šêpu* 'foot'; also *emûḳu* 'power'; then an official, for whom we have no Assyrian equivalent; this officer seems to have charge over other officials, particularly with reference to food supply.

20. *nu* (= *lù*) *-bandá* (TUR) = *labuttu* 'official', perhaps 'overseer', and *dumu* (TUR) = a 'youth of (attending upon) a *nu-banda*'.

22. The month of *Airu*, second month, April-May, written in the Tablet *itu gan-maš* 'fields in blossom'. This is old Babylonian. The Assyrian ideogram is *itu gud-si-di* 'directing bull'.

Nr. 3.

Memoranda for the month of *Kisilimu* of wine, food, meat oil and also of women laborers for the officials of *Adamdun* and *Susa.* The obverse contains nine lines and the reverse twelve. The colophon, giving the date, is inscribed along the left side.

Obverse

DIŠ *kaš du lugal*
Sixty (?) (*ḳa*) of best common wine,

DIŠ *gar lugal* DIŠ *udu*
sixty (?) (*ḳa*) of best food, sixty (?) sheep,

ù-ba-apa-te-si a-dam-dun-ki
for Ubâ patesi of *Adamdun*,

a-dam-dun-ki-ta gin-ni
coming from *Adamdun*.

5 PA *kaš* BAR-*min ḳa zid*
Twenty (*ḳa*) of wine, twelve *ḳa* of flour,

limu (ZA) *à-gam ni ud-limu-kam*
four vessels of oil for four days,

šú-ḳar-ti lù-giš-ku gu-la
for *Šuḳarti* the chief helper,

má-id-ta è-è-ne zid-a
who goes out on the river-boat for meal.

ia ḳa kaš eš ka gar
Five *ḳa* of wine, three *ḳa* of food.

Reverse

10 D I Š *à-gam ni šà-uru*
sixty (?) vessels of oil in the city,

aš kaš ú-sa ia ḳa gar
one (*ḳa*) of wine of the sa-plant, five *ḳa* of food,

kaskal-šù
on the journey,

dingir-ma-su šukkal
for *Dingirmasu* the messenger,

nanâ-erin-ki-šù gin-ni
going to *Susa*.

15 *eš ḳa kaš min ka gar*
Three *ḳa* of wine, two *ḳa* of food,

DIŠ *a-gam ni-giš*
sixty (?) vessels of oil,

iš-me-a lù-kabar
for *Išmea* an official;

ešu geme eš ḳa zid-še ia gîn ni-giš-ta
thirty women (each one) three *ḳa* of wheat-flour
(and) five measures of oil (*per diem*),

ne-ra áš ag ḫu-ḫu-nu-ri-ki me
for which they make an agreement,
viz., they of *Ḫuḫunuri*,

20 *lù iš-me-a lù-kabar*
for *Išmea* an official,

ḫu-ḫu-nu-ri-ki-ta- gin-ni
coming from *Ḫuḫunuri.*

itu ezin dingir-ba-u
Month of *Kisilimu.*

5. The decimal system seems to be represented in two ways in these Tablets. 'Ten', 'twenty' and 'thirty' are represented by the use of the upright and one, two or three horizontals respectively; thus, BAR = 'ten', = val. *u*; PA = 'twenty', = val. *niš*; and AŠ = 'thirty' = val. *ešu.* Down below, line 18, the corner wedge system is used; EŠ = 'thirty' = val. *ešu.*

6. *à* (ID) *-gam* = 'vessel' of some sort, *gam* itself being equal to *kipattu.*

8. *mâ-id* (A. ṬÙ) *-ta* 'boat-river-from'. *è* (UD. DU) *-ne* = 'his going out'. *zid* (KU)-*a:* whether KU-*a* stands for *ašâbu* or *ḳêmu* is not quite clear; possibly the sign may not be KU.

16. *ni-giš* = 'oil of wood'. In lines six and ten *giš* is omitted.

19. In *ne-ra, ne* must be a pronoun and *ra* a postposition, *áš* a noun = *êdu* 'one', *barâmu* 'seal', *magâru* 'favor', *mitḫaru* 'agree' and other words of similar meaning, and *ag* a verb equal to *êpêšu* 'make' and *banû* 'build'. *me* at the end of the line is the sign of the plural.

21. *ḫu-ḫu-nu-ri-ki-ta* 'from the place *Ḫuḫunuri*'; *ki*, however, might be omitted; see Tablet 1, line 16.

22. Month of *Kisilimu*, ninth month, November-December, written in the Tablet *itu ezin* (SAR) *dingir-ba-u*, month of the festival of *Bau* who was the goddess of agriculture. The Assyrian ideogram is *itu gan-gan-na.*

Cities mentioned in the Tablets

Anšân, mentioned by Nabonidus in the *Abu-Habba* Cylinder[1] as a province of which Cyrus was king, must have been a very ancient center. In a list of dates given by *Dungi*[2] one date reads thus: *mu dumu-sal lugal pa-te-si an-šá-an-ki-ge ba-tug*, rather doubtfully translated by Scheil as 'the year when the daughter of the king became *patesi* of *Anšân*'. Gudea in Statue B[3] also gives an interesting fact about *Anšân*. He says that he thrust down the weapons of the city of *Anšân* in Elam: *giš-ku uru-an-ša-an nim-ki mu-sig*.

Sabûm. On a door-socket, in which *Adad-nannar* memoralizes the dedication of a temple built in *Gir-su* by *Gimil-Sin*, king of *Ur*, *Sabûm* is placed in the same list of cities as *Lagaš*. *Adad-nannar*, the chief minister calls himself *patesi* of *Lagaš*, *Gubelum*, *Hamaṣi*, *Ganḫar* and *Sabûm*.[4]

Susa, mentioned in the book of Esther: 'Given in Shushan the palace'; 'the city of Shushan was perplexed'. In our Tablet we have the Sumerian name for *Susa*: *nanâ-erin-ki* 'place of the goddess among cedars, plainly indicating the existence of a sacred grove'. In Dungi's Brick C, we are told that he built a temple to the god of *Susa*; from other sources we learn that this divinity was *Šušinak*.[5]

Šimaš. This was an old Babylonian city existing at a time when its ruler was a *šukkal* or a *šukkal-maḫ*.[5]

Ḫuḫunuri was a city flourishing in the dynasti of *Ur*, destroyed by *Bur-sin*.

Adamdun. From certain tablets we learn that *Adamdun* was a city governed by *patesi* and flourishing in the same period as the city of *Ḫuḫunuri*.

Date of the Tablets

The nomenclature for the months would place the Tablets not later than the third or fourth Dynasty of *Ur*. The second month was written in the time of Sargon I: *ezin gan-maš*,

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[1] *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. V, Plate 64.

[2] *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Plate 125.

[3] Price's *Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea*.

[4] *Revue d'Assyriologie* VI, S. 99.

[5] Scheil, *Textes Élamites-sémitiques première et troisième Série*, Pl. 7; 15; 20; 74.

instead of simply *gan-maš*, and the third month: *ezin gud-du-ne-sar-sar*, and not simply *gud-du-ne-sar-sar*, as in the Dynasties of *Ur*. The name of the ninth nonth was written *ezin dingir ba-u* both in the time of Sargon I and of Dungi I, II and III. The six cities named in the Tablets, some of them Elamitic cities, are all mentioned in texts written concerning rulers of cities when *Dungi*, or *Bur-sin*, or *Gimil-sin* were supreme at *Ur*.

The Oath in Cuneiform Inscriptions. — By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Professor in Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

I. The Oath in Sumerian Inscriptions[1].

Sumerian literature in its original form is well represented by commercial and historical documents. We have, however, no original Sumerian religious composition, but of late copies of such literature we possess an abundance, as Langdon's *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* well demonstrate. In this later class of Sumerian literature no indication of the taking of an oath has thus far been found, and even if there should be found such an indication it would not help us in the study of the growth of oath-taking, since obviously the same reference may have in mind different incidents. We shall, therefore, confine our study to oaths found in commercial and historical inscriptions.

While our contract tablets are primarily commercial documents, yet they are often found very useful for historical research, since most of them mention contemporary rulers either in their date formula, or as parties interested in the transaction. Those documents which are primarily historical we shall study later, but shall now confine our attention to contract or commercial literature.

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[1] *Abbreviations not explained in the text:* **Gen. Dréh.** H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes de Drêhem*, Paris 1911. — **Gen. Dréh. C. B.** H. de Genouillac, *La Trouvaille de Drêhem, étude avec un choix de textes de Constantinople et Bruxelles*, Paris, 1911. — **ITT.** *Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello*, Tome I et II, par F. Thureau-Dangin et H. de Genouillac, Paris, 1910. — **Myhr.** D. W. Myhrman, *Sumerian Administrative Documents from the Second Dynasty of Ur*, BE, Series A, Vol. III[1]. — **Nik.** *Drevnosti Voctochnyya*, redaktsiei M. B. Nikolski, Tome III[2], S. Petersbourg, 1908. — **RA.** *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Oppert, Ledrain, et Heuzey, Paris. — **RTC.** *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes*, par F. Thureau-Dangin, Paris, 1903. — **ZA.** *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, herausg. von C. Bezold, Straßburg.

The very earliest known Sumerian contract tablets (c. 4000 B. C.) such, for example, as AO 2753 which was published, transliterated and translated by F. Thureau-Dangin, RA VI, Nr. 4 p. 143, "Contrats archaïques", Nr. I, contain no oath nor any indication that would lead us to think that an oath was taken. Yet the argument *e silentio* may not have much real force here in considering the custom of oath-taking of this early period, since our records are so scanty.[1]

After about five or six hundred years, when we approach the period immediately preceding the time of the Ur-Ninan dynasty, i. e. c. 3500—3400 B. C., we meet with what seems to be a real development in the direction of that oath-taking custom which became so common in later times, especially during the great legal period of the Ḫammurabi dynasty. Thureau-Dangin has published, in his RTC, and transliterated and translated in RA VI, 4, p. 146 ff., "Contrats archaïques", four business contracts, RTC 12—15,[2] from Tello, belonging to this Pre-Ur-Ninan period which contain no mention of an oath, but which contain the names of witnesses (*galu-ki-enim*[3]) to the contract. In the case of Nr. 12, which is a document about a donation, the transaction seems to have taken place in the temple (*ki-nad Di-abzu-a*, "in the resting-room — lit., "place of rest" — of *Di-abzu-a*", i. e. a definite room, as it seems, in the temple where the transaction took place). Nos. 13 and 14 which are contracts of sale have, besides the witnesses, the name of the official scribe (*dub-šar*, "writer of tablets"), while Nos. 14 and 15 have the *dub-šar-gan*, "the scribe of the field" (the land-surveyor) which is sold.

From the dynasty of Ur-Nina and the reign of Entemena of Lagash (Tello) we have one business document, RTC 16,[4]

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[1] See S. Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 6 ff. for a full list of Sumerian literature.

[2] The others belonging to this period, namely RTC 1—11, contain no mention of witnesses.

[3] It is interesting to notice that the chief part of this compound , *galu*, contains within itself a religious idea, since it denotes a prostrate man in the act of adoration. This would teach us that the early idea underlying the action of a witness was a religious one. The witnesses at this early stage might well have been considered a sufficient guarantee of truthfulness without the taking of an oath.

[4] Transliterated and translated by S. Langdon in ZA XXV. 1—2, Sprechsaal, "Some Sumerian Contracts", p. 205 ff.

which also contains evidence of the presence of witnesses (*galu-ki-enim-ma-bi-me*) and a scribe (*dub-šar*) but has no formal oath; and a similar one, RTC 17 [1], from the reign of Enlitarzi of Lagash in which the wife of Enlitarzi himself appears in the contract which is signed before witnesses among whom are scribes. There is an interesting statement at the end of this contract; it reads *dū-bi zag-gi bi-ag* "each of them thereunto put his right hand". As we know from Babylonian and Assyrian Literature the hand [2] played an important part in the ritual of an oath, and since the Arabic يمين means *oath* as well as *right-hand* we are perhaps right in seeing in this expression an indication that an oath was actually taken. In this same dynasty the reign of Lugalanda is represented by one contract, Nik. 17, where witnesses (*galu ki-enim-ma-bi-me*) occur. These three tablets also come from Tello.

On the famous Obelisk of Maništusu [3] King of kiš, contemporaneous with Lugalanda of Lagash, we have commercial transactions which were ratified in the temple before certain specified persons, although there is no mention of an oath. Face A Col. 8 l. 19, for example, shows us that the transaction took place before (*pân*) *La-mu-um* priest of *Za-Mal-Mal* who was god of Kiš, which would be in the temple of that god; a scribe (*dub-šar*) was always present, cf. Col. 16 l. 7 of Face A, and Face D Col. 12 l. 13 *pân ilu Nin-kar*, "before the god *Nin-kar*". Here the scribe is mentioned in Col. 14 l. 16 of Face D.

The legal form used in these tablets which was the form used up to and including the period of the dynasties of Ur-Nina and Kiš is not very different from that employed during later periods. As a rule, the names of the interested persons are first given, then follow the object and nature of the transaction, then the mention of any extra incidents connected with it, then the witnesses and other officials, then sometimes the place where the transaction took place is mentioned, and, finally, the date. There is, however, no oath. Our conclusions are

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[1] See p. 34, n. 4.

[2] Compare for an interesting parallel Ezra 10, 19, and many other such examples in the Old Testament.

[3] Published, transliterated, and translated by V. Scheil in *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires, Tome II, Textes Élamites-Sémitiques, Première Série* p. 6 ff. Of early Semitic record this is perhaps the most important.

naturally limited as our records are few and all come from Lagash with the exception of the Obelisk of Maništusu which was found at Susa.

It is not till we reach the dynasty of Ur (c. 2295 BC.) that we meet with contracts which contain a direct oath. Here again many documents are found which contain no such oath but which were witnessed before certain persons whose names are often given. Further, there are other contracts that are merely sealed, while still others are drawn up in the temple of a deity (e. g. RA VIII, Nr. 1, in the temple of *Nin-mar-ki*, *E. d.-Nin-mar-ki-ka*). As such contracts are many I shall not deem it necessary to name them, but shall confine my study to those which contain a direct expression of an oath. Up to the dynasty of Ur, as we have seen, no contract has been found which contains any such expression of an oath. This does not mean that the custom of oath-taking may not have existed during that period, since an oath may actually have been taken before the custom of recording it in set terms arose; but so far as our inscriptions go we have no evidence that such an oath was recorded till the time of this dynasty.

Following are all the Sumerian contract documents which contain an oath. All of them with a few exceptions, which will be noted as we meet them, come from Tello. It is also to be noted that they all belong to the dynasty of Ur. This is perhaps due to the fact that most all of our tablets come from the same place. There are a few whose dates either are not given or are defaced, but we are pretty certain that they belong to the same dynasty since they were found in the same place and bear the same marks of composition and arrangment as those that are dated. The dynasty of Ur, according to Hilprecht's Chronological list of the Kings of Ur and Nisin, began in 2295 and lasted till 2178 B. C. The rulers were Ur-Gur 2295—2278, Dungi 2277—2219, Bur-Sin 2218—2210, Gimil-Sin 2209—2203, and Ibi-Sin 2202—2178. Many of the contracts belonging to this dynasty mention the fact that an oath was taken without stating whether any person or thing was invoked, others state that the oath was taken by invoking the name of the king. This is interesting for later, e. g. during the Ḫammurabi dynasty, the king is specifically named and as a rule one or more deities are invoked at the same time. During this early period such a form never occurs—either

there is no invocation at all, or merely the name of the king is invoked.

I. Those contracts which contain an oath but no invocation.

Reign of Dungi 2277—2219 B. C.

1. ITT 923*.[1] This is a tablet containing an account of five different transactions: 1. A confirmation of the sale of a slave, which is sworn to (*nam-erim-am*[2], "an oath there is") in the presence of the assessor (*maškim*[3]). The name of the swearer, as a rule, as here, comes before the oath. 2. ^{d}Ninnika is accused of stealing a cow, but swears (*nam-erim-am*) not guilty in the presence of the assessor. 3. An act of repudiation on the taking of an oath (*nam-erim-am*), before the assessor. 4. Lugal-gi-na is accused of theft, but swears (*nam-erim-nam*) not guilty before an assessor. 5. A suit about a garment. The case is not very clear as the tablet is much broken. The oath (*nam-erim-am*) is sworn in the presence of the assessor. Then follows the name of the patesi (*Ur-^{d}Lama pa-te-si*) who seems to have acted as judge[4] for the above five suits. Then comes, as is usual, the date.

In addition to what has been said about the word *nam-erim* in my Inaugural Dissertation already referred to in the footnote it may be well to note here the depth of meaning underlying it. As *nam* = *šimtu* = destiny, and *erim* = hostile it is evident that this word was originally connected with the idea of malediction[5] or curse and, when used in the oath formula, indicated that curse which would fall upon the per-

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[1] Those thus* marked have been transliterated and translated by H. de Genouillac in RA VIII, 1—2 p. 1 ff., "Textes juridiques de l'époque d'Ur".

[2] For a technical discussion of this word see my Inaugural Dissertation, *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*, Munich 1911, p. 26 f., which will soon be published by P. Geuthner, Paris, with an Appendix by F. Hommel.

[3] See, for a full discussion of this term, *Babyloniaca* III, 2 p. 88, "*Sá-tilla*, textes juridiques de la seconde dynastie d'Our", by F. Pélagaud. For the rendering "Assessor", see de Genouillac, *op. cit.*

[4] Although the word for judge does not occur here, as it does in many cases, yet the patesi's name occupies the same place in this tablet as the judge does in many others.

[5] In its Assyrian form it appears as *mamîtu*, ban, curse, oath. In later Babylonian and Assyrian literature the curse almost completely replaced the oath in legal proceedings.

jurer. Therefore, in essence the oath was a conditional curse, and was expected to have the power of drawing forth from the contestants in a dispute the truth under penalty of malediction[1], and when the name of the king was invoked it was done with the purpose of making the oath more solemn and binding, and, learning from experience that oaths were sometimes broken, to guarantee its preservation.

The legal literary form used in these tablets is so similar in every case that it may be well to give an analysis of the form which it takes in order to avoid unnecessary detail and repetition in our discussion of the other documents of this period. It will be seen that this form differs only in the oath formula from that of the earlier tablets. First, the names of the parties to the contract are given; secondly, the object and nature of the transaction are noted; thirdly, the mention of any extra incidents connected with the transactions; fourthly, the oath; fifthly, the name of the witness or witnesses, though not always given, and that of the assessor and judge or judges; and lastly, the date, often giving the day or year when some important event happened.

2. ITT 936*. Here are two transactions; the first dealing with a robbery the details of which are not given, but an oath (*nam-erim-am*) is taken before the assessor; the second is a note of adoption of a female slave probably by her father. In this last case no oath is taken. The matter is confirmed (*ba-na*[*gi-in*]) before an assessor. The word *ba-na-gi-in* is interesting because its chief element *gîn* = to establish. It cannot, however, be said to be a substitute for an oath because in RTC 291 we have the same word in a contract where a formal oath occurs. The judge in both cases seems to be Ur-$^{d.}$Lama the patesi. Then follows the date as usual.

3. ITT 948*. This is a case of repudiation. The husband seemingly without definite cause repudiates his wife before consummation of marriage. The oath (*nam-erim-am*) is taken before the assessors, Ur $^{d.}$ Lama the patesi being judge.

Reign of Bur-Sin.

1. RTC 291†.[2] Galu-duga fails to pay Atud for a slave

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[1] Compare the interesting place in Neh. 10, 29.

[2] Those marked thus † have been transliterated and translated by F. Pélagaud, "*Sá-tilla*, textes juridiques de la seconde dynastie d'Our", *Babyloniaca* III, 2, p. 81 ff.

which he has received from him, but Atud receives in compensation one of Galu-duga's own slaves. Alla son of Galu-duga and another person take an oath (*nam-erim-am*) evidently that the slave for compensation would be given to Atud.. The oath is taken before the assessor and the judge is Ur ^{d}Lama the patesi. The date is that of the year when Bur-Sin became king, hence the same patesi as in the preceding reign.

2. Pél. XVIII (Pl. III)§[1]. In the exchange of a house it is complained that the manager Nagu did not confirm the transaction. An oath is taken (*nam-erim*) to that effect. A second oath (*nam-erim*) is recorded, but it is not certain that it has anything to do with the same exchange. The assessor is present, and there are two names Ur-ka-silim and Gudea which are probably those of the judges.

3. ITT 752*. This tablet contains a collection of different transactions. The first has to do with inheritance. The next two seem to be related, the one dealing with the incapacity of an architect, and the other with a man who has also lost the confidence of his master. In the first transaction an oath (*nam-erim-am*) is taken, and also in the first of the last two (*nam-erim-am*), which on account of their seeming inter-relation may be considered as having applied to both cases. In any case we learn that the three proceedings took place before an assessor, Ur ^{d} Lama the patesi being judge.

4. ITT 830*. Here we have the confirmation of the sale of a girl by her father where, as in a regular law-suit, an oath is taken (*nam-erim-bi ba-tar*[2]) by interested parties, before an assessor. No judge is present.

5. ITT. 963*. Here are three law-suits about contested property. The tablet has been broken at the end of the first transaction but we can be tolerably sure that an oath was taken as in the other two, each of which has *nam-erim-am* before the assessor. It is interesting to note that the judge (*di-kud*) in this last case who seems to be the same man as

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[1] Those marked thus § have been published, transliterated and translated by Pélagaud in *Babyloniaca* III, 2, p. 81 ff.

[2] Or *nam-erim-bi in-tar* or *nam-erim-bi in-kud*. *Tar* is a better rendering than *kud*, compare *tar-ru-da*, shortened to *tar-da*. In any case the rendering would be "his oath he has taken".

the assessor in the other transaction, namely Ur-^{d}Ka-di, is associated in his capacity as judge with another man, namely Gudea, who is called the elder of the city (*ab-ba-uru*).[1]

6. ITT 3516. This is a case of seizure. The matter is taken to court and an oath is taken (*nam-erim-am*) before an assessor and the sentence is confirmed.

Reign of Gimil-Sin.

1. Pél. VIII (Pl. III)§. A certain man gave his son a house and a slave. The gift is ratified by oath (*nam-erim-am*) which is taken by three free-men and a slave to insure the constancy of the gift. No assessor, no witnesses, and no judge is present.

2. Pél. XI (Pl. V)§. Sale of a female slave. The witnesses whose names are recorded take an oath (*nam-erim-b*[*i i*]*n-tar*) before the assessor. Two judges are present.

3. RTC 295†. An oath taken (*nam-erim tar-a-bar*) in a previous transaction is protested and claimed irregular by a certain woman Sig-tur-tur and her son Gud-a-gir. The case is brought before judges and an assessor and an oath is taken (*nam-erim-bi in-tar*).

4. ITT 744*. A document concerning a dispute between a master and his slave, the details of which are very uncertain. An oath (*nam-erim-am*) is taken before an assessor and a judge.

5. ITT 746*. A contested slave-sale in which the witnesses are relatives of the contending parties. The testimony, as it seems, is contested, but the purchaser on presenting a superior testimony takes an oath (*nam-erim-am*) before an assessor and two judges and the case is ended.

6. ITT 733*. A dispute about a cloak in which an oath is taken (*nam-erim-bi in-tar*) by the slave that he did not give the cloak to the man who stole it. It is interesting to note that the oath was taken in the temple of Ninmarki (*E-d. Nin-mar-ki-ka*) before an assessor. Relatives of the interested parties are mentioned as being present, perhaps as wit-

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[1] Compare the same office in the Ḫammurabi dynasty; also Ruth 4, 2. Compare E. Cuq, "L'organisation judiciaire de la Chaldée à l'époque de la prem. dynastie", RA VII, 2, p. 65 ff.

nesses. A certain Gudea an elder of the city[1] acts as assessor, and there are three judges. Notice the interesting phrase *ki-di-dur-ba u nam-erim-tar-a-ba*, "at the place where the seat of justice is and where the oath is pronounced".[2]

7. ITT 929*. A dispute between a buyer and setter of plants in which the oath (*nam-erim-am*) settles the matter. Witnesses, an assessor, and two judges are present.

8. ITT 2802. Here we have a purchase contract which is badly broken. An oath is taken (*nam-erim-am*) in the presence of witnesses.

9. ITT 3542. Another badly broken purchase contract which contains an oath ([*n*]*am-erim-bi i*[*n-t*]*ar*) and witnesses.

Reign of Ibi-Sin.

1. ITT 920*. A house was given to Ud-id-da by the patesi which he gives away by contract. Ud-id-da desires it back, arguing that he had no right to give away such a gift. A magistrate takes an oath (*nam-erim-bi in-tar*) that Ud-id-da had given away the house. The man who received the house together with a witness also takes an oath (*nam-erim-bi ib-tar*). Ud-id-da loses the case. There were two assessors, three judges, and three personally named witnesses.

Undated.

1. ITT 924*. The text of the tablet is in a poor condition. It seems that there are disputes about four accounts which are regulated by judicial authority and an oath (*nam-erim-am*) was taken in each case. No officials are mentioned but we find the interesting expression *ne Ur-ama-mu-dib u Ur-$^{d.}$ Al-la dub-šar ud-na in-gi-ni-eš* "by authority of Ur-ama-mu-dib and of Ur$^{d.}$ Al-la the *scribe* they will now keep their engagements", which shows that the transactions were carried on in an official way and perhaps a direct oath was taken. It is further interesting to note that one of the debtors was a priest (*sangu*).

2. RTC 294†. This tablet contains a sworn receipt for the payment of a slave. An oath was taken (*nam-erim-bi tar-dam*) that the slave was received. Witnesses are mentioned by name,

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[1] Cf. above p. 40 note 1.
[2] Cf. ITT 960* p. 47.

and an assessor. There is an additional affair on the same tablet but no oath is taken.

3. Pél. XV (Pl. VI)§. A mutilated document concerning a slave sale in which an oath is taken (*nam-erim-am*). There are present witnesses, an assessor, and two judges.

4. Viroll. *Compt.* XVI.[1] A mutilated business document in which nine different persons take an oath. The varying forms of the expression of swearing are: *nam-ne-ru-am* (twice), and *nam-ne-ru* (seven times).

5. ITT 1010*. A very imperfectly preserved text. It seems that a previous judicial decision is changed by the authority of a patesi, Ur-$^{d.}$Lama. An oath is taken (*nam-erim-bi in-*[*tar*]), and witnesses are present. Although there is no evidence of a definite date, the fact that the patesi is Ur-$^{d.}$Lama would lead one, unless there was more than one patesi by that name, to conclude that it was in the reign of Dungi or his successor Bur-Sin.[2]

II. Those contracts in which the name of the king is invoked.

Reign of Dungi.

1. RTC 289†. A case of repudiation of a female slave who presents her case in the name of the king (*mu-lugal*). Two interested persons, perhaps the witnesses, take an oath (*nam-erim-am*), but it is not at all sure that the swearer invoked the name of the king at the taking of the oath,[3] and it is also questionable whether the slave took an oath. The transaction took place before an assessor and Ur-$^{d.}$Lama the patesi.

2. Myhr. IV (Pl. 4, No. 7). An assurance that payment will be made in case Ur-Enlil fails to do so. There is here

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[1] *Comptabilité Chaldéenne*, par *Ch. Virolleaud*, Poitiers, 1903. The author has not published the text of this tablet. He gives a transliteration and translation. It comes from Tello and is preserved in the Imperial Ottoman Museum.

[2] See above p. 38 f.

[3] A direct statement comes between *mu-lugal* and *in-na-an-dug* (so and so, she said) which may be looked upon as an indication that an oath was sworn though not expressed. See below p. 45, section 2, and note 2. See also RTC 293 below p. 44, and ITT 960 below p. 47.

no doubt about the fact that the oath is sworn by invoking the name of the king. The text reads *mu lugal-bi ni-pad*, "by the name of the king he has sworn". There are present four witnesses but no assessor.[1]

Gen. *Dréh.* 5542.[2] A transaction concerning a barley loan in which an oath is taken (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) before witnesses.

Reign of Bur-Sin.

1. Myhr. III (Pl. 3, No. 4). A slave swears that he will not run away from the house of his master. The name of the king is invoked (*mu-lugal ni-na-pad*, "by the name of the king he swore"). There are present three witnesses.

2. Myhr. V (Pl. 5, No. 11). A promise to pay on a specific day a loan. The name of the king is invoked (*mu lugal-bi ni-pad-da*, "by the name king he has sworn"). Witnesses are present.

3. Myhr. VII (Pl. 8, No. 14). An agent buys a palm grove for his patron. The agent and the seller, so it seems, ratify the transaction by taking an oath ([*i*]*n?* — [*pad?*]) before the royal judge. Then another oath is taken by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi* [*in-pad*]), before witnesses.

4. Myhr. Pl. 10, No. 18. A transaction about the loan of silver in which a receipt is sworn to in the name of the king (*mu-lugal ni-pad*), before witnesses.

5. Gen. *Dréh.* CB, Pl. V, No. 22. A commercial transaction giving an account of cattle which were perhaps collected for sacrifice. The oath is taken by invoking the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad-da*). This is an important document for two chief reasons: first; it shows that the legal literary form known in Nippur and its suburbs (for Dréhem, where it was found, the Sumerian name of which has not yet been identified, is such a suburb) was the same as that used in Lagash and Ur. Secondly; its interesting date formula and the mention of the city of Ur show us that while the account was

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[1] It seems that whenever an oath is taken by invoking the name of the king no assessor is present. See the doubtful cases RTC 289, above p. 42; RTC 293, below p. 44; ITT 932, below p. 45; and ITT 960, below p. 47.

[2] All marked Dréhem were found at a place called in Modern Arabic Dréhem, three miles south of Nippur.

drawn up and legalized by oath in Ur, yet it was dated in "the year of the construction of the throne of Enlil" who was the great Nippurian deity. Is seems probable that the cattle, collected perhaps in Dréhem, the account of which was made and legalized in Ur in the third year of the reign of Bur-Sin of that city, were meant for use in sacrificial services to Enlil of Nippur whose calendar system is used in the dating and who, though god of the tributary city of Nippur, was recognized in Ur. On account of the importance of the document and because it has never been transliterated or translated, I here append a transliteration and translation:

Obv.

1. XX síl-ga	20 kids
2. XXI sal-síl-ga	21 female kids.
3. U-tud-da	U-tud-da
4. Ur-^{d}·Dumi-zi-da	Ur-^{d}·Dum-zi-da
5. u Nu-ur-í-li	and Nu-ur-í-li

Rev.

1. mu lugal-bi in-pad-da	swore by the name of the king,
2. šag Uru-ab-ki-ma	in Ur.
3. itu Šu-eš-ša	Month of Šu-eš-ša,
4. mu d. gu-za d. En-lil ba-dím	year of the construction of the throne of Enlil.

Reign of Gimil Sin.

1. RTC 293†. This tablet contains three property transactions. In the first *Ur-egir* swears (*nam-erim-am*) in the presence of witnesses; in the second no oath is taken; in the third there is an oath taken (*nam-erim-am*) and a reference to another oath, but here the text is incomplete. In the third it seems that the promise to pay is made by invoking the king (*mu lugal*), but again as in RTC 289 it is not at all certain that a direct oath was taken.[1] The assessor is present at the first transaction, and likewise at the third, a circumstance which would lead one to conclude that the oath (in the third transaction) was not sworn in the name of the king (see p. 43, note 1).

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[1] See above p. 42 note 3.

2. Pél. XXI.[1] This is a marriage contract and seems to contain either two separate oaths or one which is the development of the other. The first oath was taken in the name of the king (*mu lugal*). The substance of the oath being placed between *mu lugal* and *nam-erim-am*, and forming a direct assertion ending with *ni-in-dug* (so and so, he has said).[2] There are no witnesses. The second is sworn in the name of the king (*mu-lugal pad-da*), but not, as Pélagaud thinks, in the name of the goddess Ninmarki, also because here Ninmarki-ka is a personal name. The sentence runs: *Mu*^{d}*-Ninmar(ki)-ka-ge mu-lugal pad-da dug-ga-na ba-ni-gin-na-šu*, the *mu* here stands before a personal name, not the name of a goddess. Notice *šu* at the end of the sentence which confirms that.

3. Myhr. I (Pl. 1, No. 1). A slave is brought into court to be reminded of the punishment due to a runaway. The fact is made impressive by the use of the phrase *mu-lugal*, which, with the direct statement constituting the substance of the threat and the phrase *ni-in-dug* (see p. 44) may indicate that an oath was taken. The presence of witnesses and dating of the document would seem to confirm this.

4. Myhr. II (Pl. 2, No. 2). A law-suit about a disputed office. An oath is taken by the name of the king ([*m*]*u lugal-bi in-na-pad*), before witnesses.

5. Myhr. VI (Pl. 6, No. 13). A promise to pay at a stated time a loan or investment. Oath by the name of the king (*mu-lugal in-pad*). Witnesses are present, but are not named as such. They have the word *igi*, "before" immediately before them.

6. ITT 932*. A law-suit in which a complaint is addressed to the grand-vizir in the name of the king and is examined by the assessor and is repeated before judges. There is no mention of an oath nor does the phrase *ni-in-dug* with a direct statement occur, but one of the interested persons is presented in the name of the king (*mu-lugal*). It is very doubtful whether an oath was here taken.

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[1] See *Babyloniaca* III 2, p. 114, note 1 for place of publication.

[2] See also Myhr. I (Pl. 1, No. 1), &c. But here no oath is expressed. The form *mu lugal* with a direct assertion may be considered a substitute for the regular oath formula.

7. ITT 1008*. A document of purchase in which an oath is taken by the king (*mu-lugal in-*[*na-pad-da*]) in the presence of witnesses. A second oath is referred to but the text is badly perserved.

8. ITT 3470. This is a commercial transaction in which an oath is sworn by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) before witnesses.

9. ITT 3523. Another case of seizure, as ITT 3516, but here the oath is taken by calling upon the name of the king ([*m*]*u-lugal in-na-pad-da*). The tablet is badly broken.

10. ITT 3529. This is a gift document, the oath in which is sworn by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*). The complaint is made in court but no witnesses appear as far as we can make out from the broken tablet.

11. ITT 3532. A document dealing with a disputed purchase. The oath is taken by invoking the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) before witnesses.

12. ITT 3538. A business transaction concerning real estate. There is a reference to an oath which, as it seems, was formerly taken (*nam-erim-am*), and then the transaction is sworn to by the name of the king (*mu lugal in-pad-da*).

13. ZA XXV, 1—2, Sprechsaal, "Some Sumerian Contracts" by S. Langdon, p. 205 ff., No. 1 B. 6. The purchase of a female slave. The transaction is ratified by an oath taken by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) in the presence of certain named persons who are undoubtedly the witnesses. There is a promise directly connected with the oath, namely, *galu galu nu gi-gi-da*, "man shall not bring suit against man" a formula found here for the first time on tablets belonging to this early period, but very common during the Ḫammurabi dynasty. The interesting Semitic word *bukānu*, under its Sumerian form *gištag*, occurs in Obv. l. 6 which is used so often in contracts of the Ḫammurabi dynasty, and may very well mean, as *Langdon* suggests, "dye" or "stamp", although it was not confined to slave-sales especially during the Ḫammurabi dynasty, as it is oftenest used in transactions pertaining to the produce of the field.

14. ZA XXV, 1—2, p. 209, No. 2. Bodleian Inscr. Sum. A 18. A fragmentary document of a settled commercial dispute in which the oath is taken by invoking the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) in the presence of witnesses.

15. Gen. *Drêh.* 5541. A transaction concerning a barley loan in which an oath is taken before witnesses in which the name of the king is invoked (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*).

Reign of Ibi-Sin.

1. Gen. *Drêh.* 5539. A dispute about cows which is settled, and an oath by the name of the king is taken (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) before witnesses.

2. Gen. *Drêh.* 5540. A loan negotiated in presence of witnesses by taking an oath by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*).

Tablets undated or whose dates are uncertain or broken off.

1. Pél. XIX (Pl. VII)§. A law-suit concerning the planting of a park. The condition of transaction is introduced by the phrase *mu lugal,* but no more direct evidence of an oath appears. The end of the tablet is broken. It is doubtful whether an oath was taken.

2. Myhr. Pl. 7 Nr. 13. A very much broken legal transaction which contains an oath by invoking the name of the king ([*mu*] [*l*]*u-gal in-pad*).

3. ITT 931*. A law-suit concerning a man's right to take a concubine in case of the barrenness of his wife. The text is very poorly preserved but it seems that the wife claims that an oath in the name of the king should not be taken (*mu lugal ba-ra-mu-enim-enim*) that her place be taken by a concubine. Witnesses are present among whom is a woman. The husband's name is Ur-^{d}·Lama, perhaps the patesi whom we have already met.

4. ITT 960*. This is a very interesting document. It deals with arrangements for a marriage. It seems that the consent of the parents must be procured in case of this marriage, and even the opposition of the mother would be sufficient to defeat the case. Face l. 12 has *ki-mu-lugal-pad-da-ka ni-dur-ša* "the place where an oath is taken by the name of the king"[1] shows us that there must have been at this time such a place legally designated, although I have not been able to find anything more definite till we come to the Ḫammurabi dynasty

[1] Cf. p. 40 No. 6.

where we find such place commonly designated, e. g. at the *šurrinnu*, etc. A direct statement comes between *mu-lugal* and *in-na-ni-dug-ga* (so and so, she said)[1] and an oath is taken (*nam-erim-am*) by the father of the bride and the young people are given the right of marriage. Witnesses, an assessor, and three judges are present.

Among the many historical inscriptions belonging to the period previous to the Ḫammurabi dynasty and which is classed as Sumerian, I have found only one which contains an oath. It is a treaty which was transliterated and translated some years ago by Thureau-Dangin in *Les Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Accad*, and in 1909 was published, transliterated and translated by the same author in conjunction with L. Heuzey in *Restitution Matérielle de la Stèle des Vautours.* E-an-na-tum king of Lagash (c. 2900 B. C.) made a treaty with the people of Gišḫu; E-an-na-tum swore to the people (*nam-e-na-ta-tar*, "by that which [*šušgal*] I swore to them"), and they swore to him (*nam-mu-na-tar-ra*[2], "they swore"). The oath is quite elaborate. The king invokes the *šuš-gal* ("net")[3] of Enlil (Bel), of the goddess Ninḫarsag, of Enki (Ea), of Enzu (Sin), of Babbar (Šamaš), and of Ninki; and the people call upon the name[4] of the same deities. The oath was taken in the camp of the god Nin-gir-su (*a-ša[g]*^{d}*Nin-gir-zu-ka*) the son of Enlil.[5] The same object by which the oath is sworn, namely the *šuš-gal*, will slay the person who proves to be a perjurer.

In the foregoing study every instance of an oath in the literary remains of the Sumerians has been recorded and commented upon wherever necessary. The study, therefore,

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[1] See p. 42, n. 3..

[2] The following are variations of the same formula which are found in this inscription: *nam-e-ta-tar-ra*, "by which they swore"; *nam-ni ma-ni-tar-ra*, "by whom they swore"; also, the phrase occurs: *mu-pad-da*, "whose name was pronounced".

[3] Symbolically used. Cf. Hab. 1, 16: "Therefore he (the Chaldean) sacrificeth unto his net, and burneth incense unto his seine".

[4] Here *zi*^{d} . . .

[5] It is noteworthy that if we admit that in the oath by En-lil his son Ningir-su is included, then the number of those invoked would be seven, the holy number of swearing.

covers that period of history from the earliest times to the First Babylonian or the Ḫammurabi dynasty.

During this period commercial literature has shown a progressive development in the method of oath-taking. In transactions of the earliest periods no oath is recorded. This was due, it seems, more to the stage of legal development than to any lack of religious feeling connected with a legal promise. Legal precautions developed a legal form in which we see an external expression of the religious thought always underlying the idea of the oath. During the Pre-Ur-Ninan period (the tablets of which come from Tello) we meet with a fairly stereotyped legal form of transaction, as such contract as RTC 12—15 show. Yet no oath was taken. An advance in form at least is, however, evident. Witnesses are present, and the very word for witness, as we have seen above, shows the religious idea underlying this innovation in formula. In the Ur-Ninan period (the tablets of which come from Tello and Susa) there is still no expression of an oath, at least in contract literature, but the stereotyped legal form is still present, witnesses are recorded. There is an interesting reference in one document which indicates a tendency which later ripened, I mean the ritual act of giving the hand at the conclusion of a transaction (see page 35). The transaction is also referred to as having been ratified in a temple. When we reach the dynasty of Ur (the tablets of which come from Tello and Dréhem) we find not only the same stereotyped legal form but, in addition, the direct expression of an oath. This takes two forms; first, where a simple oath is sworn: and secondly, where an oath is taken by invoking the name of the king. Here also the oath was sometimes taken in a specific place.

The only historical inscription representing the whole Sumerian period which contains an oath belongs to the dynasty of Ur-Nina, and the reign of Eannatum king of Lagash c. 2900 B. C. Here we see the oath in a form which is not found in any commercial literature of the Sumerian period, but which is common in both historical and commercial inscriptions of later times. A treaty is made, the chief ritual of which is the taking of an oath by both interested parties. The oath is made by invoking the *šušgal* of definitely named deities, and was taken in the camp or temple of Nin-gir-su. And what is still more interesting, a conditional malediction

was pronounced. Here we have the older form, the malediction,[1] and its successor, the oath, side by side in an important transaction.

As this historical inscription shows, being the only evidence of an oath prior to the dynasty of Ur, we have in these inscriptions the evidence not of the growth of a religious idea, but that of a legal custom in commercial transactions. Long before the custom of recording an oath in a legal document arose, this historical inscription teaches us that the custom of oath-taking was known. The idea underlying an oath and perhaps also the custom of practically taking an oath is as old as religion itself. The foregoing study, however, demonstrates that the legal formula in contracts was the result of a long development.

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[1] Although in very late literature the malediction became again the more prevalent.

On Māyāvāda, by Hermann Jacobi, Professor in the University of Bonn, Germany.

In my last article[1] I have discussed the attitude taken up by the orthodox philosophers in India towards the epistemology of the Buddhists. In connection with this discussion I shall now treat the question about the nature of early Vedānta, and, as I hope, bring it nearer to a conclusion.

The arguments of the Buddhists of both the Nihilistic and Idealistic schools regarding the unreality of the objects of perception may thus be summarised. Our perceptions in dreams do not, in principle, differ from those in the waking state, and consequently the latter must be just as void and as independent of something existing beside them (their object) as the dream-impressions; further examples of impressions void of really existing objects are magic, fata morgana, and mirage. This view of the Illusionists is confuted much in the same way in the Nyāya and Brahma Sūtras; here we are concerned with the latter only. The discussion of Bādarāyaṇa (B. S. II, 2, 28—32) as illustrated by the passage from the ancient Vṛttikāra, quoted by Śabarasvāmin in the Bhāṣya on M. S. 1, 1, 5 (see above, 31. 23), leaves no doubt on the point at issue, viz. that, according to these ancient Vedānta authors, there is a generic difference between dream-impressions and waking impressions, and that therefore the latter are not independent of really existing objects.

The oldest work on Vedānta Philosophy besides Bādarāyaṇa's Brahma Sūtras, are the Karikā's[2] on the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad

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[1] The Dates of the Philosophical Sūtras of the Brahmans; see JAOS. 31. 1 ff.

[2] Anandasrama Series, No. 10. An English translation of the text and Commentary has been issued in India; but the book has not been accessible to me.

by Gauḍapāda.[1] The chronological relation between Bādarāyaṇa and Gauḍapāda will be discussed hereafter; for the present we have to deal with his philosophical opinions. Gauḍapāda is, as far as we know, the first author who formulated the Māyāvāda or the doctrine that everything except Brahma is an illusion; this doctrine was either originated by him, or by a school of thinkers of whom he became the head; the latter alternative would seem the more probable one.

Now Gauḍapāda has used the very same arguments as the Buddhists to prove the unreality (*vaitathyam* = *asatyatvam*) of the external objects of our perceptions; he states this argument in II 4 which is thus explained by his commentator, Śaṅkara[2]: "Things seen in the waking state are not true: this is the proposition (*pratijñā*); because they are seen: this is the reason (*hetu*); just like things seen in a dream: this is the instance (*dṛṣṭānta*); as things seen in dream are not true, so the property of being seen belongs in like manner (to things seen) in the waking state: this is the application of the reason (*hetūpanaya*); therefore things seen in the waking state are also untrue: this is the conclusion (*nigamana*). Things seen in a dream differ from those seen in waking in that the former are reduced in size because they are within (the body of the dreamer). But there is no difference in so far as both are 'seen' and are 'untrue'." — And in II 31 all unreal things are mentioned together: "As dreams or magic or fata morgana are regarded (as unreal by ordinary men), so this whole world is regarded by those versed in the Vedāntas".

The argument thus expounded by Gauḍapāda forms the basis of his doctrine of Māyāvāda, and it is, as we know, the same argument which the Buddhists employed to establish the

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[1] I fully concur with Mr. Barnet in his review of Max Walleser, Zur Geschichte und Kritik des älteren Vedānta (Heidelberg 1910) in JRAS 1910 that Gauḍapāda is the name of the author and that it has not wrongly been abstracted from the title Gauḍapādīya Kārikāḥ. Whether the author be the same as, or different from the Gauḍapāda the oldest commentator on the Sāṅkhya Kārikās, in both cases there can be no doubt that Gauḍapāda was an actual name.

[2] I am inclined to think that this Śaṅkara is not the same as the author of the Śārīraka Bhāṣya. The latter would hardly have stated the argument in the form and the terms of an *anumāna* according to Nyāya principles.

Śūnyavāda. As that argument is strenuously confuted by Bādarāyaṇa, it is evident that he cannot have held the same opinion in this matter as Gauḍapāda, or, in other words, the Brahma Sūtras do not teach the Māyāvāda. This is one point which I wish to make.

The next question we must try to solve is whether Gauḍapāda is acquainted with the Śūnyavāda or the Vijñānavāda. The answer is furnished by kārikās IV 24 ff. For in kārikā 24 a Realist contends that ideas (*prajñapti*) and feelings would not arise if not caused by external things. The opponent, in kārikās 25—27, shows the unreasonableness of assuming objects existing beside and independent of ideas (*prajñapti*, *citta*). This refutation is, as the commentator tells us, "the argument of the Buddhists of the Vijñānavādin school, who combat the opinion of the realists (*bāhyārthavādin*), and the Ācārya agrees with him thus far". That the statement of the commentator is right, is evident from the nature of the argument itself, and becomes still more so from the next verse (28), which furnishes the final decision of the Vedāntin: "Therefore the idea (*citta*) does not originate, nor does the object of the idea originate; those who pretend to recognise the originating of ideas, may as well recognise the trace (of birds) in the air". For here the fundamental doctrine of the Vijñānavādins, which admits only a continuous flow of momentary ideas, is clearly referred to and confuted. Since the Brahma Sūtras and the ancient Vṛtti refer to the Śūnyavāda only, as I hope to have established in my former article, the Gauḍapādīya Kārikās which allude to the latest phase of Buddhist philosophy must be considerably younger than the Brahma Sūtras. This has always been the opinion of the Pandits. It has, however, lately been controverted by Dr. Walleser[1] on the ground that the Gauḍapādīya Kārikās only are quoted in ancient Buddhist books as an authority on Vedānta philosophy. Even in case this assertion should be confirmed by the progress of research, the alleged fact would not necessarily upset the above result. For the enigmatical character of the sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa make them unfit for quotations, at least of an outsider, to illustrate a point of Vedānta philosophy. And besides the

[1] l. c. p. 23.

Buddhists may have ignored the old Vedānta of Bādarāyaṇa as the Jainas did so late as the ninth century A. D.[1]; but they could not well have ignored the Gauḍapādī, since that work taught a philosophy which resembled their own in many regards.

Our inquiry has established 1. the near relation, amounting almost to identity, between the epistemology of the Śūnyavādins or Vijñānavādins on one side and of Gauḍapāda's Māyāvāda on the other; 2. the opposition of the latter to Bādarāyaṇa on this head; and 3. the posteriority of Gauḍapāda to Bādarāyaṇa. Now these facts admit, in my opinion, of a natural and probable construction, viz. that Gauḍapāda adapted the Illusionism of the Buddhists to the teachings of the Upaniṣads. This view is supported by the many coincidences between the Gauḍapadīya Kārikās and the Mādhyamika sūtras to which Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin has lately drawn attention.[2] The theory, that the Māyāvāda is a Vedāntic adaptation of the Sūnyavāda, has been first put forward by V. A. Sukhtankar[3]; I may add that I perfectly agree with him.

The probable history of the Māyāvāda may be briefly described: originally the doctrine of some school of Aupaniṣadas, it became an orthodox philosophy, when it had successfully been made the basis of interpretation of the Brahma sūtras, already by earlier writers and finally by the great Śaṅkara. For the two Mīmāṃsās are the preeminently orthodox systems; but we should never lose sight of the fact that they are originally and primarily systems of the Exegesis of the Revelation, the Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā of the Revelation as far as it is concerned with sacrifice (*karmakāṇḍa*), and the Uttarā Mīmāṃsā with regard to Brahma. These two schools of orthodox theologians developed philosophical doctrines of their own, but these are found in the Bhāṣyas and are scarcely alluded to in the sūtras themselves.

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[1] Haribhadra, Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya v. 3; Siddharṣi, Upamitibhavaprapañcā Kathā p. 661 ff.; see above vol. 31, p. 6 note 3.

[2] JRAS 1910 p. 128 ff.

[3] WZKM vol. 22, p. 136 ff. see also above vol. 31, p. 8, note 1.

Sanskrit Kabăiras or Kubăiras and Greek Kabeiros.[1] — By E. W. Hopkins, Professor in Yale University.

The phonetic equivalence of the Greek and earlier Sanskrit forms is patent and has already been noted by Professor Wackernagel (KZ. 41, p. 314 ff.), who explains the labialization in the later Sanskrit form as due to the proximity of the labial consonant. The difficulty in the identification has lain in the apparently incongruous character of the two spirits.

In preparing a manual of Hindu mythology I have recently been impressed with the fact that the incongruity is more apparent than real. The variant Ko-beiros, which Hesychius identifies with the kobalt or gobelinus ordinarily called Kobālos was originally one with the form Ka-beiros. That is to say, the house-spirit full of tricks was at first not differentiated from the gnome of the mountain-caves, *kybĕla*. The chthonic mountain-mother abstracted from the caves is Kybĕlē (Kybēlē). I shall give no analysis of the character of the Greek spirit. The tricky troll of the Athenian home, the mysterious gnome of the mountain caves, with his phallic characteristics, his affinity with the worker in iron and fire, the hoarder of treasure connected with the god of luck, finally the mystery and revelling of the Kabeiros—these need only to be mentioned to be recalled. But as for Kabăiras or Kubēras, who would think of him as capable of being interpreted in the same way, I venture to add even described with the same words?

The fact is, however, that Sanskrit scholars are obliged to depend in large part for their understanding of Hindu gods upon statements made in comparatively late literature, and when these statements are united in the current mythological handbooks with other data drawn at random from Vedic and

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[1] This paper was read at the Meeting of the Oriental Congress—Athens. April, 1912.

epic literature, the result is such a hodge-podge of truth and error that the god depicted represents neither the Vedic, epic, nor Puranic conception, but a fearful mixture of notions drawn from different millenniums. Thus the latest and least authoritative native authors furnish the data which give the outline of Kubēra as pictured in the standard mythology. He is a god having several wives, none of whom is known to any ancient writer; he possesses only eight teeth and has three legs, characteristics opposed to his earlier conception, though perhaps in part retained from traits not formally acknowledged,[1] he has several sons, only one of whom is really known as such; he "receives no worship", whereas he is worshipped in earlier literature; and finally, most of his characteristic traits are ignored altogether. A closer study of the Kubēra (Kabăiras) of early literature will show that this "god" wins his high title late in life and that he is no bad representative on Hindu soil of the Greek Kabeiros-Kobeiros (Kobālos).

In regard to the form of the name, it appears as Kubēra for earlier (*Kabēra) Kābēraka (the ending *-ka* is secondary and is found also in the epic Kubēraka), in which *ē* = *ăi*. Native authorities enlist the form with other words in *-ēra*, *guhēra*, *godhēra*, *kaṭhēra*, *kuṭēra*, *gaḍēra*, *guḍēra*, etc., a formation which begins early and till late remains active enough to produce fresh combinations of the same sort, such as *śrāmaṇēra* and *Saṁgamanēra*, the Buddhistic tinge of which, together with the marked linguality of the earlier group, may suggest that forms in *-ēra* were felt to be vulgar rather than acceptable Sanskrit. Professor Wackernagel also explains the form in *u* as a "*mundartliche oder plebeische Form*" (*loc. cit.* p. 316). Yet the *-ēra* words stand in close connection with *-ēru* forms, and these again (*madēru*, *sanēru*, etc.) are merely variants of older or perhaps more elegant forms in *-ara*, *-aru*, and *-ru* (cf. *patēra* = *patara* = *pataru;* also *śatēra* = *śatru*). Other variations also occur, *muhēra* = *muhira*, etc. Some of these are not found in the extant literature, but there is no reason for supposing, for example, that a native scholar made out of whole cloth such words as *gadēra*, "cloud" or *daṅśēra*, "harmful". It is with these forms that the word Kubēra is

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[1] The three-legged Kubēra is doubtless a phallic conception parallel to the τρισκελὲς ξόανον of Theocritus.

grouped, which stands to Kubēraka as the similar *guḍēra* stands to *guḍēraka.*[1]

But if Kubēra has a vulgar form it is no more than he deserves. For he begins as a vulgar little fellow. His name probably comes from *kub* (as *daṅśēra* from *daṅś*, *guhēra* from *guh*, etc.), to which native authorities assign the word *kubra*, "cover" as hole (cave) and as forest, *kub* itself being explained as "cover over" (*kub, kumb, ācchādane*). Possibly *kubja*, "bent" may be from the same root. Kubēra then is etymologically a spirit of cover, of hiding. Hence his character as chief Guhyaka (*guh*, "hide"), allied etymologically again with *guhēra* as "blacksmith", with that association of smith and secrecy seen in the case of the Kabirs and other gnomes. Our Kubēra is primarily and above all a Guhyaka-Yakṣa, "hiding-spirit". Kubēra has a son Kūbara (related in ending as *patēra* to *patara* "flyer", bird) to which is prefixed *nala*, as I think for *nara*, sprite, the Naras being spirits belonging especially to the court of Kubēra and associated with him as a peculiar kind of Gandharva-spirit distinct from the Kiṁ-*naras.* The *nara* anyway is a spirit (*Naraka*, "place of spirits"), of water particularly. There is a body of water underground where these water-spirits abound, the noise of running water being the "singing" of the Kiṁnaras, which accompanies the "dancing" of these spirits of cloud and waterfall. *Nala* is identical with *nara* and means a water-plant (cf. *nalina*) or water-sprite (cf. Nalasetu). Nārāyaṇa means the place of water (spirits).[2]

The form Kāubēra is used of the followers of Kubēra or of his other belongings, or of the drama concerned with his daughter-in-law (Rambhābhisāra, H. 8694), but not of his son (as patronymic).

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[1] The AV. form Kāuvēraka (Kashmir) is not so original as Kābēraka (v. l. Kāvēraka). It is due to an attempt to make a regular patronymic of Kubēra, like Bhāuvāyana and Dhrāuva from Bhuva and Dhruva. Kābēraka reverts to *Kabēra as Śābara to Śabara, Hāleya to Hali, etc. Compare *dāśēra-ka* and *daśēra*, the creature that bites (camel or fish).

[2] Activity connotes energy and bravery, hence the tertium that connects water and bravery (*puruṣa*, a brave man, *purīṣa*, water, *purīṣya*, of fire as energetic); hence too the (vital) spirit, as an active energy and the hero (Nero, Neria, ἀνήρ) on the one hand and Nēreus, water-spirit, on the other. Virtue, activity, is nerve (cf. *guṇa*, sinew and virtue). *Nart*, "dance" is only a special form of activity and is related to the water-idea as salto and saliva come from *sar* "go", "flow".

The group of beings over whom Kubēra is lord are, as has been said, "hiders", and his most characteristic name in all periods is "lord of the Guhyakas", who are also called the "other people", the old euphemistic designation (equivalent to "good people") of sprites, gnomes, and ghosts. His father is a doubtful personality, who is represented as a great seer or as the son of the Creator-god. His mother is the earth, represented as a cow, whence he is called "son of the cow"; yet another tradition, which had as yet scarcely obtained foothold in the epics, but appears in the subsequent Puranic literature, assigns him a nymph-mother called Ilavilā. He is primarily lord of the spirits who hide (and find) treasure in the mountains. The one son he has lives with him in the hill-country in the North, where, with them, bands of Guhyas or Guhyakas watch all gold and wealth hidden in the hills. Kubēra and his troops are under the patronage of the phallic mountain-god Śiva, to whom Kubēra stands in somewhat the same relation as that occupied in relation to Kubēra himself by his own underling, the great "Jewel"-spirit, whose name appears in full as Maṇi- (or Māṇi-) bhadra (or -vara), and whose father is declared in the later part of the epic to be "he of the silver navel".[1] It is Śiva who is the mighty god of the North and as such, though the especial friend of Kubēra, as the Mountain-goddess was also his friend (despite the fact that their anger was not restrained when Kubēra was indiscreet), he was historically the cause of Kubēra's remaining an inferior spirit. So rapid is the growth of Kubēra's reputation that, as patron spirit of wealth and treasure, he would undoubtedly have become to the North what Agni became to the East; but in fact he was scarcely able to attain the position of world-protector, and Śiva overshadowed him completely. He is first represented as a sprite of concealment, living on that as his sustenance and associated with similar spirits the "good people", who also are thus nourished by their earth-mother. Earth the shining goddess is their mother, earth (the soil) is their "dish", as contrasted with the "silver" dish (the moon) of the Manes. This is expressed in the following passages of

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[1] This epithet is applied to the greater and lesser spirits; probably at first to Śiva and then transfered to Kubēra (cf. *triśīrṣan* and *triśiras*, of Śiva and Kubēra). Cf. Guha as son of Śiva.

the Atharva Veda and the Great Epic, identical passages in variant forms.[1]

AV. 8, 10, 28, *so 'dakrāmat se 'tarajanān āgacchat tāṁ itarajanā upāhvayanta tirodha ehī 'ti; tasyāḥ Kubero Vāiśravaṇo vatsa āsīd, āmapātram pātram; tāṁ Rajatanābhiḥ Kābērako 'dhok, tāṁ tirodhām evā 'dhok; tāṁ tirodhām itarajanā upa jīvanti, tiro dhatte sarvam pāpmānam upajīvanīyo bhavati ya evam veda* (v. l. *puṇya°* for *itara°*).

Mbhā. 7, 69, 24:

antardhānaṁ cā 'mapātre dugdhā puṇyajanāir Virāṭ,
dogdhā Vāiśravaṇas teṣāṁ vatsaś cā 'sīd vṛṣadhvajaḥ
(v. l. in SI. text, *cā 'sīt Kuberakaḥ*).

Harivaṅśa, 382 f.:

Yakṣāiś ca śrūyate rājan punar dugdhā vasuṁdharā,
āmapātre mahārāja purā 'ntardhānam akṣayam;
vatsaṁ Vāiśravaṇaṁ kṛtvā Yakṣāiḥ puṇyajanāis tadā,
dogdhā Rajatanābhas tu pitā Maṇivarasya yaḥ,
Yakṣātmajo mahātejās triśīrṣaḥ sumahātapāḥ;
tena te vartayantī 'ti paramarṣir uvāca ha.

About the same time probably as that of the first of these passages is that of the Brāhmaṇa which describes Kubera as lord of Rakṣasas (ŚB. 13, 4, 3, 10) and (or?) *selagas* (*śerabha* "snake"?). Rakṣasas the Hindus regard as brothers or cousins of the Yakṣas, the former being prevailingly evil but sometimes good, the latter prevailingly good but sometimes evil. The Guhyakas are often identified with the Yakṣas, although they occasionally appear as a separate band. In fact, however, Yakṣas are the genus and Guhyakas are the species, as Kiṁnaras are a species of Gandharvas. All these spirits, of hiding, helping, singing and dancing, together with serpents, dwarfs, personified gem- and jewel-spirits, and "wizard"-spirits, are under Kubera.

Kubera's association with Śiva rests on a deeper basis than the hills where they live together. Both are genii of productivity. This is the reason why Kubera and Iśāna (Śiva) are invoked together and especially "for the husband" at the marriage-ceremony (Śāṅkh. GS. 1, 11, 7). Kubera is god of increase, both of children and wealth. His wife is thus Ṛddhi, Prosperity, who is recognized as such in the later parts of

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[1] Here and in the following I omit the macron over *ē*, not usually written in Sanskrit words.

the epic; as Lakṣmī is also so closely connected with him that she is associated with Nala-Kūbara at his court, possibly with the idea that she is really Kubera's wife, as was actually imagined in post-epic literature despite Viṣṇu's claim upon the lady. When a man marries and when a man digs for treasure, he makes offerings to Kubera as the spirit of good luck and prosperity in general. But the adoration of Kubera and the offerings made to him were regularly similar to those offered to his coadjutor the Jewel-spirit; though once identified with those offered to a recognized god, namely when the epic hero is digging for treasure.

Kubera is a god, *deva*, only in the later parts of the epic. The view that he was once a man, afterwards raised to godhead, is an exaggeration both of the epic data and of the historical facts. In the epic he is the "king of kings", as is Rāvaṇa the Rakṣas, and he is "chief of kings"; but he is never thought of as a mere man, as he is seldom thought of as a god in the full sense of that term. He is always a Guhyaka "hiding-spirit", one of that spirit-clan to which are assigned dubious characters, such as animals and plants of recognized spirit-power, and in particular the half-gods or half-divine dioscuroi twins (Aśvins), though later (Puranic) tradition asserts definitely enough that Kubera, together with his follower Nandīśvara (also the name of Śiva's follower and of Śiva himself), was a "god with human nature", *manuṣya-prakṛti*, for which there is no basis at all in the early texts. One may assume that all demoniac forms were "degraded tribes" of Hindus; but this opens up a question similar to that as to the interpretation of European fairies as wild men, etc. One might say that the Śabalas are wild demoniac mountaineers and that Kuberas and Śabalas (k = ś, r = l) were originally one (cf. *kimīdins* and *śimidas* as demons); but that would be guess-work and after all would not help us to determine what the epic Hindus thought of Kubera. Both epics state plainly that Kubera was not at first a god; but godhood was given to him as a special boon.

One other point in regard to a misunderstood tradition. The epic poets call Kubera Naravāhana ("having a vehicle of Naras"), and the later writers interpret this as "carried by men", that is in a palanquin or *narayāna*. One looks in vain, however, for any evidence that Kubera was carried by

men. In post-epical times he rides a buffalo; but that is another comparatively modern touch. The curious thing is that, if *naras* be men, Kubera is described as "carried by men" just when he is not so carried. Like other supernatural beings of the epic, gods, seers, angels, etc., Kubera has his own aeroplane, a very large and roomy car, which was especially presented to him by the Creator, and which has the reputation of being the fastest car on the road of spirits. And yet even as Kubera, who always rides in this car, is stepping into it, the poet calls him *Naravāhana.* But this absurdity is overcome if one remembers that the verb from which comes *vāhana* is used of the spirits called Guhyakas as "carriers" of Kubera's car. "By the Guhyakas", it is said, "is carried, *uhyamānam*, the car of Kubera". In other words, as explained above, the Naras are spirits, and Kubera's car is harnessed by spirits, sometimes described as Guhyakas and sometimes as mysterious horse-like birds or bird-like horses, who yet at the same time are Gandharvas, that is, I suppose, the Naras as singing spirits, half horse and half bird. They "fly" like birds and "neigh victory" like horses and are called Gandharvas as well as Guhyakas, so that there is not much doubt as to what Naravāhana in Kubera's case really means, "he who is carried by spirits", though the same word is applied in *naravāhin* to a palanquin used by kings and ladies in its normal human sense. The fearful foe of the gods, Nahuṣa, drove a team of spirit-saints and because they were saints he sinned. Kubera drove a team of his own spirits, who were his servants.

Gold is the metal with which Kubera is especially concerned. In this he differs from the Kabirs, who worked in baser metal, whereas the Northern mountains where Kubera lives are famous for "fair Himālayan mines of gold", not to speak of the gold brought from Hāṭaka, also in the Northern mountains, or of the "gold dug up by ants", which must also have come from the mountains (perhaps from the upper Ganges), because the only time it is mentioned it is spoken of as being brought down by the mountaineers of the North as tribute (to Delhi, as now named).

In connection with this gold (Kubera, by the way, is said to have a "body made of gold"), there is a well-known proverb, which appears half a dozen times in the epic in almost

but not quite identical words and states that a rash and greedy man is like the climber after honey, which is to be got only by scaling cliffs, on the face of which, at the mouth of cliff-caves, the bees build. So the proverb: "He longs for honey but forgets the fall". Now this proverb is applied to a king who has stolen another's wealth and is liable to fall in consequence, and the epic poet likens him to one who seeks to steal the "honey loved of Kubera". Of course the native expounder says that Kubera's pet food is honey, and perhaps it is; but it is worthy of notice that the poet is careful to say nothing about eating. He does not say it is Kubera's food but it is "that (thing) beloved by Kubera", or "Kubera's gold honey", *madhu pītakamākṣikam*, which the Petersburg Lexicon (comparing **suvarṇamākṣikam*) interprets as pyrites, though saffron might just as well be meant, since this also is picked off the cliffs and it is dangerous work for one "who gathers samphire, dreadful trade", whether practiced at Dover, in Lemnos (home of the Kabir!), or in India. Yet the "honey of Kubera" is not on the face of the cliff but in a jar in a cave, and the application of the proverb must lie in the necessity of scaling the cliff to get to the cave. Now in India not only honey but gold is kept in jars, in fact the jar buried underground is the ordinary bank of the Hindu peasant to this day. Thus the allusion, made rather skillfully to what is called "Kubera's honey", is in fact to "the favorite of Kubera", i. e. gold. This gold is described as kept in a cave guarded by dragons (serpents) and he who attains to this, is made happy ever after: "It gives to mortals immortality; it makes the blind see; it restores youth to the aged" (Mbh. 5, 64, 18 f.). Perhaps that is claiming a good deal, even for Kubera's gold, but it is as reasonable as to turn the gold into pyrites; though it might be saffron (*kāvera*, the name suggests this) and it is posible to take Kubera's honey literally as eating may be implied, though not stated. There is something Medean about the restoration to youth which suggests the possibility of a connection with the "dragon-guarded" Fleece, though they may be independent tales, and the Hindu version is perhaps not without concious twisting to the honey-moral, which is the sole reason why it is dragged into the story. It is a tale which has to be explained by spirit-experts or jugglers with spirits, as if to be taken with a grain of salt

(*vidyājambhakavārtika* priests, also said to be *jambhasādhakas* ib. 16 and 20) and is told for edification rather than for belief. The moly (of Hermes) may also be compared with "Kubera's Gold", if it should prove to be a plant.

Another mark of Kubera is his interest, one might almost say ownership, in the "playground of the gods". For though this is recognized as "the gods' playground" in general, yet in particular it is called "the playground of Kubera". This is almost a foregone conclusion, since it is Kubera who possesses the mountain-top on which the playground is found. But the only play known to the gods is the dance, and this is the real meaning of *ā-krīḍa* (*krīḍ* "play" is really the same with *kūrd*, "leap, play, dance"; cf. Grk. kordax). The *ākrīḍ-abhūmi*, "ground for dancing", is also said to belong to the spirits who especially act as attendants of Kubera, probably the spirits of dancing waters. One of Kubera's spritelike characteristics is his trick of keeping spellbound a chance visitor from the earth, who is travelling through the hill-country and suddenly comes upon the "lake of lotuses of gold", near Kubera's home. Kubera receives him very politely and immediately proposes to entertain him with an exhibition of dance and music given by his attendant nymphs and musicians. At the end of the "divine year" during which the performance lasts, the guest hurries away, realizing for the first time the passage of time. As he departs, Kubera says, rather dryly, "Yes, this music is a very captivating thing" (*hāryo 'yaṁ gāndharvaḥ*) and lets him go (Mbh. 13, 19, 33 f.).

Among the regular attendants of Kubera are the Nāgas or *mahoragas*, the cobra-serpents famous for stealing and hiding jewels. If Kubera has more to do with gold than with iron or copper, it is not because he is never conceived as a smith, *guhera*, but because he is rather a Guyaka than a *guhera*; that is, he conceals gold and jewels rather than manufactures things from metal, though one tradition has it that he made his own palace, which is all of gold-work. But another tradition says that this palace was made by the "All-maker", and it is this figure of the All-maker which has put Kubera aside as a fashioner, as it has put aside Agni the fire-god as a companion to Vulcan, though now and then Indra or some other god takes the All-maker's place and is represented as himself the maker of arms and palaces. Never-

theless, both in the matter of gold and in that of jewels, Kubera has to do both with fire and with serpents. Thus one of the regents of the constellation under which a successful search for treasure may be prosecuted is the Serpent of the Depth, Ahi Budhnya, and the treasure is found through the combined aid of Agni and Kubera.[1]

The fact that the Serpent of the Depth presides over the finding of treasure, has several bearings of interest. In the first place it suggests the relation between Kubera and the serpents in general. As inhabitants of holes, underground palaces, etc., snakes are looked upon both as guarding and as stealing treasure, especially jewels. The case of the Diamond Necklace is not more famous in modern literature than was the case of The Queen's Ear-rings in India, stolen by the king of serpents. Likeness also illustrates the connection between jewels and snakes, "brilliant as the golden stone guarded by serpents", etc. It is these serpents that are part of the retinue of Kubera, though he himself is not in any way serpent-like; but since he is *guhya* or *guhyaka*, the "Concealing" Nāgas are associated with him.

Another bearing of the fact regarding the Serpent of the Depth is that, as Kubera's treasure is found by men, so Kubera himself in turn is presented by the great god Śiva, his particular friend, with one quarter of all the wealth of the golden mountain (Meru), and it is thus that men eventually get it through the aid of Kubera, Fire, and Wind (which clearly indicate a sort of Vulcan with forge and bellows); for Kubera himself first gets out the treasure, which in this case is the gold of the hills, and then out of that which the supreme god of the mountains, Śiva, has allowed him, he gives one sixteenth to man. Analogy between the luck-spirit and the Hellenic god of luck is evident; but there is no special connection between the names or functions of Kubera and

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[1] Possibly Kubera had to do originally with *kupya*, copper and other base metals, as well as with gold. This word (ascribed in PW. to *kup*, as irascendum, or "metal easily moved"!) may be from **kup*, "shine", and is possibly represented by the "copper-isle", Kypros, which is as likely to have been named "copper-land" as copper is likely to have been named "Cyprus-stuff". So the Kassiterides were named from their metal (Sk. *kastīra* is a late loan word). A parallel may be found in *śābara*, "copper" from Śabara, mountaineer, as "mountain-stuff".

Hermes, and except for his association with Wind and Fire, Kubera has no likeness with Hephaistos.

The luck-function of Kubera and his kind stands of course in direct connection with that attribute of Kubera and the "good-people" which is the most conspicuous trait on his first appearance (in the Vedic text cited above) and on which the epic poets are never weary of harping. Kubera has "disappearance" as his very sustenance; he and his followers live on it, that is, like the goblins of other lands, they disappear at will; but also, as they disappear (fading out of sight, as one epic poet says, "like fata morgana"), so too they appear at will; and lastly, also like gnomes of other lands, things which have disappeared they can make appear to plain view. This they do by the application of magic, as when Kubera lets appear for an aged saint, who according to a third tradition of his birth is his own grandfather, a complete phantasmagoria of his beloved gardens and parks; or, again, by letting a mortal use some magic water, "and when he uses it he shall see all concealed things". This is what Kubera did for the hero Rāma, sending him a bottle of this magic eye-wash by a Guhyaka servant (Mbh. 3, 289, 9).

It may be asked whether there is any probability that the "good people" associated with Kubera are ghosts. I think not. Both in the Veda and in the epic the Yakṣas and other fairies are kept distinct from the Manes. It is a later tradition (still obtaining in Ceylon and India) which confuses "Yakkas" with the ghosts of the dead. Thus in the Atharva Veda, "the Fathers (ghosts) and the good people" are distinguished from each other, as both together are distinguished from the gods (AV. 8, 8, 15, etc.). Exactly so in the Great Epic, *Guhyāḥ pitrgaṇāḥ sapta*, "Guhyakas and the seven groups of Fathers" (3, 3, 43) are differentiated, as in another passage (7, 69, 10 f.) "the seven seers, the good people and the Fathers". The Guhyakas, except as messengers, rarely leave their hills, though they occassonally join the host of gods demons, Fathers, and spirits who watch and admire a conflict of men; but unique is the notion that Guhyakas are among the luminous bodies of heaven, though even there they are differentiated from the equally luminous souls of departed saints which shine as stars on high. Such an isolated bit of poetic fancy cannot impugn the value of the current view,

that the Guhyakas, of whom Kubera is one and the chief, are earth-goblins, who belong to the shrinking class of hiding sprites. That they are not very martial spirits, like their cousin or brother Rakṣasas, may be gathered from the fact that cowardly soldiers do not go to the world of Indra, the god of battles, but to the "world of Guhyakas" (11, 26, 12 f.), though to get even to this place they must at least be killed with a sword, and not "killed anyway"; otherwise they go to the land of the peace-loving (not martial) Hyperboreans (Northern Kurus). Kubera's own world, in the formal enumeration of all possible worlds of spirits and gods, stands almost at the bottom of the list, only one degree higher in fact than the world of Death (Yama), which of course is underground. It is thus located far below the world of the real gods and turns out on examination to be in fact nothing save the mountain-region round the upper reaches of the Ganges (his paradise of Alakā), final indication of the essentially earthly, if not chthonic[1], nature of this goblin, who, though in time he became "king of kings", "god", and "guardian of the North", became thus exalted ever with the clear understanding that divinity was given him because he "clove to the Father-god" and was virtuous, instead of siding with his brothers, the Rakṣa-giants, who strove against the gods.

Kubera changes his form but once. That is when the gods and good spirits are all frightened at the onslaught of these same giants or fiends and take the shape of animals, "thousand-eyed Indra" naturally becoming the peacock (which explains why that bird still has a thousand eyes in its tail), Kubera becoming the chameleon (which explains why the chameleon is of such brilliant hues). Perhaps, however, the connection of thought originally was in the association of the chameleon also with holes, and hiding-places; for *godhā*, chameleon, is derived by native scholars (perhaps correctly) from the same root *gudh*, *guh*, κεύθω, from which comes Guhyaka.

Though Kubera has only one spirit-son, Nala-Kūbara, the Rāmāyaṇa assigns him an incarnation in the shape of the monkey called Gandhamādana. As this is also the name of Kubera's favorite mountain, the tale may be due to confusion of thought or conscious feeling of appropriateness, especially

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[1] Cf. the "Banyan-tree of Vessavaṇa", Mahāvaṅśa, 10, 89.

since Kubera seems to be an afterthought, the original story being that Yama and not Kubera was sire of the incarnated divinity called "Gandhamādana the ape". This fact is not without further significance. The later inclusion of Kubera when the gods are called upon to reincarnate themselves in earthly forms to fight against the giant fiends, shows what was thought of Kubera. He was not primarily one of the great *devas* who so incorporated themselves. But later he was assigned a son, on earth, as were the other gods, because he was then risen to the position of guardian god.

Nala-Kūbara, the only real son of Kubera, is a spirit noted for his grace and good manners in the non-epic but popular tradition of the Jains, as was his father for beauty in the same cycle. Preller (fourth ed., p. 858) supposes that the epithet καλλίπαις, given to the Lesbian Kabeiros, implies (one son) Hermes, a doubtful suggestion at most; but in any event it is curious that Kubera's one son should be a model of the grace for which Hermes stands as type (*kūbara* itself is said to mean "charming"). This son of Kubera wed the "fairest of nymphs", Rambhā, who was turned into a rock, like Niobe, for certain indiscretions less innocent than those of her Hellenic companion in suffering. She doubtless belongs to the large class of those petrified spirits, which are found all over earth, from India and the Pillar of Salt to the stones of South America which "once were men" but died for impiety and still "look like men". Instead of men, women and spirits are the favorite victims in India.

The attention paid in the Great Epic of India to the lower mythology is in marked contrast to the indifference displayed toward this most valuable survival of antiquity both in Greek epic poetry and in earlier Brahmanic poetry with the exception of the Atharva Veda. Elsewhere we pick up as we can what the poet has unconsiciously let fall. Here we find the lower mythology itself presented as worthy of regard. Thus Kubera himself, as a superior goblin become a god, is naturally *fêted*, but also his humble followers are given name and place, sometimes both, often only the name or only the place. I have already pointed out that the attendant spirits of Śiva have names reflecting Kubera's own essential characteristics. It remains to speak of the many little followers of Kubera who are referred to by name, unfortunately

seldom of much significance, and of the enumeration of shrines sacred to the female followers of Kubera. There are several of these lady fairies or goblinettes who have renowned "bathing-places", that is, shrines at a river, where one may offer prayers or bathe, for the good of his life if not of his soul. At one of these shrines to a Yakṣiṇī, one is said to "obtain all his wishes", while at another, if one only bathes there (it is a sort of Kurhaus), one is freed from all ills and evils, even "the ill (evil) of slaying a priest". Both Kubera and his attendant Maṇivara are, so to speak, patron saints of the travelling merchants, whose misfortunes are spoken of so often in Buddhist stories. These doubtless did much to elevate the *rôle* of Kubera and his attendants, the Yakṣas and Yakṣīs or Yakṣiṇīs, to whom the caravaners prayed and raised shrines. It will be remembered in the tale of Nala that the master of the caravan at once assumes that Damayantī may be the goddess of the place, either of the forest or "of this mountain", or a Yakṣī or a Rākṣasī and, believing her to be "goddess or fairy", first calls upon her "*kuru naḥ svasti*", "give us weal"[1] and then, when he finds she is only human, concludes with the prayer, "Maṇibhadra, king of Yakṣas, have mercy upon us". This "Jewel"-spirit shares with Kubera the title "king of Yakṣas" (fairies); but very likely Kubera stole it from him as an extension of his own proper title, "king of gnomes" (Guhyakas); for though Kubera becomes the lord of the Yakṣas as well as the lord of all the Kiṁnaras and other spirits of this ilk, yet this is simply an illustration of his gradual evolution into a god. For example, the technical title, Kiṁnarēśvara, "lord of Kiṁnaras" is not actually given to him till a later period than that in which he is spoken of as (informally) master of these spirits, just as he is not actually called a god till the later epic. He is made a god and so he is made lord and king of Yakṣas, but by nature he is lord of Guhaykas and Rakṣasas, spirits "concealing" and "guarding" (also "injuring"). From this point, with the advance in trade and exploration, Kubera rises to be lord of all the

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[1] It is not to be taken for granted that a fairy Yakṣī will be kindly disposed, though this is usually the case. There is such a thing as "possession by a Yakṣa", which drives one mad, or makes ill, etc. When roused to anger even a female saint may act like a fiend.

fairies and spirits and "guardian of the North". When he gets to that point he inevitably becomes the "god of the North" though still by grace of Śiva, his friend and over-lord.

Rubensohn, in his *Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrake*, after saying very reasonably that both names and number of the Kabeiroi are still quite doubtful, suggests that further investigation may enable us to trace these spirits to their "Phoenician origin", and then sums up what we really know about them: "es sind chthonische Gottheiten, die in einem gewissen Verwandtschaftsgrad zur Kybele standen" (p. 128).

But Rubensohn, like his predecessors, imagines that the Kabeiroi were attached to the cults of Dionysos or Hephaistos because they were "not quite at home" in Hellas, failing to see that the lower mythological figures are never quite at home in the companionship of finer and loftier gods, not because these gods are necessarily racially distinct but because they represent a different civilization in which, to survive at all, the lower must cling to the higher. That has always been the case. That the Kabeiroi are accidentally attached to the mother-goddess Rhea is as much an assumption as that they were accidentally attached to Kybele. Their connection with Kybele is that of the gnome to its cave; their attachment to Rhea is through Kybele, who was identified with a higher conception of the earth-mother. It is also with the mountain "mothers" of the Śiva-cult that the Hindu counterpart of the Greek Kabeiros has closest connection, for these mothers too are mountain-spirits and their names are in part identical with Kubera's. Vittadā, Vasudā[1], Piṅgākṣī, called "mother" spirits in the cult of Śiva, are merely Kubera's titles, "wealth-giver", etc., in a feminine form; as his own titles, "lord of beings" (spirits), are in part those of Śiva himself. Kubera (= Kabairas) is in fact a pigmy Śiva, as Śiva is a monstrous over-grown Kabairas. The spirit of the cave, the hiding spirit, who is guardian of treasure, lord of treasure-trove, and whose *rôle* as spirit of increase covers also

[1] Vasudā is also "earth". Parallel forms are Vasudhārā, Vasudharā, Vasuṁdharā, of which the first is one of the names given later to "Kubera's city", while all three forms designate the Buddhist goddess known as the wife of Kubera Jambhalou. Compare A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'Iconographie buddique de l'Inde.*

productivity (as genius invoked "for the man" in marriage), whose Guhya-name is reflected in the *guhera*, "smith", *loha-ghātaka*, is as near a counterpart to the Greek Kabeiros as could be wished. The Kabeiroi also were eventually reckoned as "great gods". The part of the Kobāloi, the mischievous sprites hiding in the house rather than in the mountain-cave, is not so obvious in the epic; but literature outside of and older than the epics shows that the "servants of Kubera" were particularly annoying to children, and these must have been house-spirits who plagued children (as described in Hiraṇ. GS. 2, 1, 3, 7; not included in the list at Pārask. GS. 1, 16, 23), as did Śiva's evil mother-spirits.

That Kubera is not mentioned in the solemn literature devoted to the great gods is not a proof that he was unknown to the early age of the first Vedas. He was not yet divine. It took a long time for him to become a god, but finally he achieved this and as god of the North became even a witness-god in the law-courts. If Śiva had been as non-local as Viṣṇu, Kubera would probably have taken his place as great god of the North. As it was, he remained at best a respectable *deva*, whose cult was largely augmented by the growth of commerce. As a god it was felt that he ought to be good-looking and so the epics represent him, beautiful, luminous, glorious to see. But probably the concurrent conception of him as a goblin, and goblins are seldom beautiful, resulted in the eventual triumph of the opposite view that he was deformed, perhaps *kubja* (see above), "bent", with too few teeth and too many legs. Then, instead of referring Kubera to *kub*, the wise men invented the word *vera*, gave it the meaning "body" and interpreted Kubera as *ku-vera*, "having a vile body". The beginning of this is found in the last (latest) book of the Rāmāyaṇa, which explains that Kubera became jaundiced in one eye, because he indiscreetly looked at the Mountain-goddess when she was occupied with Śiva, her husband; a tale which, while it looks forward to Kubera's later ugliness, also reverts to his character as a Peeping Tom, or gnome. His later title, "Lord of Love", is connected with his attributes as marriage-divinity; for which reason also he is closely united with the amorous Gandharvas.

Atharvaprāyaścittāni. Text mit Anmerkungen von Prof. JULIUS VON NEGELEIN, University of Kœnigsberg, Germany.

Oṃ namo 'tharvavedāya[1] ‖ athā 'to yājñe karmaṇi prāyaścittāni vyākhyāsyāmo vidhy-aparādhe[2] | sarvatra[3] punaḥ kāryaṃ[4] kṛtvo 'ttarataḥ prāyaścittaṃ prāyaścittaṃ vā kṛtvo 'ttaratataḥ samādhānaṃ[4] | yat pūrvaṃ prāyaścittaṃ karoti gṛhaiḥ paśubhir evai 'naṃ samardhayati | yad uttarataḥ svargeṇai[5] 'vai 'naṃ[5] tal lokena samardhayati[6] | katham[7] agnīn ādhāyā 'nvāhārya

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[1] B oṃ namo brahmavedāya C oṃ namo gaṇeśāya ‖ atharvavedāya namaḥ ‖ [2] A °yarādhe; dafür setzt K. Ś. 25. 1. 1 folg.: karmopapāte und fügt hinzu: sa ca catuḥprakāro bhavati akaraṇaṃ nyūnakaraṇam atiriktakaraṇam ayathākaraṇaṃ ce 'ti; Āśv. Prāy. 1b: . . . śrautaprāyaścittāni . . . vihitā-'karaṇe anyathā-karaṇe ca bhavanti | Śrautaprāyaścittacandrikā 1. 1: śrauta-karmasu bhrama-pramādābhyām akaraṇasyā 'nyathākaraṇasya vā saṃbhāvitatvena karmaṇām asāṃgatvā-"pattiśaṃkayā lokānām apravṛtter aśakyā-'nuṣṭhāna-lakṣaṇam apramāṇyaṃ prasajyeta | ato 'karaṇā-'nyathākaraṇa-doṣa-duṣṭāny api karmāṇi kṛta-prāyaścittāni sāṃgāni bhavaṃtī 'ti karma-nirvāhakāni prāyaścittāny ucyaṃte | yathā "hur ācāryapādāḥ | prāyo vināśa-paryāyaḥ | sa cā 'py akaraṇād bhavet | anyathākaraṇād vā [pi] tat-saṃdhā "cittiko 'cyate | tāni dvividhāni maṃtrāmnātāni gaṇāmnātāni ca | maṃtra-liṃgenā "mnātāni maṃtrā-"mnātāni | ābhi[r] gīrbhir ity ādīni gaṇenā "mnātāni miṃdādi-gaṇādīni | *prāyaścitta-homa-kālās* trayaḥ | pradhāna-sauviṣṭakṛt-samiṣṭa-yajuṣāṃ prāg ity evam-ādayaḥ | iṣṭi-rūpāṇi prāyaścittāni upakrāṃte-'ṣṭau samāptāyāṃ bhavaṃti | . Zwei Arten der Sühne: s. Anm. 6. [3] B sarva [4] B kāryaṃ kṛtvo 'ttarataḥ samādhānaṃ [5] C svagnaṃ [6] Nach K. Ś. 25. 1. 1 sollen rituelle Verfehlung und Sühne gleichzeitig erfolgen; vgl. Agn. Prāy. 1b: vidhy-aparādhe prāyaścittiḥ | vihitasyā 'karaṇe anyathā-karaṇe prāyaścittiḥ karttavyā 'parādhe sati tad-arthatayā vihitam asti cet tad eva karttavyaṃ | tan nā 'sti ced vyāhṛtihomaḥ karttavyaḥ | kālas tu prāyaścittānāṃ nimittā-'nantaraṃ | ṛṣṭā-'bhāve pratinidhiḥ; dazu Comm.: mukhyasyā 'bhāve pratinidhir upādātavya eva | pratinidhiḥ sadṛśaḥ | ājya-payasoḥ parasparaṃ pratinidhitvaṃ | yathāha kauṃḍinyaḥ | . . . . tādṛśa-yathoktavastv-alābhe tu grāhyaṃ (|) tad-anukāri yad yavā-'bhāve tu godhūmā (!) vrīhy-abhāve tuśāle tu śāvelaya iti manuḥ (corrupt!). [7] Vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 12. 4.

śrapaṇam[8] āharet | katham iti | prāṇā[9] vā[9] ete[9] yajamānasyā 'dhyātmaṃ nidhīyante yad agnayas | teṣu huteṣu dakṣiṇāgnāv[10] ājyāhutiṃ[10] juhuyād agnaye 'nnādāyā 'nnapataye svāhe 'ti | katham agnīn ādhāya pravasati[11] | yathai 'nān[12] na virodhayed[13] api ha[14] śaśvad[14] brāhmaṇanigamo bhavati | prāṇān vā eṣo 'nucarān[15] kṛtvā carati yo 'gnīn ādhāya pravasatī[16] 'ti | katham agnīn ādhāya pravatsyan[17] proṣya vo 'patiṣṭheta[17] | tūṣnīm eve 'ty āhus | tūṣnīṃ vai[18] śreyāṃsam[19] ākāṅkṣanti[19] | yadi manasi kurvītā[20] 'bhayaṃ vo[21] 'bhayaṃ[21] me 'stv ity abhayaṃ hai 'vā 'sya bhavaty evam upatiṣṭhamānasya ‖ ekavacanam ekāgnau[22] | purā chāyānāṃ[23] saṃbhedād[24] gārhapatyād āhavanīyam[25] abyuddharen[25] | mṛtyuṃ vai pāpmānaṃ chāyāṃ tarati[26] | saṃpraiṣaṃ kṛtvo[27] 'ddharā "havanīyam iti | saṃpraiṣavarjam ekā-'gnau ‖ 1 ‖ vācā tvā hotrā prāṇenā[28] 'dhvaryuṇā[29] cakṣuṣo 'dgātrā[30] manasā brahmaṇā śrotreṇā "gnīdhreṇai[31] 'tais tvā pañcabhir ṛtvigbhir daivyair abhyuddharāmy[32] | uddhriyamāṇa uddhara pāpmano mā yad avidvān yac ca vidvāṃś cakārā[33] | 'hnā yad enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpaṃ sarvasmād[34] enasa uddhṛto[34] muñca tasmād iti sāyaṃ | rātryā yad enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpam[35] iti prātar | amṛtā-"hutim amṛtāyāṃ juhomy agniṃ pṛthivyā adityā upasthe | tayā 'nantaṃ lokam ahaṃ jayāmi prajāpatir yaṃ prathamo jigāyā | 'gnir[36] jyotir jyotir

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[8] B śravaṇam [9] A prāṇapṛte [10] B °ṇāgnādyāv āhutiṃ [11] Ait. Brahm. l. c. 8. [12] A yathai 'nāṃ B yathai 'nān [13] BC navarohayed [14] A hayaśa B ha śaśva C ha śaśvat [15] A navarānū B nucaran [16] B prasavatī; — es ist zu unterscheiden zwischen der mindestens über eine Nacht sich hinausziehenden, vorübergehenden Ortsveränderung (Āp. 6. 24. 1) und der dauernden Übersiedelung (Āp. 6. 28. 1). [17] AB pravatsyan proṣyaṃś co 'patiṣṭheta BC ... co 'bhayaṃ haivāsyupatiṣṭheta (D °tiṣṭhet). Vielleicht: pravatsyan proṣivāṃś co 'patiṣṭhetā 'bhaye hai 'va syām iti [18] A cai 'va [19] A śreyāsaṃm ākāṃkṣaṃti B śreyāsa kāmāṃkṣaṃti C śreyāṃsaṃm ākāṃkṣaṃti [20] C kurvīto [21] fehlt bei B [22] Dieser, wie mir scheint, ohnehin anfechtbare Passus ist bei C verderbt. [23] B chāyāṃnāṃ [24] A saṃbhedanād; vgl. die Zeitbestimmung Āp. 6. 1. 2: adhivṛkṣasūrya āviḥsūrye vā ... [25] D °yam iti bhyuddharen [26] In den Mss. verderbt. Verbessert nach Ait. Brāhm. 7. 12. 3. [27] B kṛtvā [28] B māṇonā [29] A dvaryuṇa [30] B °dgātra [31] BCD °gnīdhrīyeṇai°; vergl. Āp. 6. 1. 6 ff. [32] B °rābhy [33] Āp. 6. 1. 7. Dieser Passus ist bei B verderbt: | uddharāmy udhṛtyamāṇa uddharaṇa pāpmano mā yad vidān yac ca vidvāṃś cakārā | ' C wie A, nur: pāpmāno [34] A sarvasmāt pāpmāno dhṛto BD sarvasmād enasa uddhṛto C sarvasmād enasamuddhṛto D sarvasmād uddhṛto [35] B pāpasarvaṃ [36] Āp. 6. 1. 8.

agnir iti sāyaṃ | sūryo jyotiḥ jyotiḥ sūrya[37] iti prātar | hiraṇyam antar dhārayed | ārṣeyas tat paśyann āhavanīyam abhyuddhared | atha[38] yasyā "havanīyam abhyuddhṛtam ādityo 'bhyastam iyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir[39] | darbheṇa hiraṇyaṃ baddhvā paścād dhārayed | ārṣeyas[40] tat paśyann agnim[41] āhavanīyam abhyuddhared | atha yasyā "havanīyam abhyuddhṛtam ādityo 'bhyudiyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir | darbheṇa rajataṃ baddhvā purastād dhārayed[42] ārṣeyas tat paśyann āhavanīyam abhyuddharet | atha yasya sāyam ahutam agnihotraṃ prātar ādityo 'bhyudiyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir | maitraḥ puroḍāśaś carur vā | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ saṃsthitahomeṣu mitraḥ pṛthivyā adhyakṣa[43] iti madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | atha yasya prātar akṛtam agnihotraṃ sāyam ādityo 'bhyastamiyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir | vāruṇaḥ puroḍāśo nityāḥ[44] purastāddhomāḥ[45] | saṃsthitahomeṣu yat kiṃ ce'daṃ varuṇe | 'ti[46] madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | atha yasya prātar ahutam agnihotram ādityo 'bhyudiyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir | maitraḥ puroḍāśo nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣu[47] mitraḥ pṛthivyā adhyakṣa iti madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | āhutī[48] vai 'tābhyām ṛgbhyāṃ juhuyāt ‖ 2 ‖

atha yo 'gnihotreṇo 'deti[49] svargaṃ vā eṣa lokaṃ yajamānam abhivahati | nā[50] 'hutvā "varteta | sa yady āvarteta svargād evai 'naṃ tal lokād āvartetā | 'tha yasyā 'gnihotraṃ hūyamā-

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[37] Ap. 6. 10. 8. [38] B ātha [39] C fügt iti ein. [40] K. Ś. 25. 3. 17. [41] agnim fehlt bei D [42] K. Ś. 25. 3. 20 bestimmt, daß in analoger Weise in östlicher Richtung ein Silberstück aufgehängt werden soll. [43] vgl. Kauś. S. 6. 9. [44] C ni [45] C °ddhomāṃ D °ma [46] AV. 6. 51. 3. [47] B 'saṃsthita° [48] A āhutīṃ C āhutīti [49] *udeti* dem Sinn nach gleich: *prāṅ* udeti; der Adhvaryu wendet sich, nachdem er die zum Agnihotra-Opfer erforderliche Milch auf dem Gārhapatya-Feuer zum Kochen gebracht hat, in östlicher Richtung zum Āhavanīya. Vergießt er dabei die Opferspeise teilweise oder ganz, so darf er nicht etwa rückwärts (nach Westen zu) umkehren, denn das hieße: den Opferherrn von der Himmelswelt wegwenden, den er durch seinen Gang nach Osten dieser entgegenführt; s. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5 und Komm. dazu; daselbst eine kleine Differenz im Ritual gegenüber dem unseres Textes; vgl. Agn. Prāy. 7 b: punar-unnayane 'yaṃ viśeṣaḥ | prācīna-haraṇe yāvati gate skannaṃ bhavati tāvaty evā 'dhvany upaviśya sthālīm anyena prācī[ṃ] nītvā tatraivo 'paviṣṭa unnayet | na svayaṃ srug vā pratyag gachet | sthālyām api yadā nā 'sti tadā tatraivā "jyaṃ gṛhītvā (!) unnīya tena homaḥ | [50] D mā

naṃ skandet kā tatra prāyaścittir | apareṇā "havanīyaṃ dakṣiṇaṃ jānv ācyo 'paviśati | yat srucy atiśiṣṭaṃ syāt taj juhuyād | atha yatrai 'vā 'vaskannaṃ bhavati taṃ deśam abhivimṛjya vimṛgvarīṃ pṛthivīm āvadāmī[51] 'ti prāṅmukho(!) 'paviśyā[52] 'gnir bhūmyām[53] iti tisṛbhir[54] ālabhyā 'bhimaṃtrayetā | 'tha cet sarvam eva skannaṃ syād yac carusthālyām atiśiṣṭaṃ syāt taj juhuyād[55] | athā "havanīya ājyā-"hutiṃ juhuyād | yan me skannam[56] ity etayarcā | yan me skannaṃ manaso jātavedo yad vā 'skandad dhaviṣo yatra-yatra utpruṣo vipruṣaḥ saṃjuhomi satyāḥ santu yajamānasya kāmāḥ svāhe 'ty | atha yasyā 'gnihotre 'medhyam āpadyeta kā tatra prāyaścittir | apareṇā "havanīyam uṣṇam iva bhasma nirūhya tatra tām āhutiṃ juhuyāt | tad dhutaṃ cā 'hutaṃ[57] ca bhavati[58] | yac carusthālyām atiśiṣṭaṃ syāt taj[59] juhuyād[60] | atha cec carusthālyām evā 'medhyam āpadyeta kā tatra prāyaścittis | tat tathai 'va hutvā 'thā 'nyām āhūya dohayitvā śrapayitvā tad asmai tatrai 'vā "sīnāyā[61] 'nvāhareyur | (atha ūrdhvaṃ prasiddham agnihotram) | atha yasyā "havanīya-gārhapatyāv aṃtareṇa yāno vā ratho[62] vā nivarteta śvā vā 'nyo vā 'bhidhāvet kā tatra prāyaścittir[63] |

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[51] AV. 12. 1. 29. [52] cf. K. Ś. 25. 2. 11. [53] AV. 12. 1. 19. [54] Mit tisṛbhir bricht C ab. Die Lücke reicht bis zu den Worten: tvayā ('gne pṛṣṭham) des Citats MS. 2. 13. 22c. [55] Vgl. K. Ś. 25. 2. 5—11, wo zugleich des Zerbrechens der sruc gedacht wird; s. auch unten 1. 5. Vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5. [56] Kauś. 6. 1; Vait. 16. 17. [57] Comm. zu Ait. Brāhm. erklärt: tad etad bhasmana uṣṇatvād dhutam api bhavati | agni-rāhityād ahutam api bhavati | [58] Nach K. Ś. 25. 5. 10 soll man alles, was durch Haare, Würmer, Kot, Berührung von Unreinem, Beschnuppern u. s. w. besudelt ist, in Wasser oder heiße Asche werfen; cf. unten 2. 6; 3. 7; 4. 1; 4. 3. [59] BC tatra [60] cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5. [61] A sīnāyāṃ [62] K. Ś. 25. 4. 19. [63] cf. unten Text und Parallelen von 5. 2; ferner Anm. 143; — Nach K. Ś. 25. 4. 17 f. soll man im allgemeinen bei störendem Eindringen zwischen zwei Feuern u. s. w. von einer Sühne absehen, wenn es sich um das Agnihotra-Opfer handelt; dagegen wird, wenn ein Hund, ein Wildschaf und ein Wildschwein (so geg. Comm.) in den geweihten Raum eindringt, ein Wasserstrahl vorgeschrieben, der vom Gārhapatya- zum Āhavanīya-Feuer führt; cf. unten Anm. 143. Vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 13 b f.: nirupte haviṣi samiṣṭa-yajuṣaḥ pūrvaṃ manuṣyādir yadi vihāram atikramet | tadā yena pathā vyavāyo jātas tena pathā gau[r] netavyā | tato gārhapatyād āhavanīya-paryaṃtaṃ bhasmalekhām udaka-dhārāṃ ca saṃtanuyāt | tantuṃ tanvann (RV. 10. 53. 6) iti maṃtreṇa pratyekaṃ maṃtrāvṛttiḥ || tata āhavanīyam anugamayitvā punaḥ praṇīya yad agne pūrvaṃ ..... vājavatyā (Āśv. 3. 10. 16) tvam agne saprathā asī 'ti (Āśv. 3.10.16) co 'patiṣṭheta | tatas tad eva taṃtram upajīvya

mantravanti ca kāryāṇi sarvāṇy adhyayanaṃ ca yat |
nā'ntarāgamanaṃ teṣāṃ sādhu vichedanād bhayam ||

iti gārhapatyād adhy āhavanīya udatantuṃ[64] niṣiñcan[65] iyāt[66] || tantuṃ tanvan rajaso bhānum anv ihi[67] jyotiṣmataḥ patho rakṣa dhiyā kṛtān || anulbaṇaṃ vayata joguvām apo || manur bhava janayā daivyaṃ janam || taṃnvaṃs tantur upa sedur agne tvaṃ[68] pathā rajasi devayānaḥ[69] | tvayā 'gne pṛṣṭhaṃ[70]

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sūrpādānādi-pāthīkṛtiḥ kāryā || samiṣṭa-yajuṣa ūrdhvaṃ cet tadaiva gavā-'tikramā-"dy-upasthānāṃtaṃ kṛtvā karma samāpya tesv evā 'gniṣv anvādhānā-"di-pāthikṛtī kāryā || agninā vyavāye tu pāthikṛty eva || aṣṭākapālaḥ | vetthā hi vedho .... sukrato (Āśv. 3. 10. 12) || ā devānām api kalpayātī 'ti (ibid.) anaḍvān dakṣiṇā || tato viṣṇu-smaraṇaṃ || karma-madhyād anyatra puruṣādinā vyavāye manasvatyā caturgṛhīta-homaḥ || baudhāyana-mate[ḥ] karma-madhye dvipadānāṃ catuṣpadānāṃ mārjārā-"dīnām agnimadhye gamane ṛtvig-agnimadhye gamane vā 'dhvaryur nimittā-'naṃtaram aiṣṭikājyā-siddhau ājyaṃ saṃskṛtya sruk-sruvaṃ saṃmṛjya tat-siddhau tenaivā "jyabhāgādy-anaṃtaraṃ yathāsaṃbhavaṃ juhvāṃ sakṛd gṛhītvā "havanīye juhoti || yan ma ātmāno (Āp. 9. 12. 11) °ṇi svāhā || agnaya i° || punar agniś cakṣur adāt (ibid.) °kṣyoḥ svāhā || agnīṃ i° || bhūḥ svāhā || agnaya i° || bhuva svāhā || yām ava i° || suvaḥ svāhā || sūryāye 'daṃ || bhūr bhuvaḥ suvaḥ svahā || prajāpataya i° || oṃ svāhā || brahmaṇe i° || imaṃ me varuṇa (RV. 1. 25. 19; Āśv. 2. 17. 15) tat[t]vā yāmi (Āśv. 7. 4. 3) tvan no agne (RV. 4. 1. 4) iti tisraḥ || taṃtuṃ tanvan ... janaṃ (RV. 10. 53. 6) svāhā || agnaye tantumata i° || udbudhyasvā 'gne ... taṃtum etaṃ (V. S. 18. 61) svāhā || agnaye taṃtumata iṣṭiḥ trayastriṃśat taṃtavo dadhāmi (Āśv. 3. 14. 10) svāhā gharmo devāṃ apyetu svāhā || agnaye tantumata iṣṭiḥ || anv agnir uṣasām ... ātatāna (T. S. 4. 1. 2. 3) svāhā || agna[ye] jātavedasa idaṃ namas || mano jyo° || bhūr agnaye ca pṛthivyai ca mahate ca svāhā || agnaye pṛthivyai mahate i° || bhuvo vāyave cā 'ntarikṣāya ca mahate ca svāhā || vāyave 'ṃtarikṣāya mahate iṣṭiḥ || suvar ādityāya ca dive ca mahate svāhā || ādityāya dive mahata i° || bhūr bhuvaḥ suvaś caṃdramase ca nakṣatrebhyaś ca digbhyaś ca svāhā || caṃdramase nakṣatrebhyo digbhyo mahate i° || sapta te agne samidhaḥ ghṛtena (V. S. 17. 79) svāhā || agnaye vata i° || prajāpate °rayīṇāṃ svāhā || prajāpataya i° || tato viṣṇusmaraṇaṃ || antarāgamanādikāni cin nimittāny apanyupasy āha bhagavān baudhāyanaḥ || miṃdāhutī ca hotavye vyāhṛtyaḥ praṇavādhikāḥ || vāruṇyas taṃtumatyaś cā 'nvagniś ca manasvatī || mahāvyāhṛtayaḥ sapta prājāpatyaṃ tathaiva ca || prasaṃdhānāya yajñasyai 'te maṃtrāḥ prakīrttitāḥ || sapte 'ti sapta te agne iti maṃtroktiḥ || ayaṃ miṃdādi-gaṇaḥ ||

[64] Neben dem Wasserstrahl ist Asche möglich: s. unten Anm. 143 und vgl. Aśv. Prāy. 2 b: gārhapatyād āhavanīya-paryantaṃ bhasma-lekhām udaka-dhārāṃ ca saṃtanuyāt | [65] AB niṣiṃcaṃn D niṣiñciṃt [66] Der Śloka hat zweifellos als Interpolation einen Mantra verdrängt; cf. Āp. 9. 8. 5; Āśv. 3. 10. 15. [67] RV. 10. 53. 6; cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 19. [68] M. S. 2. 13. 22; Āp. 9. 8. 6. [69] A ebenso, jedoch corrumpiert und ... °jati devayānaḥ; dieser Passus fehlt bei BC. [70] D pṛṣṭhe

vayam āruhemādhā devaiḥ sadhamādaṃ madema ‖ svāhe 'ti sarvatrai 'tat prāyaścittam antarāgamane smṛtam[66] ‖

yajñasya saṃtatir asi yajñasya tvā saṃtatyā saṃtanomi | vasūnāṃ rudrāṇām ādityānāṃ marutām ṛṣīṇāṃ bhṛgūṇām aṃgirasām atharvaṇāṃ brahmaṇaḥ saṃtatir asi brahmaṇas tvā saṃtatyā saṃtanomi[71] | yan me chidraṃ manaso yac ca vācaḥ sarasvatī manyumantaṃ jagāma viśvais tad devaiḥ saha saṃvidānaḥ saṃdadhātu bṛhaspatiḥ ‖ 3 ‖ mā na āpo medhāṃ mā brahma pramathiṣṭana | śuṣyadā yūyaṃ syandadhvam upahūto 'haṃ sumedhā varcasvī | mā no medhāṃ mā no dīkṣāṃ mā no hiṃsiṣṭaṃ yat tapaḥ śivā naḥ saṃsvaṃta āyuṣe śivā bhavantu mātaraḥ[72] | namas te pathyā revati[73] svasti mā parāyaṇaḥ[74] | svasti mā punarāyaṇaḥ[75] | mā na āpo medhām[76] | punar maitv indriyam[77] iti ca ‖ 4 ‖ atha yasyā "havanīyo[78] 'gnir[78] jāgṛyād gārhapatya upaśāmyet kā tatra prāyaścittir[79] | yat

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[71] Nach Bl.s Conc. nicht zu belegen. [72] Soweit AV. 19. 40. 1 ff. Das Folgende ist korrupt. [73] Vielleicht ist an RV. 5. 51. 14 b gedacht. [74] B parāṇāyaḥ [75] A svastimāpunarāṇayaḥ; gemeint ist vielleicht svasti mā saṃpāraya s. Conc. — B svasti mā punarāṇayaḥ. Die Mss. lassen mā weg. [76] AV. 19. 40. 2; D wiederholt: mā no medhāṃ (B vedhāṃ) [77] AV. 7. 67. 1. [78] cf. in dem parallelen Passus des Ait. Brāhm. 7. 4: °nīye hā 'gnir [79] K. Ś. 25. 3. 5; Agn. Prāy. 11 a: āhavanīye ced dhriyamāṇe gārhapatyo 'nugachet svebhya eva (pra[?]va) kṣāmebhyo maṃtheyur anugamaye tv itaraṃ kṣāmābhāve bhasmanā 'raṇī saṃspṛśya maṃthayet | vidyamāna āhavanīye gārhapatyo yady anugacchet tadā (!) anugataṃ gārhapatyam utpādayiṣyāmī 'ti saṃkalpya bhasmanā 'raṇī lepayitvā tato maṃthayet | ito jajñe prathamam .... prajānann (VS. 13. 34) iti pratiprayatnaṃ maṃtrāvṛttiḥ | ; vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 5 b: āhavanīye dhriyamāṇe gārhapatyo 'nugacchet tadā tadīyo-'lmukebhyo maṃthayeyuḥ | āhavanīyam anugamayet ‖ ulmu[kā]-'bhāve bhasmanā 'raṇī saṃspṛśya (!) itō jajñe prathamam ..... prajānann (Āśv. S. 3. 12. 22) iti maṃthayeyuḥ | nā 'nyatra maṃtraḥ | tato gārhapatyād āhavanīyaṃ praṇīya agne samrāḍ iṣe ..... dadha (Āśv. Ś. 3. 12. 23) ity upatiṣṭheta ‖ tataḥ prākṛtaṃ karma samāpya tapasvatīṣṭiṃ kuryāt | athavā "havanīyād eva (!) āhavanīyaṃ praṇīya dakṣiṇāgneś cā "haraṇaṃ kṛtvā prākṛtaṃ tapasvat[ī]ṣṭiḥ ‖ athavā sahabhasmānam āhavanīyaṃ dakṣiṇato vihāraṃ gatvā gārhapatyā-"yatane nidhāya tataḥ prāṃcam āhavanīyam uddharet ‖ homaṃ samāpya tapasvatīṣṭiḥ | tasyāṃ pradhāna-devatā agnis tapasvān janadvān yāvakavān | āyāhi tapasā janeṣv agne .... dadat (Āśv. 3. 12. 27) ‖ cf. Āśv. Prāy. 10 a: āhavanīye dhriyamāne anvāhita-gārhapatyanāśe dakṣiṇena vihāraṃ sarvam āhavanīyaṃ gārhapatyāyatane (!) ānīya āhavanīyaṃ praṇīya pūrvavat prāyaścittaṃ hutvā gārhapatyasya paścād upaviśya mamāgne varca (RV. 10. 128. 1) ity ādinā trīṇi kāṣṭhāny ādhāya vyāhṛtyupasthānaṃ kṛtvā "havanīye 'nvādhāno-'pasthāne kuryāt | cf. Agn. Prāy. 12 a: yadi gārhapatyo 'nugacched anvāhitaṃ gārhapatyam anugatam utpādayiṣyāmī 'ti saṃkalpya gārhapatyā-'nugata-bhasmanā pradhānā-'raṇī

prāñcam udvartayati tenā "yatanā[c] cyavate[79] yat pratyañcam asuravad yajñaṃ tanoti | yad anugamayatī "śvarā vai 'naṃ tat prāṇā[80] hāsyur[80] iti[81] vā[81] | 'tha nu katham[82] iti | sabhasmakam āhavanīyaṃ[83] dakṣiṇena[84] dakṣiṇāgniṃ parihṛtya gārhapatyasyā "yatane pratiṣṭhāpya tata āhavanīyaṃ[84] praṇayed[85] | bhadrād abhi śreyaḥ prehī[86] 'ty etayarcā gārhapatya[87] ājyaṃ[87] vilāyo 'tpūya caturgṛhītaṃ gṛhītvā "havanīya-gārhapatyāv antareṇa vyavetya juhuyād | ayaṃ no agnir adhyakṣa iti dvābhyāṃ[88] etena u vā asya saṃtvaramāṇasyā "havanīya-gārhapatyau janitā vayaṃ mā loko 'nusaṃtanutām ity | etena ha vā asya saṃtvaramāṇasyā "havanīyagārhapatyau[89] pāpmānam apahataḥ | so 'pahatapāpmā jyotir bhūtvā devān[90] apy etī[91] 'ti | athā "havanīya ājyāhutiṃ juhuyād asapatnaṃ purastād[92] ity etayarcā | 'tha yasyā 'gnihotraṃ śrapayamāṇaṃ viṣyandet[93] tad adbhir upaninayet[94] | tad anumantrayate | pṛthivīṃ turīyam[95] ity etābhiḥ | pṛthivīṃ turīyaṃ[95] manuṣyān[96] yajño 'gāt | tato mā draviṇam āṣṭa[97] | aṃtarikṣe turīyaṃ[95] | divi turīyam[95] | (apsu[98] turīyam | apsv[99] ity[99] āha[99] bhūtāni tāni | devān yajño 'gāt[100] | tato mā draviṇam āṣṭa[101] |) trātāram indram | yayor ojase | 'ti[102] cai "tā viṣṇu-varuṇa-devatyā ṛco japati[103] | yad vai yajñasya viriṣṭaṃ tad vaiṣṇavaṃ | yad guṣpitaṃ[104] tad vāruṇaṃ[105] | yajñasya vā[106] ṛddhir[106] | bhūyiṣṭhām ṛddhim āpnoti yatrai 'tā viṣṇu-varuṇa-devatyā ṛco japaty[107] | athā 'dbhuteṣv etā eva

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saṃspṛśya mathitvā "yatane nidhā[ya] bhūr iti upasthānādi vrato-'pāsanīya-yajur-japāṃtaṃ samānaṃ |

[79] A cyavaṃte [80] vielleicht prāṇā jahyur gemeint; Opt. des s-Aorist. [81] D iti dve [82] B vā 'tha m [83] D °ya [84] B läßt diese und die inzwischenliegenden Worte aus. [85] cf. Gop. Brāhm. 1. 3. 13. [86] AV. 7. 8. 1. [87] ABCD lesen: gārhapatyā-"jyaṃ [88] Kauś. S. 89. 13. Hier lesen ABCD: AD etena ha vā asya saṃtvaramāṇasyā "havanīyagārhapatyau B ebenso, nur saṃtvaramāṇasyā° C etena vahavā — — — caramāṇasyā " [89] Hier schieben BC von neuem ein: B janitā (C: janisā) vayaṃ mā loko nusaṃtanutām ity etena ha vā asya saṃtvaramāṇasyā "havanīyagārhapatyau (C: °tyo) [90] BCD devānām [91] ACD etv B eṃtv [92] AV. 19. 16. 1. [93] cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5. 2: yasyā 'gnihotram adhiśṛtaṃ skandati vā viṣyandate vā . . .; cf. unten Anm. zu 4. 3. [94] vgl. oben Anm. 55. [95] cf. Conc. °vīṃ tṛtī° [96] BD devān [97] ACD āriṣṭam B āriṣṭaṃm [98] Daß hier eine Interpolation beginnt, ist logisch selbstverständlich, textkritisch aber interessant; dieselbe fehlt bei D. [99] A aśvinyāha B aśvityāha [100] AC aṃgāt B gāt [101] ABC āriṣṭaṃ [102] AV. 7. 25. 1. [103] BCD statt dessen: yatrai 'tā viṣṇu(r)varuṇa-devatyā ṛco japanti [104] A duṣitam C uṣitam [105] C varuṇam [106] B vatya ṛddhi [107] BD japaṃty

tisro japet | tisro japet ‖ 5 ‖ iti[108] yajñaprāyaścittasūtre *prathamo 'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ*[108] |

atha yasya puroḍāśe 'medhyam āpadyeta kā tatra prāyaścittir | ājyenā 'bhighāryā 'psv antar[109] iti sakṛd evā 'psu hutvā 'thā "havanīya ājyā-"hutī juhuyād asapatnaṃ purastād[110] ity etābhyām ṛgbhyām | atha yasya puroḍāśaḥ kṣāmo bhavati kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | so 'gnaye kṣāmavate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvapen[111] | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣu pṛtanājitaṃ sahamānam[112] iti madhyata opya tathā saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | athā "havanīye tābhyām ṛgbhyām | atha yasyā 'gnihotraṃ tṛtīye nityahoma-kāle[113] vichidyeta kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | so 'gnaye tantumate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvapen[114] | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣu tvam agne saprathā asi juṣṭo hotā vareṇyaḥ | tvayā yajñaṃ vitanvata[115] iti madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | asapatnaṃ purastād[110] ity etābhyām ṛgbhyām | atha yasya[116] sāṃnāyyaṃ[117] vyāpadyeta kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | prātardohaṃ[118] dvaidhaṃ kṛtvā tena yajetā[119] | 'tha āhavanīya ājyā-"hutiṃ juhuyāt trātāram indram[120] ity etayarcā | prātardohaṃ ced apahareyuḥ sāyaṃdohaṃ dvaidhaṃ kṛtvā tena yajetā | 'thā "havanīya ājyā-"hutiṃ juhuyāt trātāram iṃdram[120] ity etayarcā | 'tha cet sarvam eva sānnāyyaṃ[121] vyāpadyeta kā tatra prāyaścittir | aindraṃ puroḍāśaṃ māhendraṃ vā sānnāyyasyā[122] "yatane pratiṣṭhāpya tena yajetā | 'thā "havanīya[123] ājyā-"hutiṃ juhuyāt trātāram indram[120] ity etayarcā | 'tha yasya havīṃṣi vyāpadyeran kā tatra prāyaścittir | ājyasyai 'tāni nirupya[124] tena yajetā | 'thā "havanīya ājyā-"hutiṃ juhuyāt trātāram indram[120] ity etaya

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[108] D ity atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścitta-prāsaṃge navamo 'dhyāyaḥ ‖ [109] AV. 1. 4. 4. [110] AV. 19. 16. 1. [111] cf. Brahm. Prāy. 67a: yad agnaye kṣāmavate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ nirvapet yai 'vā 'sya kṣāmāpriyā tanus tā(m) evā 'sya bhāgadheyena śamayati; s. auch K. Ś. 25. 8. 18 ff. [112] AV. 7. 63. 1. [113] A homakale [114] Brahm. Prāy. 69 a: yasyā 'jasraṃ vichidyetā 'ṃtaritān homān(?) hutvā 'gnaye tantumate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ nirvapet [115] RV. 5. 13. 4. [116] cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 4. 1. [117] B sānrājyaṃ CD sānnājyaṃ [118] Nach Analogie des Folgenden müßten wir vor prātar° ergänzen: sāyaṃdohaṃ ced apahareyuḥ; vgl. unten 4. 1; s. auch Ait. Brāhm. 7. 4. [119] Brāhm. Prāy. 21 b: [sānnāyyaṃ] keśakīṭādinā yadi vikriyeta tatra kiṃ prāyaścittam iti ‖ prātardohaṃ dvaidhaṃ dohayitvā (m)ātaṃcya pracareta; cf. unten 4. 1. [120] AV. 7. 86. 1. [121] B sānnāṃjyaṃ CD sānnājyaṃ [122] B sānnājyaṃsyā° C sāṃnājyaṃsyā° D sānājyaṃyasyā [123] B °havanīyayā [124] ACD nīrūpya B tirūpya

rcā | 'tha cet sarvāṇy eva havīṃṣi vyāpadyeran kā tatra prāyaścittir | ājyasyai 'tāni nirupyai 'tayā "jyahaviṣe-'ṣṭyā yajerann | ity api hi kīrtita[ṃ] | madhyā[s] tv eva[125] bhavanti | tair yajetā | 'thā "havanīya ājyāhutiṃ juhuyāt trātāram indram[120] ity etayarcā ‖ 1 ‖ athā 'to[126] dṛṣṭā- 'bhyuddṛṣṭāṇī 'ty[127] ācakṣate | 'dya sāyam amāvāsyā[128] bhaviṣyatī 'ti | na pratiharaṇāya ca[129] sa syād | atha sa yo 'nyo brūyād adarśaṃ cā 'dya purastād iti taṃ tu kim iti brūyād | atha vā[130] | sa syād evā 'dhas | tām eva prāyaścittiṃ kṛtvā yajete 'ti dvaipāyanaḥ | kṛtasya[131] vai prāyaścittir bhavatī 'ti lāṅgaliḥ | samāpyai 'va[132] tena haviṣā yad-daivataṃ tad[133] dhavi[ḥ][133] syād[133] | athā 'nyad dhavir nirvaped agnaye dātre puroḍāśam indrāya pradātre puroḍāśaṃ viṣṇave śipiviṣṭāya puroḍāśam | athai 'tān[134] yathāniruptāṃs[134] tredhā kuryād yathā brāhmaṇo-'ktaṃ[135] | nityāḥ purastaddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣv[136] agniṃ vayaṃ trātāraṃ havāmahe[137] ya imaṃ trāyatām asmād yakṣmād asmād[138]

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[125] A aiva [126] cf. Kauṣ. Brāhm. 4. 2. Aśv. Prāy. 14 b: haviṣāṃ skannam abhimṛśet | devāṃjane 'ty ‖ (gemeint ist etwa Āśv. 3. 13. 15; Āp. 9. 13. 5) avaśiṣṭena pracaret | śeṣā-'bhāve punar maṃtravan nirvā[pā]di kuryāt ‖ ājyabhāgā-'naṃtaraṃ sarvaprāyaścittaṃ viṣṇusmaraṇaṃ ca kuryāt ‖ pākāt pūrvaṃ haviṣāṃ keśā-"dy-upahatau (cf. unter 2. 6) prakṣālanena prokṣaṇena vā śuddhiḥ ‖ .... yadā havir *apakvaṃ* bhavati .... *vidagdhe* [haviṣi] .... *sarvadāhe* tasmin prayoge śūrpādānādi havir utpādya sarva-prāyaścittaṃ kṛtvā viṣṇuṃ smṛtvā tena yajeta ‖ yad vā 'dhvaryur vidagdhaṃ jale prāsyā "jyabhāgā-'naṃtaraṃ sruveṇa juhuyād āhavanīya ‖ yan ma (bhr)ātmano (Āp. 9. 12. 11) punar agniś cakṣu° (ibid.) iti dvābhyāṃ ‖ tataḥ sarvaprāyaścittaṃ viṣṇusmaraṇaṃ ca kṛtvā "jyena pracaret ‖ dravye 'dhvaryur ājya-bhāgā-'naṃtaraṃ sruveṇa juhuyāt ‖ vāyave svāhā (cf. Āp. 9. 10. 5) vayava idaṃ ‖ tatas tena yajeta ‖ cf. Āśv. Prāy. 17 b: pradhāna-haviṣāṃ vyāpattāv api punar-yāgā-'śaktau ājyabhāgā-'naṃtaraṃ adhvaryur juhvāṃ sakṛd gṛhītvā juhoti ‖ yan ma ātmanaḥ (Āp. 9. 12. 11) punar agniḥ (ibid.) ‖ mano jyotiḥ (Āp. 9. 8. 1) ‖ tato viṣṇuṃ smṛtvā dhruvājyāt pracaret ‖ yad āha bhagavān baudhāyanaḥ ‖ ājyena vā pracaret ‖ sai 'va tatra prāyaścittir api khalu kṣipra-saṃskāratam (l.: °re tad?) ājyaṃ ku[r]vata iti miṃdāhutī hutvā manasvatīṃ juhoti ‖ sai 'va tataḥ prāyaścittir iti vijñāyata iti ‖ tad etad yadākadāpi ‖ baudhāyanenā "vāhanādi-pūrvakālādyanukter iti ‖ [127] A dṛṣṭābhyuṣṭānīty° B dṛṣṭabhyuṣṭanity° C dṛṣṭābhyudṛṣṭānīty°; cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 37 ff. [128] A āvāsyā [129] D vā [130] vā fehlt bei B; D kā [131] C kṣatasva D kṛtasyai [132] A samāthaiva B samāpyeva [133] D yad dhaviṣyād [134] BC athātiruptāṃs D athāniruptās [135] Deutet auf Gop. Brāhm. 2. 1. 9. [136] A sasaṃsthitahomeṣv BCD saṃsthitahomeṣu [137] A hūvāmahe [138] B asmādāma punaḥ D °smādāmayutaḥ s. Paipp. 2. 50. 1.

āmayata[ḥ][138] ‖ trātāram indram[139] | uru viṣṇo vikramasve 'ti[140] madhyata opya[141] saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayet | pāthikṛtī[142] 'ty ācakṣate[143] paurṇamāsy-amāvāsye 'ti cā 'tipanne[144] ‖ 2 ‖

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[139] AV. 7. 86. 1. [140] AV. 7. 26. 3. [141] A ūtha? BC ūpya? [142] D yathapākṛtī°; cf. Aśv. Prāy. 8 b: athā 'māvāsyā-bhrameṇa caturdaśyāṃ sānnāyye parigṛhīte candrodaye na jāte 'kāle prakṛtīṣṭi-devatāsthāne agnir dātā iṃdraḥ pradātā viṣṇuḥ śipiviṣṭa iti devatā yaṣṭavyāḥ ‖ tatra nirvāpāt pūrvam akāle pravṛttam iti jñāne uktadevatābhyo vrīhīn nirupya saṃkṣāla(ha)na(?)-ninayanāṃtaṃ kṛtvā taṇḍulāṃs tredhā vibhajya (cf. u. 5. 3) aṇūn sthūlān sthūlatarān kṛtvā sthūlānām agnaye dātre juṣṭam adhivapāmi ṭati (hati? dati?) adhivāpādy aṣṭasu kapāleṣu adhiśrayati | sthūlatarān taṃḍulān indrāya dātre iti budhyā caru-dharmeṇa sāyaṃdohe adhiśrayati aṇūn taṇḍulān caru-dharmeṇa viṣṇave śipiviṣṭāya prātardohe 'dhiśrayati ‖ śeṣam a[mā]vāsyā-tantraṃ ‖ tāsāṃ yājyānuvākyāḥ ‖ agne dā ..... sūnumataḥ (RV. 3. 24. 5) sa yaṃtā .... maghaṃ (RV. 3. 13. 3) ity agner dātuḥ ‖ dīrghas te astu .... sunvate (RV. 8. 17. 10) bhadrā te hastā ... u (RV. 4. 21. 9); iti iṃdrasya pradātuḥ | vaṣaṭ te viṣṇuv (Ś. Ś. 1. 8. 8 vgl. RV. 7. 99. 7); pra tat te adya (RV. 7. 100. 5); iti viṣṇoḥ śipiviṣṭasya ‖ nirvāpād ūrdhvam akāla-jñāne tān eva taṇḍulāṃs tredhā vibhajya pūrvavad iṣṭiṃ kuryāt | nā 'tra punaryāgaḥ | puroḍāśa-śrapaṇānaṃtaraṃ prātardohe dugdhe jāte purodāśam ājye vinikṣipet ‖ dugdham api yathā na naśyati agni-saṃsargeṇa tathā rakṣaṇīyaṃ ‖ vratacārī sāyaṃ-dohaṃ dugdhvā śvo bhūte darśayāgaḥ kāryaḥ ‖ yāge kṛte akālajñāne prāyaścittaṃ punaryāgaś ce 'ty eke | asomayāgino 'pi(!) akālajñāne sarva-prāyaścittaṃ punaryāgaś cety eke | [143] Agn. Prāy. 3 a: | yady amāvāsyāṃ paurṇamāsīṃ vā 'tīyād yadi vā 'nyasyā 'gniṣu yajeta yadi vā 'syā 'nyo 'gniṣu yajeta (cf. unten 5. 5) yadi vā 'syā 'nyo gnir agnīn „vyaveyād (d. h. wenn ein weltliches Feuer die sakralen stört; s. unten 2. 7; 5. 4) yadi vā 'syā 'gnihotre upasanne haviṣi vā nirupte cakrīvac chvā puruṣo vā vihāram antariyād (cf. oben 1. 3) yadi vā 'dhve(!) pramīyete 'ṣṭiḥ (vgl. unten 2. 8). — Comm.: yady amāvāsyāṃ paurṇamāsīṃ vā svakāle 'kṛtvā 'tīyāt(!) yady agnihotradravye kuśeṣū 'pasādite yadi darśapūrṇamāsādiṣu haviṣi nirupte cakrīvad rathaśakaṭādiḥ śvā agniḥ puruṣo vā manuṣyajātiḥ sarvā (Text: sarve) agnīnāṃ madhyenā 'tikrāmet | yadi vā yajamāno 'dhvani grāmāṃtare mriyetai 'teṣv anyatara-nimitteṣu nimittā-'naṃtaraṃ | agniḥ pathikṛd vetthā hi vedho adhvana ā devānām api paṃtham aganme 'ti (RV. 6. 16. 3; 10. 2. 3) | anaḍvāṃ dakṣiṇā | vyavāye tv anagninā prāg iṣṭer gamiṃtareṇā (l.: gām aṃtareṇā) 'tikrāmayed bhasmanā śunaḥ padaṃ prativaped idaṃ viṣṇur vicakrama iti (RV. 1. 22. 17 vgl. unten 5. 2) gārhapatyā-"havanīyayor aṃtaraṃ bhasmarājyo [s. oben Anm. 64] 'daka-rājyā ca saṃtanuyāt taṃtu[ṃ] tanvan rajaso bhānum anvīhī 'ty anugamayitvā cā "havanīyaṃ punaḥ praṇīyo 'patiṣṭheta | tatra prayogaḥ | nimittā-'naṃtaraṃ gavā-"di-kramaṇaṃ kāryaṃ | tataḥ taṃtu[ṃ] tanvan .... janaṃ | (cf. oben 1. 3) iti maṃtreṇa gārhapatyād āhavanīya-paryaṃtaṃ bhasmarājy-udakarājibhyāṃ saṃtānaṃ kṛtvā "havanīyam anugamayet | Mit diesem Passus stimmen Āśv. Prāy. 2 a ff. fast wörtlich zusammen; doch lesen sie: manuṣya-jātir vā vihāraṃ atikramet ... yena pathā vyavāyo jātas tena pathā gaur netavyā ‖ śva-vyavāye tu bhasmanā śunaḥ pa-

athā 'to[145] 'bhyu[d]dṛṣṭānī 'ty ācakṣate | 'dya sāyam amāvāsyā bhaviṣyatī 'ti[146] na pratiharaṇāya[147] ca[148] sa syād | atha sa yo 'nyo brūyād adarśaṃ cā 'dya paścād iti taṃ tu kim iti brūyād | atha vā sa syād evā 'dhas | tām eva prāyaścittiṃ kṛtvā yajete 'ti dvaipāyanaḥ | kṛtasya vāi prāyaścittir bhavatī 'ti lāṅgalir | yena pathā vaivasvato[149] yamo rājā no yayau agnir nas tena nayatu[150] prajā[na]n vaiśvānaraḥ pathikṛd viśvagṛṣṭiḥ | samāpyai 'va tena haviṣā yad daivataṃ tad dhaviḥ[151] syād[151] | athā 'nyad dhavir nirvaped | agnaye pathikṛte[152] puroḍāśam indrāya vṛtraghne puroḍāśaṃ vaiśvānaraṃ[153] dvādaśakapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣu[154] tvam agne saprathā asi[155] | yena pathā vaivasvataḥ[156] | śāsa itthā mahān asi[157] | vaiśvānaro na ūtaya[158] iti madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayen | mahāpāthikṛtī 'ty ācakṣata | ubhayor api[159] pattayos[160] | tad āhur na te vidur ye tathā kurvaṃty | atha nu katham iti | gārhapatyājyaṃ vilāyo[161] 'tpūya caturgṛhītaṃ gṛhītvā "havanīya-gārhapatyāv antareṇā 'tivrajya juhuyād | asau ya udayāt puro vasāno nīlalohito 'tha dṛṣṭam adṛṣṭaṃ no duṣkṛtaṃ tat[162] svāhe 'ty | evam evā 'bhyu[d]dṛṣṭe | asau ya udayāt paścād vasāno nīlalohito [tya][163] 'tha dṛṣṭam adṛṣṭaṃ no duṣkṛtaṃ karat[164] svāhe'ti | sa ya[165] evam etena[166] tejasā "jyena[167] yaśasā prīṇāti so 'syai 'ṣa[168] dṛṣṭaḥ prāṇān yaśasā[169]

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daṃ idaṃ viṣṇur vicakrama ity ṛcā pūrayet || pratipadaṃ maṃtrāvṛttir ity adhikaṃ || tato gārhapatyād āhavanīyaparyaṃtaṃ bhasma-lekhām udakadhārāṃ ca saṃtanuyāt tantuṃ tanvan ... anvihi jyotiṣmata iti maṃtrena || pratyekaṃ maṃtrāvṛttiḥ || tata āhavanīyam anugamayitvā 'gnihotra-madhye (agnihotravad-iṣṭi-madhya) iṣṭivat punaḥ praṇīya yad agne pūrvaṃ ... vitanvata (Āśv. 3. 10. 16) iti mantradvayeno 'patiṣṭheta || tato 'gnihotraṃ samāpya teṣv evā 'gniṣu pāthikṛtī kāryā || 144 A cātipattre B nvātipaṃte C cātipaṃte (kann heißen: atipāte oder atipattau; korrupt); cf. in 2. 3. 145 B tsayāto 146 D tay; cf. Kauṣ. Brāhm. 4. 3. 147 C °haraṇādya 148 B tva? nva? 149 Bei C ist dieser pāda verderbt. 150 A nayata C nayat 151 BCD haviṣyād 152 K. Ś. 25. 4. 22-26 bestimmt die Fälle, in denen dem Agni pathikṛt geopfert werden soll. 153 B vaiśvānarīṃ C °narāṃ 154 Hier wiederholt B einen Passus des Textes, nämlich 2. 3: agniṃ vayaṃ trātāraṃ havāmahe ..... bis saṃsthāpayen [mahāpāthikṛtīty]. 155 RV. 5. 13. 4. 156 Unermittelbar. 157 AV. 1. 20. 4. 158 AV. 6. 35. 1. 159 BC iti statt api; l.: ati° 160 cf. oben 2. 2 letztes Wort. l.: °pannayos. 161 ACD vilīyo' 162 ACD tat B ta statt karat; Sinn und Metrum wären herstellbar, wenn man lesen würde: duṣkṛtam adṛṣṭaṃ karat 163 BC lassen tya aus. 164 C tat statt karat 165 ya fehlt bei BC 166 B fügt tena ein. 167 B tejasābdhrena 168 B läßt 'ṣa aus; D liest statt sosyaiṣa: saumyeṣa 169 B yaḥ esa

prīṇāti ‖ 3 ‖ atha yo 'hutvā[170] navaṃ prāśnīyād agnau vā "gamayet kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | so 'gnaye vratapataye[171] 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvapen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣv agne prāśnāhi prathamas tvaṃ hi vettha yathā haviḥ[172] | vanvan havir yathā devebhyo yajamānaṃ ca varddhayā 'gniś ca deva savitas | tvam agne vratapā asi[173] | idāvatsarāye 'ti[174] madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | yady anugatam agniṃ śaṅkamānā maṃtheyur mathite 'gnim adhigacheyur bhadrād adhi śreyaḥ prehī[175] 'ti vyāhṛtibhiś ca mathitaṃ samāropyā 'the 'tarasmin punas tvā prāṇa[176] iti pañcabhir ājyā-"hutīr hutvā yatho 'ktaṃ prākṛtā vṛttir[177] | atha yasyā "gnihotrī gharmadughā duhyamānā vāśyet[178] kā tatra prāyaścittir | aśanāpipāse evai 'ṣā yajamānasya saṃprakhyāya vāśyatī 'ti[179] tāṃ[180] tṛṇam[181] apy[182] ādayet[182] sūyavasād bhagavatī[183] 'ty etaya rcā | 'thā "havanīya ājyā-"hutīr[184] juhuyād dhātā dadhātu naḥ pūrṇā darva[185] iti dvābhyām ṛgbhyām | atha yasyā "gnihotrī[186] gharmadughā (vā[187]) duhyamāno 'paviśet[188] kā tatra prāyaścittir[189] | bhayaṃ vā eṣā yajamānasya prakhyāyo 'pa-

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[170] so rekonstuiert nach Ap. 9. 12. 10: yadi homāyo 'pasamiddheṣv ahuteṣv agniṣu yajamāno 'śnīyāt ... [171] K. Ś. 25. 4. 27 ff. bestimmt die Opfer für Agni vratapati. [172] Vgl. sa hi veda yathā haviḥ T. B. 2. 4. 8. 7. [173] AV. 19. 59. 1. [174] AV. 6. 55. 3. B idāvatsaroyeti C iṃdrāvaruṇāyeti [175] AV. 7. 8. 1. [176] Es könnte etwa an T. S. 1. 3. 14. 4. gedacht sein. [177] C vṛttīn D prāvṛtā vṛtīr [178] ABCD vāsyet; cf. hierzu Ap. 9. 5. 1; Aśv. 3. 11. 4; Aśv. Prāy. 3 b; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3. Auch bei der Schlachtung darf das Opfertier nicht brüllen: K. Ś. 25. 9. 12. Im folg. ist pipāse bei A u. C corr. [179] cf. Ait. Brāhm. 5. 2. 7. 6. [180] A taṃ [181] BC nṛṇam [182] A athā dadhyet D athā "dayet Aśv. Prāy. 3 b: tṛṇaṃ bhakṣyaṃ prakalpayet [183] AV. 7. 73. 11; K. Ś. 25. 1. 19. [184] A °hutī B °hutir; der im Anschluß hieran so überaus häufig erwähnte Fall, daß die Opferkuh blutige Milch (Blut statt Milch) gibt, fehlt unserem Texte. [185] vgl. AV 7. 17. 2; 3. 10. 7; s. auch Paipp. 1. 106. 6. [186] Brahm. Prāy. 35 b kündigen an: athe 'dānīm agnihotraprāyaścittāny abhidhīyaṃte tad-artham idam ucyate ... agnihotraṃ cet prāg adhiśrayaṇā[t] skanded iti ..... niṣīded upaviśet tatra yasmād bhīte 'ty anena maṃtreṇābhimaṃtrya udasthā[d] devīty utthāpyo 'dapātram ūdhasi mukhe co 'pagṛhṇīyāt |; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3. [187] vā fehlt bei BCD. [188] cf. Āśv. Prāy. 3 b, welches diesen Fall noch differenziert: atha yasyā 'gnihotradhenur *vatsa(ṃ)-sargād ārabhya dohana-paryaṃtam* upaviśet | tadā yasmād bhiṣā .... mīḷhuṣe ity abhimaṃtrayet | tatas tām utthāpayet ‖ udasthād .... varuṇāya ca | ity etad ubhayaṃ yajamāno homakartā vā kuryāt | atha asyā ūḍhasi ca mukhe co 'dapātram upagṛhya dugdhvā brāhmaṇaṃ pāyayet | tasya brāhmaṇasya yāvajjīvaṃ saṃvatsaraṃ vā 'nnaṃ nā 'śnīyāt ‖ [189] cf. Āśv. 3. 11. 1; Brahm. Prāy. 40 b: yā agnihotrāyo 'pasṛṣṭā niṣīded iti niṣīdanamaṃtraḥ; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3.

viśati | tasyā ūdhasy udapātraṃ ninayec[190] chaṃ no devīr abhiṣṭaya[191] iti dvābhyāṃ | tām anumantrayate yasmād bhītā niṣīdasi[192] tato no abhayaṃ kṛdhi paśūn naḥ sarvān gopāya namo rudrāya mīḍhuṣa[193] ity | athai 'nām utthāpayaty uttiṣṭha devy adite devān yajñena bodhaya | indrāya kṛṇvatī bhāgaṃ mitrāya varuṇāya ce 'ty | utthitām anumantrayate udasthād devy adite devān[194] yajñena bodhaya | āyuś ca tasya bhūtiṃ ca yajamānaṃ[195] ca[195] vardhaye 'ty | athā "havanīya ājyā-"hutīr juhuyān mā no vidan[196] ity etair abhayai raudraiś ca ‖ 4 ‖ atha yasya vapām āhutiṃ vā gṛhītāṃ śyenaḥ śakuniḥ śvā vā 'nyo vā "hared[197] vāto vā vivamet[198] kā tatra prāyaścittir | divaṃ pṛthivīm[199] ity abhimantryā 'thā "havanīya ājyā-"hutīr juhuyād vāta āvātu bheṣajam[200] iti sūktenā | 'tha yasya somagraho gṛhīto 'tisrāvet kā tatra prāyaścittir | drapsaś caskande[201] 'ty abhimantryā 'thā "havanīya ājyā-"hutīr juhuyān manase cetase dhiya[202] iti sūktenā | 'tha yasyā 'ṣṭāpadī vaśā syāt kā tatra prāyaścittir[203] | darbheṇa hiraṇyaṃ baddhvā 'dhy-adhi garbhaṃ hiraṇyagarbheṇa juhuyād | yathā 'muṃ sā garbham abhyaścotayad yathā 'muṃ garbhaṃ sadarbham[204] iva sahiraṇyaṃ tam uddhṛtya prakṣālyā[205] 'nupadaṃ śrapayitvā prākśirasam udakpādyaṃ kāmasūktena[206] juhuyād anaṃgandhī[207] 'ti ve 'ty[208] aṣṭabhir nabhasvatībhir[209] hiraṇyagarbheṇa vā | 'tha yasyā 'samāpte karmaṇi tāntriko 'gnir upaśāmyet kā tatra prāyaścittir | yaṃ tvam agne[210] punas tvā "dityā rudrā vasava[211] ity anyaṃ[212] praṇīya pra-

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[190] cf. Āśv. 3. 11. 3. [191] AV. 1. 6. 1. [192] AB. 5. 27. 2; 7. 3. 2; hierher gehören auch die folgenden Zitate dieses Abschnitts; vgl. die analogen Partien Ap. 9. 17. 6 f. [193] M. Ś. 3. 2. 1, fortgesetzt durch Āśv. 3. 11. 1; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3. [194] A °vāṃn [195] D °mānāya [196] AV. 1. 19. 1. [197] Der gleiche Fall wird in dem korrupten Passus Brahm. Prāy. 77 b behandelt; vgl. unten 3, 10; s. a. Manu 7. 21: Krähen genießen von einem Opferkuchen. [198] A vivamet (?) B viramit CD viramet [199] AV. 3. 21. 7. [200] cf. Gop. Brāhm. 1. 3. 13. [201] AV. 18. 4. 28. [202] AV. 6. 41. 1. [203] Brahm. Prāy. 78 b: yadā 'ṣṭāpadī syād aṣṭāpadyā garbhaṃ śūle kṛtvā madā pralipya śāmitre nikhānayet | Komm.: yadāpi garbhiṇy ālabhyate kāla[ḥ]-parimāṇāvijñānāc cā 'ṣṭāpadī syāt ... śāmitre nikhāpaṭot tasyā adhastād ayaspātram upakṛṣya śrapayed ity arthaḥ | .. mā bhūd iti hiraṇyam aṣṭāpadaṃ dakṣiṇā tasminn eva kāle samāpte ca mahī dyaur iti paśuśrapaṇe garbham upavasati [204] BCD saṃdarbham [205] B prajvālyā [206] AV 19. 52. [207] Wahrscheinlich Paipp. Citat. [208] A °gandhītīvety B °gandhītevety D °gaṃdhītīcety [209] gemeint: AV 4. 15? [210] gemeint ist wahrscheinlich AV. 18. 3. 6 (yaṃ tvam agne). [211] AV. 12. 2. 6; Vait. 28. 22; Ap. Ś. 9. 10. 9; 16. 12. 13. [212] A agniṃ

jvālya[213] mamā 'gne varca[214] iti sūkteno 'pasamādhāya karmaśeṣam[215] samāpnuyur[215] | atha yasyā 'samāpte karmaṇi barhir ādīpyeta[216] tatra tan[217] nirvāpya juhuyād yad agnir barhir adahad vedyā[218] vāso apoṃ[219]bhata tvam eva no jātavedo[220] duritāt pāhi tasmāt[221] ‖ nirdagdhā no amitrā[222] yathe 'daṃ barhis tathā | amitrāṇāṃ śriyaṃ bhūtiṃ tām eṣāṃ parinirjahi | yat-kāmās[223] te[223] juhumas tan no astu viśāmpate[224] | ye devā yajñam āyānti te no rakṣantu sarvataḥ | avadagdhaṃ duḥsvapnyam avadagdhā arātayaḥ sarvāś ca yātudhānyaḥ | mā tvā dabhyan yātudhānāḥ | mā bradhnaḥ śarmabhiḥ[225] ṣṭuhi[226] | darbho rājā samudriyaḥ | pari naḥ pātu viśvataḥ | athā 'nyad barhir upakalpyo 'dakena saṃprokṣya punaḥ stṛṇātī | 'daṃ barhir amṛtene 'ha siktaṃ hiraṇmayaṃ haritaṃ tat stṛtaṃ[227] naḥ[227] | tad[228] vai purāṇam abhinavaṃ stṛṇīṣva vāsaḥ praśastaṃ prati me gṛhāṇe 'ty[229] | atha yasya pitrye[230] praṇīto 'gnir upaśāmyet kā tatra prāyaścittir | bhasmā "labhyā 'bhimantrayed[231] dviṣantam agne dviṣatāṃ ca vittaṃ | prajāṃ[232] dviṣadbhyo naya dakṣiṇena | pitrye praṇīta upaśāmyamānaḥ pāpmānam agne tam ito nudasva | dviṣantam agne dviṣatāṃ ca vittaṃ[232] gaccha tvam ādāya parāvato 'nyān[233] | pitrye praṇīta upaśāmyamāna iha prajāṃ dīrgham āyuś ca dhehi | yas[234] tvam agne pramattānāṃ praṇīta upaśāmyasi[235] | sukalpam agne ta[t] tvayā punas tvo 'ddīpayāmasī 'ty ucyamāne[236] 'gniṃ[237] praṇīya prajvālye[238] 'ndrasya kukṣir asī 'ti[239] dvābhyāṃ samidhāv abhyādadhyāt ‖ 5 ‖ atha yasya yūpo virohed[240] asamāpte karmaṇi tatra juhuyāt yūpo virohañ[241] chataśākho adhvaraḥ[242] samāvṛto mohayiṣyan yajamānasya loke | vedā-

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[213] C prakṣālya [214] AV. 5. 3. 1. [215] A karmaśeṣaṃ karma sāpnuyur [216] cf. AP. 37. 5. 1. [217] A taṃ; bei BCD fehlt taṃ [218] A vedyāṃ [219] AB apo. Auch alle für die Textgeschichte in Frage kommenden Mss. der AP., denen dieses Zitat entnommen ist (37. 5. 2) lesen poṃ resp. apoṃ; D aponnata [220] B °da [221] Parallel AV. 1. 25. 1. [222] AP 53. 7. 3: °mitrās tu [223] AB vāmāste [224] AV. 7. 79. 4. [225] BC carmabhi [225—226] AP. 37. 5. 6 śaṃyum icchata [227] AD stṛṇaṃtaḥ B tastṛtaṃ naḥ C tatstṛtaṃ naḥ; AP. 37. 5. 8 statt tat stṛtaṃ naḥ: te stṛṇāmi [228] BC yad [229] D fügt hinter °'ty ein: athavā 'nyad barhiṣo prachādaye 'ty [230] B pitrya [231] D °yeta [232] B läßt diese und die inzwischenliegenden Worte aus. [233] D °'nyāt [234] ABCD yaṃ [235] A upaśāmyati B upaśābhyeti CD upaśāmyeti [236] BC ucyatenā A ucyamānenā [237] B te 'gniṃ [238] C prakṣālye [239] AV. 7. 111. 1. [240] D varohed; Āp. 9. 19. 15 f.; vgl. unten 5. 6. [241] D varo° [242] Kauś. Ś. 125. 2.

bhigupto brahmaṇā[243] parivṛto 'tharvabhiḥ śāntaḥ sukṛtām etu lokam ‖ yūpo hy arukṣad dviṣatāṃ vadhāya na me yajño yajamānaś ca riṣyāt | saptarṣīṇāṃ sukṛtāṃ yatra lokas tatre 'maṃ yajñaṃ yajamānaṃ ca dhehi ‖ yo vanaspatīnām upatāpo babhūva[244] yad vā gṛhān ghoram utā "jagāma tan nirjagāmo haviṣā ghṛtena śaṃ no astu dvipade śaṃ catuṣpade ‖ yo vanaspatīnām upatāpo na āgād yad vā yajñaṃ no 'dbhutam ājagāma | sarvaṃ tad agne hutam astu bhāgaśaḥ śivān vayam uttaremā 'bhi vājān[245] | tvaṣṭre svāhe 'ti hutvā | tvaṣṭā me daivyaṃ vaca[246] iti tvāṣṭraṃ vaiśvarūpam[247] ālabhetā | 'tha yasyā 'samāpte karmaṇi yūpaḥ prapatet[248] tatra juhuyāt[249] | ya indreṇa sṛṣṭo yadi vā marudbhir yūpaḥ papāta[250] dviṣatāṃ vadhāya | taṃ nirjagāmo[251] haviṣā ghṛtena śaṃ no astu dvipade śaṃ catuṣpade ‖ tvaṣṭre svāhe 'ti hutvā tvaṣṭā me daivyaṃ vaca[252] iti tvāṣṭraṃ sarvarūpam ālabhetā | 'tha yasyā 'samāpte karmaṇi yūpe dhvāṅkṣo[253] nipatet tatra juhuyāt ā pavasva hiraṇyavad[254] aśvāvat soma vīravat | vājaṃ[255] gomantam[255] ābhara[255] svāhe 'ti madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed[256] | yadi[256] duṣṭaṃ[256] haviḥ syāt kīṭāvapannaṃ[257] vā[257] tat[258] tasmin bhasmany upavaped apsu

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[243] D °ṇaḥ [244] Kauś. S. 135. 9. [245] Die Wiedergabe namentlich des letzten Pāda in den Mss. ist überaus lückenhaft und reich an Irrtümern. D wiederholt den Halbvers: taṃ nirjagāmo catuṣpade [246] AV. 6. 4. 1. [247] ABCD viśvarūpam; Brahm. Prāy. 79 b: sattre cet prāg apavargād yūpo virohet [t]vāṣṭraṃ bahurūpam ālabheran 80 b: virohaṇam aṃkurādi-prādurbhāvaḥ [248] cf. Āp. 9. 11. 26; Brahm. Prāy. 80 a: yadi yūpam āvṛṃhec cālayed ve 'ti ... [249] Hiervon scheint auch der völlig zerstörte Text von Brahm. Prāy. 76 a zu handeln, der sodann folgende Modalität erwähnt: yadi divyān mānuṣād vā pramādā[t] svaruṃ naśyeta anya-yūpa-śakalam anya-grahaṇaṃ kriyate 76 b: anyasyā 'lābhe yūpād evo tkṛtya saṃskārādi siddhaṃ ta[t] tvā svadhitise āhutiṃ hutvā 'taḥ saṃskṛtyā 'ktvā svadhiti-karma kuryāt | caṣālanāśe 'nyasmād adhikṛtya(?) [250] AD prapāto BC prayāto [251] D °gāma [252] AV. 6. 4. 1. [253] K. Ś. 25. 6. 9 f. [254] RV. 9. 63. 18. [255] D vrajaṃ gomaṃtam aśvinā bharaṃtaṃ cf. Vāj. S. 8. 6. 3. [256] B saṃsthāpaye hādiṣṭaṃ [257] Agn. Prāy. 4 b: vyāpannāni havīṃṣi keśa-nakha-kīṭa-pataṃgair anyair vā bībhatsaiḥ | śarīrā[c] cyuta-keśa-nakhā-"dibhir haviḥ | saṃsargo [do]ṣāya bhavati | tathā kīṭa-pataṃgair amedhya-nivāsibhiḥ saṃsargo doṣāya bhavati | duṣṭaraṃ havir apsu prakṣipya punar-nirvāpā-"di kuryāt | atha vājasaneyi-śākhāyāṃ devayoniḥ | śva-vāyas(am)ā-"khu-mārjāra-nakula-gṛdhrā-"di-kṛtabhakṣaṇā-'vaghrāṇa-śparśa[nā]-"dibhir upahatānāṃ śṛtānāṃ puroḍāśādīnāṃ tyāgaḥ | bhakṣaṇenai 'va madhū-'daka-payo-vikāra-taila-sarpiḥprabhṛtīnāṃ ca tyāgaḥ | svedā-'śru-śleṣma-karṇaviḍ-duṣīkā (so statt °ṣi°!)

ve 'ty eke[259] | bhuvāya svāhā | bhuvanāya svāhā | bhuvanapataye svāhā[260] | bhuvāmpataye svāhā | viṣṇave svāhe 'ty | ete ha vai devānām ṛtvijas | ta evā 'sya tad dhutam[261] iṣṭaṃ kurvanti | yat prayājeṣv ahuteṣu prāg aṅgāraḥ[262] skanded adhvaryave ca[263] yajamānāya ca[264] paśubhyaś cā 'ghaṃ[265] syād yadi dakṣiṇā[266] brahmaṇe ca yajamānāya ca | yadi pratyag[267] dhotre[267] ca patnyai[268] ca[268] | yady udag agnīdhe[269] ca[270] yajamānāya ca paśubhyaś cā 'ghaṃ[271] syāt | tam anupraharet | sahasrasṛṅga[272] | ity etaya rcā ‖ 6 ‖ atha yasyā 'gnayo mi-

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netramalā-'sṛk-raktavasā-mānuṣa- (Text: °ṣā)-svīviṣṭhā-reto-mūtra-prabhṛtibhir upahatānāṃ haviṣāṃ parityāgaḥ | śūdra-sūtako-'dakyā-"di-saṃspṛṣṭānāṃ haviṣāṃ parityāgaḥ |. Die Träne verunreinigt; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 8: ya āhitāgnir upavasathe 'śru kurvīta ... so 'gnaye vratabhṛte .... cf. Āśv. Prāy. 5 b: athau "pavasathya-dine ārty-aśru-pāte pūrvoktāṃ vrātabhṛtīṣṭiṃ kuryāt ‖ cf. oben Anm. 58; vgl. A. P. 37. 7. 1; cf. auch Āśv. Prāy. 17 a (cf. oben Anm. 126): āvāhana-kālāt pūrvaṃ keśa-kīṭā-"dinā pakva-havir-doṣe jāte tasyaiva ha[vi]ṣaḥ punar-utpattiṃ kṛtvā sarva-prāyaścittaṃ ca hutvā viṣṇuṃ smṛtvā tena yaṣṭavyaṃ ‖ yad vā ‖ adhvaryur ājya-bhāgā-'namtaraṃ juhvāṃ sakṛd gṛhītvā juhoti ‖ yan ma ātmano ‖ punar agniḥ ‖ mano jyotiḥ ghṛtena svāhā ‖ tato viṣṇuṃ smṛtvā (dhruvā)jyena(?) pracaret ‖ cf. Āśv. Prāy. 17 a: āvāhanād ūrdhvaṃ pradhāna-yāgād arvāk keśa-kīṭā-"dinā havir-doṣe jāte tasya sthāne dhruvātaś caturgṛhītam ājyam āyajet ‖ avyāpannaiś ca yathāpūrvaṃ ‖ tataḥ prayogaṃ samāpya vyāpanna-havir-mātrasyai 'vā 'nvādhānādi-punaryāgaḥ karttavyaḥ ‖ evaṃ dvayor bahūnāṃ ca vyāpattau samānaṃ ‖ vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 18 b: duṣṭena haviṣe 'ṣṭvā samiṣṭayajuṣaḥ prāg duṣṭaṃ havir iti jānīyāt ‖ tadā "jyena punar-yāgaḥ ‖ ūrdhvaṃ cet smaraṇaṃ tadā 'nvādhānā-"di-punaryāgaḥ ‖ bahuhaviṣke yāge yad eva duṣṭaṃ haviḥ smaret tasyaiva punaryāgo na sarvasya ‖ cf. Agn. Prāy. 16 b f.: āvāhana-kālāt prāg dhavir-doṣe punar-āvṛttiḥ | apy atyaṃtaṃ guṇa-bhūtānām | apradhānārthānāṃ ājyādi-guṇa-bhūtānāṃ dravyāṇām utpattir ā karmasamāpteḥ | prāk sviṣṭakṛta uktaṃ pradhāna-bhūtānāṃ | haviṣāṃ vyāpattāv ity asmin sūtre yā havir-vyāpattir uktā sā pradhāna-bhūtānāṃ dravyāṇām āvāhanād ūrdhvaṃ sviṣṭakṛtāt prāk bhavati cet tadā "jyene 'ṣṭiṃ samāpayet | avadānadoṣe punar āyatanād avadānaṃ | gṛhītasyā 'vadānasyā 'medhyā-"dinā nāśe jāte | abhāgi-devatāyāḥ yāge kṛte 'pī 'ti ramāṃḍāraḥ | ubhaya-madhye 'nyatara-nimitte sati punas tad avadānā-"yatanād eva gṛhītvā yāgaḥ karttavyaḥ | na punar utpattiḥ | dveṣṭre tv iha dakṣiṇāṃ dadyāt | kṣāme śiṣṭene 'ṣṭ[v]e 'ty asmin prayoge yā dakṣiṇā sā dveṣṭre dātavyā | dakṣadāna (l.: dakṣiṇādāna?) urvarām dadyāt |

[258] B tatre C tace

[259] Āśv. 3. 10. 20-22. [260] Kauś. S. 116. 2 unter abweichendem Schlusse. [261] BCD bhutaṃ [262] ABC aṅgārā; cf. unten 4. 1. [263] fehlt bei BC [264] fehlt bei A [265] ABC scheinen adyaṃ zu lesen; cf. Āp. 9. 2. 9. [266] Ā dakṣina [267] ABCD pratyaṅ hotre [268] A yatryaiva BCD patnī ca [269] BCD āgnīdhre [270] A läßt ca aus. [271] BC cādyaṃ [272] AV. 13. 1. 12; s. Āp. 9. 3. 1.

thaḥ saṃsṛjyeran[273] kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ[274] | so 'gnaye vītaye[275] 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ (prāṅ) nirvapen[276] | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣv agna āyāhi vītaye[277] gṛṇāno havyadātaye ni hotā satsi barhiṣī 'ti madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayo grāmyeṇā[278] 'gninā saṃsṛjyeran kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | so 'gnaye vivicaye[279] 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvapen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣv agnim īḷe purohitaṃ[280] viviciṃ ratnadhātamaṃ pra ṇa āyūṃṣi tāriṣad | iti madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayaḥ śāvenā 'gninā saṃsṛjyeran kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | so 'gnaye śucaye[281] 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvapen | nityāḥ purastaddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣv | agniḥ śucivratatamaḥ[282] śucir vipraḥ śuciḥ kaviḥ | śucī rocata āhutaḥ ‖ ud agne śucayas tava[283] śukrā bhrājaṃta īrate | tava jyotīṃṣy arcayaḥ svāhe | 'ti madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayo dāvenā 'gninā saṃsṛjyeran[284] kā tatra prāyaścittir[285] | annā-

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[273] Überhaupt gilt der Zusammenfall von Opfersubstanzen als verhängnisvoll; s. Āśv. Prāy. 16a: carv-ādīnāṃ saṃsrāve durgādi-gaṇaḥ prāyaścittaṃ ‖ [274] Vgl. zu diesem Abschnitt die verkürzte Wiedergabe in 5. 4. [275] B tītaye; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6: yasya *gārhapatyā-"havanīyau* mithaḥ saṃsṛjyeyātām ..... so 'gnaye vītaye 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvapet. [276] Über die dem Agni bei den einzelnen Läuterungszeremonien zukommenden Attribute spricht Agn. Prāy. 14b: agnir guṇībhedeṣu vratapatyādiko gunaḥ | api vā prāyaścitte-'ṣṭīnāṃ sthāne tasyai tasyai devatāyai pūrṇāhutiṃ juhuyād iti vijñāyate | dvādaśagṛhītena srucaṃ pūrayitvā 'gnaye vratapataye svāhe 'ti hūyate sā pūrṇāhutiḥ dvādaśa-gṛhītenā 'ṣṭagṛhītena caturgṛhītena sruva-pūrṇena ve 'ti catvāraḥ pakṣo (!) bodhāyane(!) prāyaścitteṣṭiḥ saha vikalpyate | [277] RV. 6. 16. 10; Āśv. 3. 13. 7; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6. [278] ABC grāmyenā°. [279] A vivivaye B vivicaya; cf. Āśv. 3. 13. 5; aber Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6: yasya sarva evā 'gnayo *mithaḥ saṃsṛjyeran* . . . agnaye *vivicaye* . . . . und ibid.: yasyā 'gnayo 'nyair agnibhiḥ (Comm.: āhavanīyādy-agnayo 'nyadīyair āhavanīyādibhir laukikāgnibhir vā) saṃsṛjyeran so 'gnaye *kṣāmavate* . . .; vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7: yasyā 'gnayo grāmyeṇā 'gninā saṃdahyeran so 'gnaye *saṃvargāya* . . . . cf. Āśv. Prāy. 8a: grāmyeṇā "raṇyena vā saṃsarge samāropya mathitvā 'gnaye saṃvargāya pūrṇāhutiḥ ‖ [280] RV. 1. 1. 1. [281] Āśv. 3. 13. 4, dessen Komm. sich hier als vortrefflich unterrichtet erweist. K. Ś. 25. 4. 35; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7. [282] A: śucir RV. 8. 44. 21. [283] RV. 8. 44. 17. [284] Die Profanation der heiligen Feuer durch Wasser usw. verlangt Sühne (Āśv. Prāy. 15b): jalādinā 'gny-upaghāte punas tvā "dityā rudrā vasavaḥ samiṃdhatāṃ punar brāhmaṇo vasunītha rudraiḥ (!) ‖ ghṛtena tvaṃ tanuvo vardhayasva satyāḥ santu yajamānasya kāmāḥ (TS 4. 2. 3. 4 folg. mit Variation) svāhā ‖ ity etayā samidham

dyaṃ[286] vā eṣa yajamānasya saṃvṛjyāvṛta[287] upa to[287] 'raṇyād grāmam adhy[288] abhyupaiti | so 'gnaye 'nnādāyā 'nnapataye 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvapen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣv | apaścād aghvānnasya bhūyāsam[289] | iti madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayo divyenā 'gninā saṃsṛjyeran kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | so 'gnaye jyotiṣmate[290] 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvapen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣu | vidyotate dyotate | vidyuto 'gnir jihvā[291] | vidyutā bhrājanti dyotata[292] ā ca dyotata[293] | iti madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayo 'bhiplaveran kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | so 'gnaye 'psumate[294] 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvapen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣv apām agnis tanūbhir[295] | iti madhyata opya saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | atha yady anugatam[296] abhyuddharet kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | so

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ādhāyā "jyabhāgādy-anaṃtaraṃ yathāsaṃbhavam anenaiva maṃtreṇa svāhākārāṃtena sruvāhutiṃ juhuyāt || agnaya idaṃ || [285] Hierzu gehören die Ausführungen der Brahm. Prāy. 65 b; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7. [286] A atrāghaṃ B annādy (?) C annādya [287] A saṃjyāvṛduyano B saṃjāvṛta upato C saṃvṛta upato; D saṃsṛjyāvṛta upato [288] fehlt bei A. [289] AV. 19. 55. 5. [290] cf. Āśv. 3. 13. 8; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7 schreibt für den gleichen Fall die gleiche Spende für agni *apsumant* vor. [291] D liest hinter jihvā: vidyotate dyotate ādyotata iti madhyata [292] Bei B dittographiert. [293] Vait. 14. 1 A āvadyotata BC ātadyotaca? [294] cf. Āśv. 3. 13. 8; KŚ. 25. 4. 33 schreibt das gleiche Opfer — offenbar ursprünglicher — für den Fall vor, daß sich himmlische und irdische Feuer mit einander vermengen; ebenso Āśv. Prāy. 8 a: vaidyutā-'gni-saṃsarge samāropaṇādi agnaye 'psumate pūrṇāhutiḥ | [295] AV. 4. 15. 10. [296] Hier scheint von dem Erlöschen irgendeines Opferfeuers die Rede zu sein. Brahm. Prāy. 62 a (s. folg. Anm.) beziehen sich jedoch auf das Āhavanīya-Feuer, dessen unser Text in diesem Zusammenhang nicht gedenkt. Vgl. aber Agn. Prāy. 12 a: anvāhiteṣv agniṣu yady *āhavanīyo 'nugacchet* tadā 'nvāhitam āhavanīyam anugatam utpādayiṣyāmī 'ti saṃkalpya | anv agnir uṣasām ātatāne 'ti (AV. 7. 82. 4) gārhapatyād praṇīyaṃto bhūr iti manaso 'pasthānaṃ kuryāt | tata ājyapūrṇena sruveṇa juhoti | yo agniṃ devavītaye .... mṛḍaya (RV. 1. 12. 9) svāhā || agnaye pāvakāye 'daṃ tato | juhvā juhoti | idaṃ viṣṇur .... pāṃsure (RV 1. 22. 17) svāhā | viṣṇava idaṃ | tata[ḥ] sarva(ṃ)-prāyaścittaṃ | idaṃ viṣṇur RV. 1. 22. 17) japed ity eke | tato manasā yajamāno japati | agne vratapate | vrataṃ cariṣyāmi vāyo vratapate āditya vratapate vratānāṃ vratapate (Āp. 4. 3. 2) | vrato- 'pāyanottaram agny-anugamane vratopāyanīya-japo nā 'nyathā || ibid. 12 b: praṇīte 'nugate prāg ghomād iṣṭir agnir jyotiṣmān varuṇaḥ || agnihotrā-'rthaṃ praṇīta āhavanīyahomāt prāg anugate sāyaṃ agnihotrārthaṃ praṇītam āhavanīyam anugatam utpādayiṣyāmī 'ti saṃkalpya | prātar agnihotrā-'rtham iti prātaḥ | uddharaṇa-

'gnaye 'gnimate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvapen[297] | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣu | śivau[298] bhavatam[299] adya[300] no[301] | 'gninā 'gniḥ saṃsṛjyate[302] kavir gṛhapatir yuvā havyavāḍ juhvāsyaḥ[303] || tvaṃ hy agne[304] agninā vipro[305] vipreṇa san satā sakhā sakhyā samidhyase || sa no rāsva suvīryam[306] iti madhyata opyā 'tha saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayet || 7 || atha[307] ya[307] āhitāgnis[307] tantre[307] pravāse mṛtaḥ syāt[308] kathaṃ tatra kuryāt | katham asyā 'gnihotraṃ juhuyur[309] | anyavatsāyā[310] goḥ payase | 'ty āhur[311] adugdhāyā[311] vā śūdradugdhāyā vā[311] | 'sarvaṃ[312] vā etat payo yad[313] anyavatsāyā goḥ śūdradugdhāyā vā 'sarvaṃ[314] vā etad agnihotraṃ yan mṛtasyā 'gnihotraṃ[315] | tāvad

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maṃtreṇo 'ddhṛtya hiraṇyaṃ puraskṛtya rajataṃ puraskṛtye 'ti prātaḥ || [sāyaṃ] hiraṇyam agrato hṛtvā "havanīyasya paścād (dhiraṇyaṃ) nidhāya | prātaḥ rajatam agrato hṛtvā "havanīyasya purastān nidhāye 'ti viśeṣaḥ | tato praṇayana-maṃtreṇa nidhāyā 'gniṃ pratiṣṭhāpayet | tato 'gnaye jyotiṣmate svāhā | agnaye jyotiṣmata idaṃ | varuṇāya svāhā | agnaye jyotiṣmata idaṃ | varuṇāya svāhā | varuṇāye 'daṃ (Ap. 9. 9. 14; corr.) | iti pūrṇāhutiṃ hutvā tasmin evā 'gnau homa-samāptiḥ | Beim Erlöschen des Āhavanīya-Feuers soll ebenso wie bei dem des Dakṣiṇāgni (cf. unten 6. 1) verfahren werden; jedoch ist ibid. folgende Differenz vorgeschrieben: Āhavanīyasyo 'ttara-paścima-deśe prahvas tiṣṭhan dhātā dhātṛṇām (RV. 10. 128. 7) ity ādinā trī[ṇi] kāṣṭhāny ādadhātī 'ti viśesaḥ || ubhayor nāśe dakṣiṇāgniṃ praṇīyā "havanīyam api praṇī[ya] pūrvavad āhavanīya-prāyaścittādi kṛtvā paścāt pūrvavad dakṣiṇāgni-prāyaścittādi kuryād ||

[297] Brahm. Prāy. 62a: āhavanīyānugame 'pi praṇīya hutvā śvo bhūte gnaye 'gnimate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ nirvapet | cf. ibid. Bl. 56a folg.: yasyā 'gnā[v] agnim abhyuddhareyur (vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6) bhavatam naḥ samanasāv (Kauś. 108. 2) ity abhimaṃtryā 'gnaye 'gnimate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ nirvapet | yasya yajamānasya daivān mānuśād vā pramādād agnāv uddhṛte praṇīte vidyamāna eva punar abhyuddhareyus tatrā 'bhimukhyeno "rddhvam uddhareyur . . . . . bhava(na)tan naḥ samanasāv iti . . . [298] ACD śivo B śive [299] CD bhavatum. [300] ABC adhya [301] A to; Kauś. 108. 2. [302] C samsṛjāte [303] RV. 1. 12. 6. [304] ABC fügen agnir ein. [305] RV. 8. 43. 14. [306] RV. 5. 13. 5; 8. 98. 12. [307] A atha āhitāgnis tantraprāvāse B atha ya āhitāgni tetre pravāse C atha yasyāhitāgniḥ taṃtre [308] cf. Āp. 9. 11. 22; K. Ś. 25. 8. 9; vgl. die Anm. 318; 514. [309] A juyuran B juhuyāranye C juhuyuranye D juhuyātranye [310] A nyavatsāyā B 'nyaº C nyavatsīyā [311] Diese Stelle ist im Original verderbt. A liest diese und die zwischenliegenden Worte: āhuś tad adugdhāyā vā sarvaṃ vā pṛtanyayo yajñenā 'nyavatsāyā gauḥ śūdradugdhāyā vā BC āhuḥ śūdradugdhāyā vā (C vāt) sarvaṃ vā etyayojanye (C jñe) nā 'nya (C 'nā-)-vatsāyā goḥ śūdradugdhāyā evā (evā) D āhu śūdradugdhāyā vā [312] A sarvāṃ [313] fehlt bei CD. [314] fehlt bei ABCD. [315] cf. Ait Brāhm. 7. 2.

agniṃ[316] paricareyur yāvad[317] asthnām[317] āharaṇam[318] | āhṛtyā 'gnibhiḥ[319] saṃspṛśya taṃ pitṛmedhena[320] samāpnuyur | atha yaḥ[321] samāropitā-'samāropite mṛtaḥ syāt kathaṃ tatra kuryāt | so 'gnaye tantumate pathikṛte vratabhṛte[322] puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped ekakapālaṃ saptakapālaṃ navakapālaṃ | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | saṃsthitahomeṣu | tvam agne saprathā asi[323] yena pathā vaivasvataḥ[324] tvam agne vratapā asī[325] | 'ti madhyata opya (atha) saṃsrāvabhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed | atha naṣṭe araṇī syātām[326] anyayor araṇyor vihṛtya taṃ[326] mathitvai 'tābhir eva hutvā 'thai 'naṃ samāpnuyuḥ[327] ‖ 8 ‖ atha yasyo

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[316] D agnihotraṃ [317] A yāvavadasthnām (?) B yāvadasīnām D yāvadasthīnām. [318] Agn. Prāy. 4b: *adhve pramītasyā* (cf. oben Anm. 308) 'bhivānyavatsāyāḥ payasā 'gnihotraṃ tūṣṇīṃ sarvahutaṃ juhuyur ā samavāyāt | pāthikṛtīṃ kṛtvā tasminn eva vihāre abhivānyavatsāyāḥ payasā tūṣṇīṃ | dharmakāmā 'gnihotraṃ sakṛd eva sarvaṃ juhuyur | nā 'tra bhakṣo 'sti | pūrvāṅgāny uttarāṅgāny api tūṣṇīm eva bhavaṃti kālas tu sāyaṃ prātar eva | ā śarīrasyā 'gni-saṃbaṃdhatvāt | pradhāne prajāpatidhyānaṃ karttavyaṃ | yady āhitāgnir aparapakṣe mriyetā "hutibhir enaṃ pūrvapakṣaṃ hareyuḥ | pakṣahoma-nyāyena | ; cf. Āśv. Prāy. 2b: atha pravāsa-mṛtasyā "hitāgner viśeṣaḥ | putrādayaḥ pāthikṛtīṃ kṛtvā "hitāgni-śarīrasyā 'gnibhiḥ saṃbandha-paryaṃtaṃ mṛtavatsāyā goḥ payasā tūṣṇīṃ sarvahutaṃ juhuyuḥ | prajāpatiṃ manasā dhyātvā svāhe 'ti maṃtreṇa bhakṣaṇa-varjaṃ sāṃgaṃ pradhānaṃ kartavyaṃ ‖ athavā yājyā-puronuvākyābhyāṃ pūrṇāhutiṃ juhuyāt | athā "hitāgner apara-pakṣe maraṇa-śaṃkā syāt tadā pakṣahoma-nyāyenā 'vaśiṣṭā-'gnihotrā-"hutayo darśeṣṭiś ca kartavyā ‖ nā 'tra kālaniyamaḥ ‖ evaṃ cāturmāsyā-'ntarāle maraṇa-śaṃkāyāṃ..... ‖ maraṇa-śaṃkāyāṃ karaṇā-'saṃbhave maraṇā-'naṃtaram apy.....kāryāṇi ‖ [319] B āhatāgnibhiḥ C āhṛ(?) tāgnibhiḥ [320] BCD pitṛmedhe tena [321] C yaṃ [322] cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 27 folg., wo die Fälle aufgezählt werden, in denen dem Agni vratabhṛt geopfert werden soll. [323] cf. oben 2. 1. [324] Gemeint ist der schon oben zitierte Spruch = AV. XIX 59. 1. [325] RV. 8. 11. 1. [326] Diese und die inzwischenliegenden Worte liest A: syātām anyayor araṇyor vihutya ta B syāt tayor araṇyor vihatyaṃ taṃ C syāt tayor ara vihṛtya taṃ D syāt tayor araṇyor vihṛtyaṃta [327] Āśv. Prāy. 7a folg.: atha samārūḍheṣv agniṣv araṇīnāśe 'gnyādheyaṃ punarādheyaṃ vā kartavyaṃ | vahniṣu satsu araṇī-nāśe prāyaścittaṃ punar-ādhāna-varjaṃ ‖ araṇī-nāśa-nimittāni ‖ dāho maṃthanaṃ ca ‖ [Śloka:] manuṣyā-'sthi śavaṃ viṣṭhā rajo viṇ mūtram eva ca svedo 'śru pūyikā śleṣma madyaṃ cā 'medhyam ucyate ‖ śṛgālā-'ṃtyaja-kuṇapa-pratilomaja-rajasvalā-sūtikā-patita-śūdra-vāyasa-rāsabha-śūkara-kāka-kukkuṭādyāḥ ‖ agnyādhānaṃ go-pitṛ-yajñavarjaṃ ‖ baudhāyanānāṃ tasya prathama[ḥ] prayoga evā 'vaśyakatvāt ‖ anyatarā-'raṇi-nāśe 'nyatarāṃ chittvā araṇidvayaṃ kṛtvā maṃthanaṃ kartavyam iti ‖ araṇī etaiḥ saṃspṛṣṭe bhavataṃ naḥ samanasāv (VS. 5. 3) iti jale nikṣipyā 'māvāsyāyāṃ nave araṇī maṃtreṇā "hṛtya darśene 'ṣṭvā navā-

'pākṛtaḥ paśuḥ prapatet[328] kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | spṛtibhir juhuyād[329] vāyave niyutvate yavāgūṃ[330] nirupyā[331] 'nyaṃ tadrūpaṃ tadvarṇam ālabhetā[332] | "jyenā 'bhighārya paryagni kṛtvo 'pākurvītai | 'te[333] vai[333] devaspṛtayo[333] | agneṣ ṭe vācaṃ spṛṇomi svāhā | vātāt te prāṇaṃ spṛṇomi svāhā | sūryāt te cakṣu spṛṇomi svāhā | candrāt te mana spṛṇomi svāhā | digbhyas te jyoti[334] spṛṇomi svāhā | 'dbhyas te rasaṃ spṛṇomi svāhā | 'sthibhyas te majjānaṃ spṛṇomi svāhā | snehebhyas te snāvānaṃ spṛṇomi svāhau | 'ṣadhībhyas te lomāni

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'raṇyor agnīn maṃtreṇa samāropya maṃthanasyā "vṛtā mathitvā tantumatīm iṣṭiṃ kuryāt | agnis taṃtumān devatā | tantuṃ tanvan . . . priyaṃ (RV. 10. 53. 7) sā-'nvāhārya-śarāva-parimita odano dakṣiṇā śeśaṃ (?) paurṇamāsavat | atha vahniṣu satsu jīrṇā-'raṇi-prāyaścittaṃ ‖ jaṃtubhir maṃthanena jīrṇe araṇī vijāyete | tat-sadṛśe nave araṇī maṃtreṇa āhṛtyā 'māvāsyāpratipadi darśene 'ṣṭvā jīrṇāraṇī śalkīkṛtya gārhapatye kṣiptvā prajvālya dakṣiṇa-kareṇa navo-'ttarā-'raṇiṃ savyenā 'dharā-'raṇim ādāya agner upari dhārayan niṣṭapati ‖ udbudhyasvā 'gne praviśasva yonim anyāṃ devayajyāyāṃ vai jatavedaḥ | araṇyā 'raṇīm anusaṃkramasva jīrṇāni nūm (?) ajīrṇayā nudasva ‖ tato ['']yaṃ te yonir ṛtviyo . . . . . °giraḥ (RV. 3. 29. 10) ‖ iti samāropya mathitvā 'gnīn vihṛtya manasvatyā caturgṛhīta-homaḥ ‖ taṃtumatī-'ṣṭiṃ pūrṇāhutiṃ vā kuryāt ‖ ukta-nimittair araṇī-nāśe pratyakṣa-vahnir yadi naśyet tadā 'gny-ādhānam iti baudhāyanaḥ‖ mūtra-viḍ-retaś-ci[t]ti-kāṣṭha-śleṣma-pūty-aśru-karpaṭā-'sthy-ādibhir amedhyair agnisaṃsarge samāropya mathitve 'ṣṭiḥ | tasyāṃ devatā ‖ agnir pavamānaḥ ‖ agnir pāvakaḥ ‖ agniḥ śucir iti ‖ pūrṇāhutayo vā ‖ aśaktau punas tvā "dityā rudrā vasavaḥ (samiṃdhatāṃ) punar brāhmaṇo vasunītha *rudraiḥ* ghṛtena tvaṃ tanuvo vardhayasva satyāḥ saṃtu yajamanasya kāmā (VS. 12. 44) iti maṃtreṇo 'pasamiṃdhanaṃ kuryāt | udakabiṃdu-pāte 'py etad eva ‖ caṇḍāla-patita-rajasvalā-sūtikasya [spa]rśe agnyādheyaṃ ‖ caturdine snānānaṃtaraṃ sparśe samāropya mathitvā 'gnaye śucaye 'ṣṭākapālaṃ nirvapet ‖ pūrṇāhutiṃ vā ‖ cf. Agn. Prāy. 13 b: agniṣv araṇyoḥ samārūḍheṣv araṇyor nāśe 'gnyādheyaṃ punarādheyaṃ vā karttavyaṃ | anyatarā-'raṇī-nāśe 'pi bhavati | Der in obigen Zitaten erwähnten Verunreinigung des heiligen Feuers gedenkt unser Traktat nicht ausführlicher; dagegen sprechen z. B. Agn. Prāy. 19 a von einem udakā-"dinā 'gny-upaghāta-prāyaścittaṃ | : punas tvā . . . . kāmāḥ (VS. 12. 44) iti samit-prakṣepaḥ ‖ und von Selbstentzündung des Opferfeuers der gleiche Text ibid.: svayaṃ-prajvalana-prāyaścittaṃ | uddīpyasva . . . . . paripātaye 'ti (TA. 10. 1. 4. 5) pratimaṃtram ekaikaṃ samidham ādadhyāt (m)agnihotra-prārabdha-karmasu | ā samāpter.

[328] cf. unten 5. 5. [329] Vgl. hierzu Ś. Br. 11. 8. 4. 6; K. Ś. 25. 6. [330] BC yavāstaṃ. [331] A nirūpyā B tiruhyā CD nirūpyāṃ. [332] Das Entfliehen und Zugrundegehen des Opfertieres erheischt Sühne: K. Ś. 25. 9. 1; cf. unten 6. 7: aśvamedhe ced aśvo nā "gacchet . . . [333] A °kurvītetyevaidevāspṛta tayo B °kurvīteyotavai CD °kurvītenyotavai [334] A jyoti, verändert in digbhya BCD diśāṃ

spṛṇomi svāhā | pṛthivyās te śarīraṃ spṛṇomi svāhā | 'ntarikṣāt[335] ta ākāśaṃ spṛṇomi svāhā | mānuṣāt[336] ta ākāśād divyam[337] ākāśaṃ spṛṇomi svāhe | 'ndrāt te[335] balaṃ spṛṇomi svāhā | somāt te rājñaḥ[338] kīrttiṃ[339] yaśaś ca spṛṇomi svāhe | 'ti ca hutvā °thai 'naṃ punaḥ pradiśati vāyave tve[340] 'ty | atha yasyo 'pākṛtaḥ paśur mriyeta kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | spṛtibhir eva hutvā 'thai 'nam anudiśaty ṛtave tve[341] 'ty | atha yasyo 'pākṛtaḥ paśuḥ saṃśīryeta kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | spṛtibhir eva[342] hutvā 'thai[342] 'nam anudiśati | rakṣobhyas tve 'ti | nā 'nudeśanam ity āhur | yo vā eṣa prapatito bhavati tad yad enam adhigacheyur[343] atha tena yajetā | 'tha yāv[344] etau śīrṇa-mṛtau bhavatas[344] tayoḥ prajñātāny avadānāny avadāye 'tarasya vā paśoḥ saṃpraiṣaṃ kṛtvā brāhmaṇān paricareyur apo vā 'bhyupahareyuḥ spṛtibhir[345] | yadi vā 'nyaḥ syā[c][346] chāmitram[346] enaṃ prāpayeyus[347]..... spṛtibhir eva hutvā śāmitram evai 'naṃ prāpayeyur | ata ūrdhvaṃ prasiddhaḥ paśubandho | 'tha ya upatāpinaṃ yājayet[348] kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | spṛtibhir eva hutvā 'gado haiva[349] bhavaty | atha ced 'bahava upatāpinaḥ syuḥ kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | spṛtibhir eva hutvā 'gado hai 'va bhavaty | atha yo 'dhiśrite 'gnihotre yajamāno mriyeta kathaṃ tatra kuryāt | tatrai 'vai 'tat paryādadhyād yathā sarvaśaḥ saṃdahyete[350] 'ty | athā "havanīya ājyāhutiṃ juhuyād | yajña eti vitataḥ kalpamāna[351] | ity etaya

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[335] A liest statt dieser und der inzwischenliegenden Worte nur: °ntarikṣā śaṃspṛṇomi svāhā tte; BC lesen statt 'ndrāt te: °ndrāddhi D: °ndrādvi [336] BC manuṣāt [337] C divām; D divam [338] A rājā BCD rajñā [339] ACD kīrttir B kīrtti [340] V. S. 7. 7. [341] A ṛtaṃ vetyety BCD ṛtave tvety atha [342] Bei A verderbt. [343] D adhivyāyacheyur BC adhivyāgacheyur; vyā offenbar nur dittographisch aus dhi entwickelt. [344] Statt dieser und der inzwischenliegenden Worte liest A yāceto sau śīrṇamṛto bhavata BC yācai [C vai] taugnau sīrṇa (C rṇṇa) mṛtau bhavatas; D yā vaitāgnau śīrīrṇamṛtau bhavataḥ [345] A catasṛbhir C spṛtibhi [346] BCD °syām amitram [347] Das folgende, im Text Ausgelassene ist ganz verderbt: A tad āha śaṃ vai saṃdhrīyaṃ ca haratīty atha nu katham iti tat paṃcāsayaṃvājya vahanti B tadāha śaṃ vī saṃdhī 'yaṃ ca haratī 'ty atha nu kam iti tat paṃcāsapaṃcājya vaharanti C tadā śaṃ vī saṃdhrīyaṃ ca haratīty atha nu katham iti tat paṃcāsapaṃcājya vaharanti; D tad āha śaṃ cī sadhrīyaṃ ca haratīty atha nu katham iti tat paṃcāsapaṃcājyavaharaṃti; l. etwa: tad āha śaṃyu sadhryañcaṃ haratī 'ty | atha nu katham iti paṃcāsa-paṃcāsa (?) vahanti [348] A yojayet [349] haiva fehlt bei ABC. [350] cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 2. [351] AV 18. 4. 13.

rcā | 'tha ya aupavasathye[352] 'hani yajamāno mriyeta katham tatra kuryāt | tatrai 'vai 'tat pradadhyād yathā sarvaśaḥ saṃdahyete 'ty | athā "havanīya ājyāhutiṃ juhuyād | yajña eti vitataḥ kalpamāna[351] ity etayarcā | 'tha yaḥ samāsanneṣu[353] haviḥṣu yajamāno mriyeta katham tatra kuryāt | tatrai 'vai 'tat[354] paryādadhyād yathā sarvaśaḥ saṃdahyerann ity | athā "havanīya ājyā-"hutiṃ juhuyād | ape 'maṃ jīvā arudhan gṛhebhya[355] | ity etayarcā | 'tha yo dīkṣito mriyeta katham enaṃ daheyus | tair evā 'gnibhir ity āhur | havyavāhanāś cai 'te me[356] bhavanti tat kavyavāhanā ity | atha nu katham iti | śakṛtpiṇḍais tisra ukhāḥ[357] pūrayitvā tāḥ prādadh[y]us | tā dhūnuyus | tā[358] susaṃtāpā ye[358] 'gnayo[358] jāyeraṃs taiḥ samāpnuyuḥ | bahir[359] vā evaṃ (bhavan)ti te no vai 'te | tasya[359] tad eva brāhmaṇaṃ yad adaḥ[360]-puraḥ[361] savane[361] pitṛmedha[362] āśiṣo[363] vyākhyātās | taṃ yadi purastāt tiṣṭhantam upavadet taṃ brūyād vasūnāṃ tvā devānāṃ vyātte 'pi dadhāmi | gāyatrīṃ parṣām[364] adhaḥśirā 'vapadyasve 'ti | taṃ yadi dakṣiṇatas tiṣṭhantam upavadet taṃ brūyād rudrāṇāṃ tvā devānāṃ vyātte[365] 'pi dadhāmi | traiṣṭubhīṃ[366] parṣām[367] adhaḥśirā 'vapadyasve 'ti | taṃ yadi paścāt tiṣṭhantam upavadet taṃ brūyād ādityānāṃ tvā devānāṃ vyātte 'pi dadhāmi | jāgatīṃ parṣām[368] adhaḥ-[368] śirā 'vapadyasve 'ti | taṃ yady uttaratas tiṣṭhantam upavadet taṃ brūyād[369] | viśveṣāṃ tvā devānāṃ vyātte 'pi dadhāmy | ānuṣṭubhīṃ parṣām adhaḥśirā 'vapadyasve 'ti | taṃ yady antardeśebhyo vā tiṣṭha-

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[352] A upavasathye, verändert in au°; BC pavasathye D apavasathye; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 2. [353] A yaḥ samāsattreṣu B masamāsaṃ neṣu; C samāsasattreṣu D mamāsanneṣu; unsere Lesung nach Ait. Brāhm. 7. 2. [354] A tat [355] AV. 18. 2. 27. [356] D ne [357] Die Mss. scheinen uṣāḥ zu lesen. [358] A tāḥsusaṃtāpayed agnaye BD tāmaṃsaṃtāpaye gnayo C tāmaṃ saṃtānaṃ saṃtāpāye gnayo [359] Bloße Wiedergabe einer kaum verständlichen und jedenfalls sehr korrupten Stelle nach Ms. A. B barhiṣy eva bhavaṃte no vai te tasya C barhir vā eva bhavaṃti tenodaite tasya D teno ete yad adobarhiṣā vā eva bhavati teno vai te tasya; l. etwa: teno ete yad adobarhiṣā vā eva bhavanti teno vai te? [360] D ahaḥ [361] AB purasavane [362] A pitṛmedhā [363] A āśaṣo B ādiṣo cf. Gop. Br. 1. 5, 22. [364] D pariṣām [365] In den Mss. vyātte = vyādatte; so D an dieser Stelle und bei allen ihren Wiederholungen. [366] B traiṣṭubhaṃ C bhā [367] BC pariṣaṃdhaḥ [368] B paviṣāmadhaḥ C pariṣāmadhaḥ [369–370] A läßt diese und die inzwischenliegenden Worte aus.

ntam upavadet taṃ brūyāt[370] ..... | tasmai namas kuryāt | sa cet prati namas kuryāt kuśalenai 'vai 'naṃ[371] yojayet[372] | sa[373] cen[373] na[373] prati namas kuryāt tenā 'bhicaret | savyam[374] agranthinā prasavyam agnibhiḥ parīyād[375] | vatsaro 'si[375] parivatsaro 'si saṃvatsaro 'sī[376] 'ti | taṃ[377] yadi[377] jighāṃsed[377] yayoḥ[377] sarvam iti sūktena bādhakīḥ[378] samidho 'bhyādadhyāt | tṛtīyāhaṃ nā 'tijīvaty[379] | atha yo hotā 'rddhahuta ucchiṣṭaḥ[380] syāt[380] sahaiva tenā "camyā 'gnir mā pātu vasubhiḥ purastad[381] ity etāṃ japtvā yathā-'rthaṃ kuryād yathārthaṃ kuryāt ‖ 9 ‖ iti *yajñaprāyaścitte dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ*[382] ‖

athā 'to somarūpāṇi vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | prajāpatir manasi | sārasvato vāci[383] visṛṣṭāyāṃ[383] | vidhānaṃ[384] dīkṣāyāṃ | brahmavrate savitā[385] saṃdhīyamāne[386] 'ndho 'cheto[386] divyaḥ[387] suparṇaḥ parikhyāto | 'ditiḥ prāyaṇīye[388] | paśuṣṭhā nyupto[389] | yajño[390] hūyamāno[391] | bhadro vicīyamānaḥ[392] | chaṃdāṃsi mīyamāno[393] | bhagaḥ paṇyamāno | 'suraḥ krīto | varuṇo 'pasaṃnaddhaḥ | pūṣā somakrayaṇe[394] | śipiviṣṭo "rāv[395] āsādyamāno[395] | bṛhaspatir utthito | vāyur[396] abhihriyamāṇo[397] | 'dhipatiḥ prohyamāṇo | 'gnīṣomīyaḥ paśav[398] | atithi[399] (rudro | varuṇaḥ[400]) sadātithye | varuṇaḥ saṃrāḍ | āsandyām[401] āsādyamāna[401] | aindrāgno[402] 'gnau[403]

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[370] Den zweifellos hier fehlenden Spruch haben sämtliche Mss. ausgelassen. [371] A kuśalam evainaṃ C kuśalenaitenaṃ [372] D yājayet [373] A sa veṃta B sa ce tan ra C sa cenra; D sa cet [374] fehlt bei B. [375] Bei BCD fehlt: pariyād vatsaro si [376] VS 27.45. [377] A tayaṃdirjighāṃsaghaṃyoḥ BCD taṃ yadi jighāṃsevyayoḥ [378] Verwendung des bādhaka-Holzes bei bösem Zauber: s. Pet. Wb. u. bādhaka und die allerdings unklare Stelle AP 24. 1. 6. [379] CD nātijīvayaty [380] A utsiṣṭhasyāt BC u(c)chiṣṭa syāt l.: uttiṣṭhāset (vgl. PW.) [381] AV. 19. 17. 1. [382] D ity atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścittaprasaṃge daśamo 'dhyāyaḥ ‖ [383] vāvivisṛṣṭāyām C vaccivi° [384] D vidhāna [385] D savitāraṃ [386] Texte unklar °māne aḍaste? °māne a-uste? [387] C divyaṃ [388] C prāyaṇīyo B prāyaṇī [389] So nach BC. [390] C yajñe [391] D °māne [392] ABCD vai bhī° [393] AD vai mīyamāno BC vai mīmāno [394] ABC °ṇā D °ṇaṃ [395] A °ṣṭor āsā°; BCD °ṣṭorāvasā°; sprachlich möglich wäre es, statt ūrāv: ūrū zu rekonstruieren, unter Anwendung eines anfechtbaren Sandhi also zu lesen: °ṣṭo "rv āsā°; vgl. śipiviṣṭa āsāditaḥ TS. 4. 4. 9. 1 K. Ś. 34. 14. [396] C ḍhāsur? [397] A abhidbhiyamāṇo B abhirhriyamāṇo CD abhihrīyamāṇo [398] BCD paśave [399] A ātithye [400] BCD vāruṇaḥ [401] B āsadyaṃ vatsādyamāna C āsaṃccāvatsādyāmāṇa D āsaṃdyāvatsādyamāṇa [402] ABC °gnau [403] ABCD lassen 'gnau weg.

mathyamāna | aindrāgno 'gnau[404] praṇīyamāne[404] | sāma[405] tānūnaptre[405] | tapo 'vāntaradīkṣāyāṃ | pṛthivy upasady | antarikṣam upasadi | dyaur upasadi | yajñasya pramā[406] 'bhimo 'nmā[406] pratimā vedyāṃ kriyamāṇāyāṃ | paśava uttaravedyāṃ | dyaur havirdhāne | 'ntarikṣam āgnīdhrīye | pṛthivī sadasi ‖ 1 ‖ prāṇa uparaveṣu | bhrātṛvyā dhiṣṇyeṣu | paśavo barhiṣi[407] | vedyāṃ stīryamāṇāyām | apsu[408] visarjane[408] | prajāpatir hriyamāṇo[409] | 'gnir āgnīdhrīye | vaiṣṇava āsannakarmaṇi | hasto visṛṣṭo[410] | vaiṣṇavo yūpa | oṣadhayo raśanāyāṃ[411] | medha āprīṣu[412] | haviḥ paryagnikṛtaḥ[413] | pitṛdevatyaḥ paśau saṃjñapyamāne | yajñasya mithunaṃ pannejaneṣu[414] | rakṣasāṃ bhāgadheyaṃ vapāyām[415] udgṛhyamāṇāyāṃ | yajñasya saṃtatir vasatīvarīṣv abhihriyamāṇāsv[416] | indrāgnyor dhenur dakṣiṇasyām[417] uttaravedi[418]-śroṇyām[419] avasādayati[420] | mitrāvaruṇayor dhenur | uttarasyām uttaravedi-[418] śroṇyām[419] avasādayati[421] | viśveṣāṃ devānām āgnīdhrīye | chaṃdāṃsy upavasathe[422] | havir upāvahṛtaḥ[423] | sārasvataḥ[424] prātaranuvāke | 'tharvā 'bhyuptaḥ | prajāpatir vibhajyamāne | devatā vibhakte | 'ndro vṛtrahe 'ndro[425] 'bhimātihendro[426] indro vṛtratur[427] unnīyamāna | āyur upāṃśv-[428] antaryāmayor | yamo 'bhihitaḥ ‖ 2 ‖ nibhūyapurādhāvanīye[429] supūtaḥ pūtabhṛti suśukra[430]-śrīr[431] maṃtha[432]-śrīḥ

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[404] fehlt bei A; D °gno [405] A sārasvato nupāpte B sāsatī nūyāpte C sāsatī yāpte; D sāsatītaghrāme [406] A pramābhimatonmā pratimā vedyantarikṣaṃm upasadi dyaur upasadi yajñasya pramābhimatonmā pratimā B setzt an Stelle dieser Wiederholung: pramādisamonmā C pramāhisāmonmā; D pramābhimate hi mā [407] ABC barhiṣu [408] A aśuvisarjane C apśutisarjane [409] A hīyamāṇe C hrīyamāne D hrīyamāṇo [410] C tisṛṣṭo [411] B raśanāṃyāṃ C rajñaśanāyāṃ [412] D āprītya [413] A paryagnittataṃ [414] ABCD patnīja° [415] A capāpām B vamāyām [416] A abhidrīyamāṇāsv B abhihriyamāṇesv D abhihrīyamāṇaṃsv [417] D uttarasyām; vielleicht besser. [418] B °vediḥ [419] ABC °ṇyāṃ [420] A vacasaṃ nodayati D vamasāṃ nodayati BC vasaṃnodayati; vielleicht die Lesart von BC (vasan no 'da°) beizubehalten. [421] B vasannodayati D vedinodayati (sic!) C vasaṃnodayati A avasādayati; vielleicht auch hier mit BC zu lesen. [422] BC upavasatho; D upavathyo [423] A ūpāvahataḥ B upāhataḥ C upāvahūtaḥ D ūvahataḥ [424] C sārasvatāḥ [425] fehlt bei B. [426] A bhimātir° D bhimater° [427] A vṛtraghna D vṛtraghnīr [428] B uṇaṃśv [429] AD nidhāya° [430] BC śukraḥ [431] C śrī [432] A matha D mayaḥ

saktuśrīḥ kṣīraśrīḥ kakubhaḥ pātreṣu[433] | vāyur bahiṣpavamāne[434] | hotrā[435] pravare | vasavaḥ prayājeṣu | yaddevatyaḥ somas[436] taddevatyaḥ[436] paśur | vaiśvadeva unnīyamāna[437] | aindrāgna unnīto | rudro hūyamāno | vāto māruto gaṇo[438] 'bhyāvṛtto | nṛcakṣāḥ[439] pratikhyāto[440] | bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇaḥ | sakhā[441] bhakṣitaḥ | pitaro nārāśaṃsā[442] | [ā]gneyaṃ prātaḥsavanam | aindraṃ mādhyaṃdinaṃ savanaṃ | yajño dakṣiṇāyām | aindrāṇi pṛṣṭhāni | vaiśvadevaṃ tṛtīya-savanaṃ | vaiśvānaro 'gniṣṭomam | aindrāvaruṇaṃ maitrāvaruṇasyo 'kthaṃ[443] bhavaty | aindrābārhaspatyaṃ[444] brāhmaṇācchaṃsina ukthaṃ[445] bhavaty | aindrāvaiṣṇavam achāvākasyo 'kthaṃ[446] bhavaty | aindraḥ ṣoḍaśīrātraḥ[447] | paryāyā[448] "gneyo[448] | rāthaṃtaraḥ sandhiḥ[449] | sauryam āśvinam[450] | ahar yajña | ādityā anuyājeṣu | yad antarā kriyate sa samudro | varuṇo 'vabhṛthe[451] | samudra ṛjīṣe | yad[452] avāre[452] tīrthaṃ[452] tat prāyaṇīyaṃ | yat pāre tad udayanīyaṃ[453] | vaiṣṇavo vaśāyāṃ | svar divi | kāsu[454] brahma[454] samiṣṭyām[454] ‖ 3 ‖ yasyā[455] yasyā[455] 'ṃtataḥ[455] somo vyāpadyeta tasyai tasyai devatāyā[456] iṣṭiṃ nirvaped ājyahomān vā | 'tha juhuyāt | tvāṃ[457] yajño viṣṇur[458] iti ca | tvāṃ yajño viṣṇur yajña-viṣṇū anūnaṃ[459] hitvā[460] ātmānaṃ deveṣu vidayāmīti[461] | vanaspate[462] 'ṃtataḥ[463] syā 'nuṣṭubhaṃ chaṃdaso yaṃ tam abhyukta etena saṃdadhāmī 'ti saṃdhāya yan me skannam[464] iti skanne | yad asmṛtī[465] 'ti ca karmaviparyāse 'ti[466] ca[466] tad[466] yad[466]

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[433] C pavitreṣu [434] ABC barhi° [435] B hotrāḥ C hotra; vgl. Kāth.: hotrāḥ. [436] fehlt bei D [437] C °ne [438] gaṇe [439] AC nṛcakṣā [440] A praticakṣāto; dann folgt bei A bhakṣo bhakṣīyamānaḥ sarvobhakṣitaḥ B bhakṣo yamānaḥ savobhakṣitaḥ C bhakṣo bhakṣīyamānaḥ savobhakṣita [441] A sarvo BC savo D sayo. [442] C nārāyanaṃsā [443] AC °varuṇasyo 'chaṃ B °syecchu [444] B °bārhaspatye [445] AC ucchaṃ B uccha [446] ABC chaṃ [447] A ṣoḍaśārātriḥ BCD ṣoḍaśīrātri [448] ABCD paryāyāgneyo [449] A saṃdhi BC saṃdhiryā [450] A āśvina [451] A vabhṛthye [452] A yad avāre tīrthaṃ B yad ācātīreryaṃ CD yad ācāre tīrthaṃ [453] A udayatīyaṃ B udanīyaṃ [454] B kāsubrahmāmiṣṭyā C kāsubrahmāsamiṣṭyāṃ; D kāsubrahmaṇyām iṣṭyāṃ [455] A yasyāṃ yasyām aṃtataḥ C yasyā yasyā tataḥ; D yasyāṃ yasyā aṃtataḥ [456] C devatāyāḥ [457] D tvā [458] Korrupt. [459] D ān (mit Virāma) [460] A hatvā [461] A devayāmīti [462] D °ti [463] BD °ṃtata [464] Kauś. 6. 1 f.; Vait. 16. 17. [465] AV 7. 106. 1. [466] A karmaviparyāsetayad ṛktaṃ oṃ B karmaviparyāsotiyacadakta oṃ C karmaviparyāseti ya ca yaddṛkttā tu; D karmaviparyāseti ya cad ṛkta. Zum folg. vgl. Gop. Br. 1. 3. 3.

ṛkta[466] oṃ[466] bhūr janad[467] iti gārhapatye juhuyād | yadi yajuṣṭa[468] oṃ bhuvo[469] janad[470] iti dakṣiṇāgnau juhuyād | yadi sāmata[471] oṃ svar janad[470] ity āhavanīye juhuyād | yady atharvata[472] oṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ svar janad om ity āhavanīya eva juhuyād | atha daivatāny | āgneyaṃ hautraṃ | vāyavyam ādhvaryavaṃ | sauryam audgātraṃ | cāndramasaṃ brahmatvaṃ | tasya ha vā agnir hotā "sīd | vāyur adhvaryuḥ | sūrya udgātā | candramā brahmā[473] | pṛthivī vā ṛcām[474] āyatanam | agnir jyotir antarikṣaṃ (vai)[475] yajuṣām āyatanaṃ[476] | vāyur jyotir dyaur[477] (vai)[475] sāmnām āyatanam | āditya jyotir āpo 'tharvaṇām āyatanaṃ[475] candramā jyotir iti ca ‖ 4 ‖ atha yad avocāmā[478] "pattau[479] somaṃ[480] ce 'ti[481] yajamānaṃ ced[482] rājānaṃ[482] stena[483] ha vā prathamaś[484] cā "hareyuś cittavyāpatyur[485] vā bhaved[486] | ity āhā 'śmarathyo | ne | 'ty āhatuḥ kāṇva-gopāyanau | yadai 'va karmā 'bhy[487] adhvaryur[487] vihitas[488] tadai 'va sarvakratūn praty āpado vihitā | ity āhur ācāryā | atha katham atra[489] yajamānakarmāṇi syur | upacārabhakṣapratiś[490] ce[490] | 'ty adhvaryur asya yajamāna[491]- karmāṇi kuryād[492] | atra[493] yajamānā-"sane mārjālīye vā camasau nidhāya tatrā 'sya bhakṣakāle bhakṣāṇy upasthāpayeyur ā samiṣṭa-yajuṣo homāt | prāk samiṣṭa-yajur[494]

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467 fehlt in ABCD. 468 A yajuṣṭhaṃ C yajuṣṭaṃ 469 A bhuva 470 fehlt bei A. 471 A sāmataṃ 472 A atharvataṃ; cf. Brāhm. Prāy. 5 b: tatra bhūḥ svāhe 'ti gārhapatye juhotī 'ti varttate | tathau(!) ttarayor api yojyaṃ | yajuṣṭo bhuva svāhe 'ti dakṣiṇāgnau sāmataḥ svaḥ svāhe 'ti dakṣiṇāgnau sāmataḥ svaḥ svāhe 'ty āhavanīye ..... ibid. Bl. 6 a: tatrā "dhānā-'nukrameṇa pūrvaṃ gārhapatye dakṣiṇāgnāv āhavanīya iti homo vidhīyate | ṛgvedā-"dīnāṃ ca gārhapatyā-"dibhir abhisaṃbaṃdhaḥ | śrutyaṃtare ṛgvedo gārhapatyo yajurvedas tu dakṣiṇaḥ sāmavedas tu āhavanīyata iti | 473 Vgl. zu diesen Ausführungen KŚ 25. 1. 4—10. 474 kṣavām B unklar C yām 475 fehlt bei BCD 476 B fügt sāmnā ein. 477 CD dyauḥ 478 A avovāmā BC avocāmo 479 l.: [u]papattau? Der folgende Passus ist ganz korrupt und mir völlig unverständlich. 480 AC saumaṃ 481 D teti 482 A ced rājāna B ceṃd rājānaṃ C yeṃd rājānaḥ D caṃdrojānas 483 l. stenā? 484 C pramas 485 l.: vittaṃ? D vyāpalyur 486 BC bhaveyad D bhavaṃyad 487 A karmābhyadhvaryo BCD karmābhyuddhvāryau 488 A vihitat (?) 489 Bei ABC fehlt atra 490 A āpavārabhakṣapratiścety B upacārabhakṣapratiścaity C upacārabhakṣapratiścety; l.: prāyaścittety? 491 BC yajamānasya 492 ACD fügen hinter kuryād ein: adhy B acya 493 A fügt hinter atra ein: bhakṣabhakṣaṇāyā B bhakṣabhakṣanāpāryā C bhakṣabhakṣaṇāpāya D bhakṣabhakṣaṇāpāya l.: anyatra bhakṣabhaṣaṇāt pāyaya? 494 BC °yajña D °yaju

homāc[495] ced[495] yajamāna[495] āgacchet samastān eva bhakṣajapān japtvā bhakṣayec cheṣaṃ | samāpyā 'vabhṛtham abhyupeyuḥ[496] ‖ 5 ‖ atha ha yaṃ[497] jīvan[497] na[497] śrutipathaṃ gachet[498] kiyantam asya kālam agnihotraṃ juhuyur | yady eva hitam āyus tasyā 'śeṣaṃ prasaṃkhyā[ya][499] tāvantaṃ[500] kālaṃ[500] tad[501] asyā[501] 'gnihotraṃ hutvā 'thā 'sya prāyaṇīyena pracareyur | vyākhyātaḥ pātraviniyogo[502] 'pi[503] yathai 'va śarīrādarśane | sa cej jīvann[504] āgachet[504] kathaṃ vā proṣyā[505] "gatāya[505] yathākāryaṃ[505] karṃāṇi kuryāt | sa[506] cet svayamuttha[ḥ] syād punar asyā 'gnīn ādhāyā 'dbhutāni[507] vācako japam | iti hutvā mārjayitvā tato 'yam āgataḥ karmāṇi kuryāt[506] | sa cet punar anuttha[ḥ][508] syāt[508] tathā saṃsthitam evā 'sya[509] tad agnihotraṃ bhavati | jarāmaryaṃ[510] vā etat sattraṃ[511] yad agnihotram | iti ha śrutir bhavati[512] ‖ 6 ‖ atha ya[513] āhitāgnir[513] vipravasann agnibhiḥ pramīyeta[514] kathaṃ tatra pātraviniyogaṃ pratīyād | ity āhā 'śmarathyo[515] | yady anyāni pātrāṇi yajñā-"yudhānī[516] 'ty upasādya vihṛtyā 'gnim āhṛtya prajvālya vihareyur nirmathyaṃ[517] vā prajvālya vihared | ity etāvatā 'ṃgaprabhṛtibhiḥ[518] saṃsthāpyai 'vaṃ pātraviniyogam ity anuchādayed[519] | yad yad utsannāḥ[520] syur vāraṇīsahitāni[521] pātrāṇī | 'ty apsu samāvaped[522] | eṣā te 'gne[523] |

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495 A homādyajamāna 496 B upahareyuḥ C hareyuḥ 497 B jīvantaḥ D jīvanaḥ; (st. yaṃ l. yo) 498 Ein ähnlicher, z. B. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 9 erwähnter Fall ist der, daß man von dem Āhitāgni fälschlich hört, er sei gestorben; cf. (Āśv. Prāy. 8b): yasmiṃst āhitāgnau jīvaty eva mṛtaśabdaḥ śrūyeta | tadā 'gnaye surabhaye pūrṇāhutiḥ | cf. Agn. Prāy. 14b: surabhaya eva yasmiṃś jīve mṛtaśabdaḥ | yasminn āhitāgnau jīvaty eva mṛta iti yadi śabdaḥ saṃjāyeta tadā surabhimate 'ṣṭiḥ (!) kartavyā | 499 D °khyai 500 A tī varttamānakālaṃ A tā vrataṃ 501 A tasyā° 502 A °viniyoge 503 fehlt bei BCD 504 B jīvanaṃntāgachet CD jīvanaṃ nā "gachet 505 A prokṣāgatakāyadhākāya B proṣyagatakāya C proṣyagatakāyadhākāya; D preṣyāgatāya yathā kārya 506 Diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei D. 507 B ādhāyāṃdbhutāni C ādhāyāhadbhutāni 508 Mss. unklar; sie lesen hinter uttha syād die Silbe at; C utthāsyād at. 509 BC syāṃ 510 BC jarāmarya A jarāmardyaṃ D jarāmayaṃ 511 A sarvatra 512 D vadati 513 ABC yat tryāhitāgnir 514 cf. oben Anm. 308; — "agnibhiḥ" ist wohl zu streichen. 515 A °śmayorathyo B imayorathyo 516 A yajñāni yudhāny B yajāyudhīnity 517 B nirmathya 518 C °ṇgaḥ prabhṛ° 519 A anutsādayed B anuchāvayed 520 A udet saṃnā B utthaṃtā C utsaṃnā D utthaṃnā; zu erwarten wäre etwa: mārttikāḥ cf. unten 6. 6. 521 C vāruṇī°; l.: varuṇa°? 522 cf. oben Anm. 58. 523 VS 2. 14?

yo agnis[524] | tayā me[525] hy āroha tayā me hy āviśe[526] | 'ty aśmamayāni vā[527] lohamayāni vā brāhmaṇebhyaḥ pradadyād[528] | daśarātraṃ niyatavratā[ḥ] syuḥ | saṃvatsaraṃ cā 'pi gotriṇa | ekādaśyāṃ keśaśmaśru-lomanakhāni[529] vāpayitvā | 'dbhutāni prāyaścittāni[530] vācākāṃ[531] japam iti hutvā mārjayitvā[532] tato yathāsukhacāriṇo[533] bhavanti ‖ 7 ‖ atha yady enam anāhitāgnim iva vṛthā-'gninā[534] daheyur evam asyai 'ṣa[535] mṛtpātraviniyoge[536] | 'ti patnya[537] bhavatī | 'ty āhā 'śmarathyo | ne 'ty āhatuḥ kāṇvagopāyanau | yadai 'va kārmā 'bhy[538] adhvaryur[538] vihitas tadai 'va sarvakratūn praty āpado vihitā | ity āhur ācāryā | atha katham asyām āpattau yathai 'va śarīrā-'darśane vā samāmnātānām āpadāṃ[539] kathaṃ tatra pātraviniyogaṃ pratīyād ity āhā 'śmarathyo | 'raṇyor agnīn samāropya śarīrāṇām ardham . . . . . eṣā[540] tūṣṇīṃ nirmathya prajvālya vihṛtya madhye 'gnīnām[541] edhāṃś[541] citvā darbhān saṃstīrya tatrā 'sya śarīrāṇi nidadhyur | bhāruṇḍasāmāni gāpayed|yady[542] agāthaḥ[543] syād athā 'py asāma[544] kuryā[c] | charīrā-'darśane pālāśa-tsarūṇy[545] āhṛtyā 'thai 'tāni puruṣā-"kṛtīni kṛtvā ghṛt[en]ā 'bhyajya māṃsa[546]-tvagasthy asya ghṛtaṃ ca bhavatī 'ti ha vi(r)jñāyate[547] | yady āhavanīyo devalokaṃ yadi dakṣiṇāgniḥ pitṛlokaṃ yadi gārhapatyo mānuṣyalokaṃ | yadi yugapat sarveṣv asya[548] lokeṣv[548] avaruddhaṃ bhavatī 'ti ha vijñāyate | tasmād yugapad eva sarvāṃt sādayitvā 'tha yady enam an[v]ālabheta punar dahet | stenam[549] iva[549] tv[549] eva brūyād | yat kiṃ cā 'vidhivihitaṃ karma kriyate tasyai 'ṣai 'va sarvasya kḷptiḥ sarvasya prāyaścittiś ce | 'ti hi[550] śrutir bhavaty[551] | athā 'py atrā 'gner

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[524] AV. 12. 2. 7? [525] B pre [526] s. Gop. Br. 2. 4. 9; Vait. S. 24. 14. [527] BCD ca [528] Vgl. das unten unter 4. 1 und 6. 5 Gegebene; s. a. K. Ś. 25. 7. 32 folg. [529] BC roma° [530] D citta° [531] BCD kāṃ statt vācākāṃ vgl. oben 3. 6: vācako japam [532] fehlt bei D [533] AB °vāriṇo [534] bei D fehlt gninā [535] B asyaivā; AC asyaiṣā D asyaiṣāt [536] bei D fehlt mṛt [537] A patrya; l.: pātriyo? [538] D karmābhy uddhvāryau [539] A āpadīṃ [540] eṣā unverständlich; davor jedenfalls eine Lücke; D eṣāṃ [541] AD °nāmedhāṃ B °nāṃ medhāṃ C °nāmedhyaṃ [542] D yathā [543] ABC agāthā D gāthā [544] B asama C asāme D āsame [545] so mit sämtlichen Mss., vgl. Āp. 9. 11. 23. K. Ś. 25. 8. 15. [546] BCD māṃsaṃ [547] cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 2. [548] A unklar B avasya lokeṣv [549] D svenam ity [550] B ha [551] Hier endet nach D der Abschnitt 8; der Rest fehlt.

ayatā[552] somatanūr[552] bhavati | samanvāgamevāvāṃ[553] karmasu samanv ā 'trā "gamayed | yat kiṃcid yajñe viriṣṭam āpadyeta tasyai 'ṣai 'va sarvasya klṛptiḥ sarvasya prāyaścittiś ce | 'ti hi śrutir bhavati ‖ 8 ‖ athā 'taḥ sattriṇāṃ[554] vakṣyāmaḥ | pravṛtte[555] tantre 'ntastantre vā gṛhapatir[556] upatāpaḥ[557] yasyā[558] "yur[559] gṛhī[t]vā[560] 'nugacheḥ[561] kāmaṃ tasya putraṃ bhrātaraṃ vo 'padīkṣya[562] samāpnuyur | (na[563] samāpnuyur) | na[563] vā ṛtvijāṃ cai 'kam iva[564] | ne 'ty[564] āhā 'śmarathyo | na hi gṛhapater[565] upadīkṣā[566] vidyate | gṛhapatiṃ samīkṣya[567] yadi manyeta | jīved ayam ahorātrāv ity ekāhāny (ekadvivāsavane)[568] sarvāṇi savanāni samāveśayed | yasmiṃs tu samāveśayet tasya savanasya vaśam upayāntī 'tarāṇi | savanāni nānātantrāṇi ced api bhavanti durgāpattau ca[569] samāse[569] ve 'ṣṭīnāṃ[570] samāveśa[yed][571] vakṣyakāmo[571] | yāḥ[572] kāś cai 'katantrā[572] iṣṭaya[ḥ][573] syur avyavahitāḥ[574] kāmaṃ tā ekatantre[575] samāveśya haviṣām ānupūrvyeṇa pracaret | prāk sviṣṭakṛto[576] mukhaṃ tu pañcā-"jyā-"hutīr juhuyād | agnaye somāya viṣṇava indrāgnibhyāṃ prajāpataya iti | yadi sauviṣṭakṛtyā pracaranti khalu vai yadi bahūni vā sruveṇa yathāvadānenā[577] 'tikrāmet ‖ 9 ‖ athā 'taḥ sa[t]triṇāṃ vakṣyāmaḥ | pravṛtte tantre saṃnaddhe-'dhmā-barhiṣi paścāc candramasaṃ paśyed | ya[578] eṣā 'mā(mā)vāsyāyām[578] āgneyaḥ puroḍāśas taṃ pāthikṛtaṃ[579] karoti prakṛtye 'taraṃ vinai | 'tad yajñaś chidyate ya etām antareṣṭiṃ tanvīte | 'ti hi śrutir bhavaty | atha

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552 l.: āpattau? so 'tanur? 553 B samalage vācāṃ C samanvagevācā (tvā?) karma; sāma tv āgamayed (vāvāṃ) karmasu sāma vā 'trā "gamayed ‖ āgāpayed statt āgamayed zu lesen? also: im ersteren Falle soll man zu ihm wie zu einem Diebe (d. h.: leise) reden? l.: samanvāgame vācām? 554 ABC sattrāṇāṃ 555 ABD prakḷpte. 556 A ditt: gṛhapati 557 BD upatāpa 558 BCD syā 559 B "yu 560 B gahīvā 561 CD °nugachaḥ; dem Wortlaut nach für mich nicht rekonstruierbar. Dem Sinne nach: „Wenn der Hausherr während oder nach Vollendung eines Opfers krank wird oder stirbt . . . .“ 562 B °padī C padīkṣaṃ 563 B ne C läßt na aus. 564 ABCD ivānityā 565 ABCD° tir 566 upadīkṣya; A wiederholt die Worte von samāpnuyur bis upadīkṣā (sic!). 567 C samīkṣā 568 Soll wohl Glosse sein und gelautet haben: ekadivasāni 569 A vasamāso BCD casamāsau. 570 B vaiṣṭīnāṃ 571 A sāmā° BC samāveśavakṣakāmo 572 BC yāścaika° D kāścaikaṃ° 573 B dṛṣṭayaḥ 574 A avyavahita BC avyaveditāḥ 575 B yekatantrai 576 ABCD °kṛta 577 C yathāvaidānenā 578 B yeṣāmā° 579 B pākṛtaṃ C pāvi (?)kṛtaṃ

yasya paurṇamāsyaṃ (vā[580]) vyāpadyeta kāmaṃ tatra prākṛtīḥ[581] kuryāt | tad[582] ya[ḥ] kratur [dyāvākrato vā vāyo] vidyate[582] 'tha nirvapaty | āgneyam aṣṭākapālam aindram ekādaśakapālam āsādya havīṃṣi prāyaścittīr[583] juhuyād | yad udagān mahato mahimā asya[584] māno asya jagataḥ pārthivasya mā naḥ prāpad uchunā[585] kācid anyā | kasmai devāya haviṣā paridadema svāhe 'ty | athā 'taḥ paśubandhaḥ | pari yajñasya bhojyasya[586] bhojyavatkā[587] mo[588] ye[589] kecit tatrasthāḥ paśavaḥ somakāriṇā[590] teṣāṃ bhakṣabhakṣaṇaṃ | tad yathā | varāha-mārjā[ra]-māhiṣāṃ[591] śakuno[592] 'nyo 'vadānāni māṃsāni jāṃgalāni ca yady aśiṣaḥ[593] syān māsi māsi ṣaḍḍhotāraṃ juhuyāt | sūryaṃ te cakṣur gacchatu vāto ātmānaṃ prāṇo dyāṃ pṛṣṭham antarikṣam ātmāṅgair yajñaṃ pṛthivīṃ śarīraiḥ vācaspate 'chidrayā vācā 'chidrayā juhvā devāvṛdhaṃ divi hotrām airayat svāhe 'ti ṣaḍḍhotāraṃ hutvā[594] prajāpatiḥ sarvam eve 'dam utsṛjed | iti hi śrutir bhavati[595] || 10 ||

(ity[596] atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścitta-prasaṃge ekādaśo 'dhyāyaḥ[595] iti *yajñaprāyaścitte tritīyo 'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ.*

(sānnāyyaṃ[597] yad udbo-) dhayeyuś[598] ced vatsā[599] vāyavyā-(yā)[599] yavāgvā[599] sā[nnāy]yaṃ[599] yajetā[600] | 'py[600] ekasyā[ṃ]

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[580] vā fehlt bei B. [581] AC prākṛtī B kṛtī [582] A liest statt dieser und der zwischenliegenden Worte: vā krator vā vāyo vidyata; D nahyakratudyāvākrator vā vāyo vidyate; — statt ya kratur vermute ich: prakṛtir; möglich auch: tad yaḥ kṛto vā yo vā 'kṛto vidyate [583] A prāyaścittir B °ścitti C °ścittī; D °ścittiṃ [584] A asyam; dieses Zitat ist für mich unermittelbar. [585] l.: uchūnā? [586] fehlt bei B. [587] l. vielleicht: bhuktvā [588] l.: 'mī? [589] A pe [590] BD somakāriṇaṃ [591] A °-māhiṣāṃ BC °hiṣa; D °hiṣu [592] B śākuno AD śākunā; zu erwarten wäre: mahiṣāṇāṃ śakunānām [593] ACD °śiṣa; gemeint ist etwa: aśiśiṣuḥ; der Sinn des Satzes findet sich wieder z. B. Brāhm. Prāy. 77a: yadi śyeno vā māṃ[saṃ] haret | anyad vā sattvam anyad vā 'vadānaṃ yad apā[nṛkṣac chakunir?] iti juhuyāt | jede Berührung durch räuberische Tiere wie z. B. die Krähe ominös: AP 37. 2. 1. [594] ABC vihṛtvā K. Ś. 6. 1. 36. Zur Fassung dieses Textes gegenüber einer Reihe von anderen (s. Bloomfield, Conc. u.: vācaspate chidrayā . . .) neigen unsere Mss., wie die Lesungen von A: airaya B: airayaṃt CD airayaṃ beweisen. [595] Diese und die zwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei A; D °ṣaddhotāraṃ hutvā prajāpatiḥ [596] fehlt bei A. [597] AD sāmājyaṃ; cf. Āp. 9. 1. 24 ff. [598] A udabodhayeyuś B udbhaddoyeyuś . . . . [599] B vatsāyāyavyāthavāgvāsāṃyaṃ C vatsāvāyavyāyayavāgvāsa; D vatsāvāyavyayā yavāgvā sāyaṃ; zu diesem Abschnitt vgl. Āśv. 3. 13. 13 folg. [600] AD °tāth

dhītāyām adhītā dohayed | adhītābhiḥ saṃsthāpya[601] dhītānāṃ vatsān[602] apākṛtya[602] śvaḥ[603] sāṃnāyyena[604] yajeta[605] | sāyaṃ-

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[601] A samātha [602] A vaśānapānkṛtya B vatsānaṣākṛta C... tsānathākṛtyaḥ; cf. Brahm. Prāy. 17 b (äußerst korrupt); K. Ś. 25. 4. 39. [603] A sva B śruḥ [604] A sānrājyena B sāmrājyena CD sāṃnājyena [605] Hierzu findet sich in dem Passus Brahm. Prāy. 17a folgende, durch Korruption fast jedes Wortes leider verschleierte Parallele (ich zitiere ohne Veränderung des Textes): yadi vatsā apākṛtā dhayeyuḥ tatra nā ʼdhānaṃ vidhīyate | kiṃ tarhi mitratveno ʼpadīyate tatraidaṃ prāyaścittaṃ vakṣ[y]amānaṃ bhavati | vatsaprahaṇaṃ kiṃ vatsānādhāne prāyaścittaṃ | mṛgaṇāpaśūnāṃdhāne prāyaścittaṃ mā ʼbhūd ity apākṛtā iti apākṛtair dhāne prāyaścittaṃ | ... apare tu tatra dṛṣṭvā tu vrīhīn eve ʼchanti vāyavye ʼti devatā-viśeṣa-niyamārthaṃ | yavāgve ʼti .... varttamāne vatsān apākṛtya punar yajete ʼti ... vāyavyā yavāgvā pracaryeta | .... nirvāpakalo na viśasyate | tatra nimittakāla eva nirvāpaḥ kuta etad gamyate | sāyaṃdohārttā vakṣyati iṃdrāya vrīhīn nirvapeta śvobhūte teṣv anunirvaped iti .... śvobhūteṣv eva vrīhi-yaveṣu vā prakṛtebhyo ʼgnyādibhyo ʼnyādibhyo ʼnunirvapet | .... sānnāyyābhāvād dhotā nirgatayānābhyuditeṣṭi yasya sānnāyyaṃ candramā abhyuditi darśanāt | ... vgl. oben 2. 1 u. Brahm. Prāy. 22a: sāyaṃdoham iti samastatā yaṃ doham iti samasta-sāyaṃdohasyā ʼpahāre doṣe vā dvaidhe dohanaṃ (!) avayavāpahāraśeṣeṇa yāga eva bhavati | atha dvaidhaṃ dohane prasrute tatra dugdhāsu vatsā-ʼpakāraṇādi dvitīyasyāṃ kubhyāṃ dohaḥ karttavyaḥ | ekasya dvayoḥ paśūnāṃ vā ekatra dugdhāsu vatsāpakaraṇādy anyasyāṃ tāvatyo dugdhāśeṣe dvaidhaṃ dohayet | dvaidhaṃ dugdhe ādyasya sāyaṃdohasyo ʼpalanobhayoḥ pracāraḥ karttavyaḥ | .... Bl. 22b: yadi sāyaṃdoha ārttiṃ nīyād indrāya vrīhīn nirvapeta .... yadi sāyaṃdohe vatsā dhayeyuḥ prātardohārttiḥ syāt tatra vāyavyā puroḍāśau karttavyau | sāyaṃdoha-prātardohe dhīte puroḍāśau vāyavyā ca yadi sāyaṃdoha ārttir iti vrīhayo niruptā vijñānaṃ pūrvā vatse dhīte indrāya vrīhīn yavān vā ... nirvāpaḥ karttavyaḥ | yady ubhāv aiṃdraṃ paṃcaśarāvam odanaṃ pacet | yady ubhāv iti prakṛtau sāyaṃdohaprātardohau tau pratyavamṛśyete | yady ubhā[v a]rtti[ṃ] nīyetām .. ity arthaḥ | tatre ʼdaṃ prāyaścittaṃ paṃcaśarāvam odanaṃ pacet | yad iha vidhīyate yavāgūḥ puroḍāśaḥ pañcaśarāvo vā sarvaskanne naṣṭe duṣṭe ve ʼty asyā yavād indrāye ʼti yamārtham ahaṃdrayājino ʼpī ʼndrāryāgāvacanādyaḥ prakṛto yogo yavāgū puroḍāśāḥ pañcaśarāvo vā tat-saṃbaṃdho yāga syāt | — Bl. 24a: yasya sānnāyyaṃ haviś candramā abhyudiyāt vatsān u pratinudet sāyaṃdohe havirātaṃcanaṃ vrato yathākālaṃ yajeta .... Bl. 25a: dhīte [ʼ]dhīteṣv ārttigate vā vatsān apākṛtya punar yajet | cf. unten 5. 3 und Brahm. Prāy. 26b: yasya sānnāyyaṃ candramā abhyudita abhyuditasyā ʼnantaraṃ paśukāmo ʼmāvāsyam iṣṭvā tūṣṇīṃ sarvān vatsān apākaroti ... cf. Agn. Prāy. 6b: vatsānāṃ dhāne vāyave yavāgūṃ | sānnayyā-ʼrtham apākṛtānāṃ vatsānāṃ pāne(ṃ) vāyu-devatyā yavāgūn nirūpya tayā yaṣṭavyaḥ sarvapāne etat prāyaścittaṃ | pīta-śiṣṭam eva haviṣaḥ paryaṃtaṃ cet | vyāhṛtihoma eva na yavāgūḥ | yavāgvā yāgaṃ kṛtvā punar yāgaḥ karttavyaḥ | vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 3a: sānnāyyārtham apākṛtānāṃ sarvapāne vāyudevatyāṃ

dohaṃ[606] ced[606] apahareyuḥ[606] prātardohaṃ dvaidhaṃ kṛtvā 'nyatarat sāyaṃdohasthāne kṛtvo 'bhābhyāṃ yajeta[607] | prātardohaṃ[608] ced[608] apahareyuḥ sāyaṃdohaṃ dvaidhaṃ[609] kṛtvā 'nyatarat[610] prātardohasthāne kṛtvo 'bhābhyāṃ yajeto[611] | 'bhau ced duṣyeyātām aindraṃ pañcaśarāvam[612] odanaṃ[612] nirupyā[613] "gneyena pracaryai "ndreṇā 'nupracared uttarām upo 'ṣya(to) v(ād)o 'bhābhyāṃ yajeta | sarvāṇi ced dhavīṃṣy apahareyur duṣyeyur[614] vā "jyena ca devatā

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yavāgūṃ nirupya śrapayitvā yaṣṭavyaṃ | sa tvaṃ no ... (RV. 8. 26. 25) īśānāya prahutiṃ yas ... (RV. 7. 90. 2); vājy asi vā° (RV. 10. 56. 3) iti yājyānuvākye | avadāna-paryāptene 'ṣṭvā punar yajeta |

[606] A sāyāyaṃdohaṃ vekṣasvahareyuḥ B sāyaṃdoha cadepahareyuḥ [607—611] Diese und die inzwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei D. [607] Brahm. Prāy. 68a: tathā 'nyataranāśe ekam api sa pūrva[ṃ] dvaidhīkṛtya nirmathya ity eke; — zu dem ganzen Passus Ath. Prāy. 4. 1 vgl. Āp. Ś. 9. 1. 21 ff.; cf. Āśv. Prāy. 17b: sāyaṃdohe naṣṭe prātardohaṃ dvidhā vibhājyai 'kaṃ bhāgam ātaṃcya tābhyāṃ yāgaṃ kuryāt || prātardohe naṣṭe tad-devatyaṃ puroḍāśaṃ kṛtvā yāgaḥ || āmikṣānāśe 'py etat || tasyāḥ prātardoha-vikāratvāt || āmikṣām eva utpādya tayā yajete 'ti kecit || vājinanāśe ājyena yāgaḥ || sānnāyye ubhaya-doṣe aiṃdraṃ paṃcaśarāvam odanaṃ gārhapatye śrapayitvā tene 'ṃdra-yāgaḥ || atra sarva-prāyaścittaṃ viṣṇu-smaraṇaṃ ca kāryaṃ | [608] A prātardhi cen [609] A cedvaidhaṃ B dvaidhyaṃ C dvaidhaṃ [610] A °nyatarata [611] A yajñeto B yajete [612] A pañcaśarāvodanaṃ; cf. Āśv. 3. 10. 27; K. Ś. 25. 5. 2; s. auch unten in 4. 4. [613] ABC nirūpyā° D setzt mit dem korrupten Passus wieder ein: tau bhau ce duṣyen mā tām aiṃdraṃ paṃcaśarāvam odanaṃ nirūpyā [614] Brahm. Prāy. 7a bringen folgende Klassifizierung des rituell Unreinen: duṣṭaṃ trividhaṃ varṇayanti | .... jātiduṣṭam āśrayaduṣṭaṃ saṃsargaduṣṭaṃ ca | jātiduṣṭaṃ palāṃḍu-gṛṃjanakā-"di | .... āśrayaduṣṭam anāryādi-parigṛhītaṃ tatrā 'pi mlechā-"dibhir anāryaiḥ saha saṃvyavahāra .... saṃsargaduṣṭaṃ malā-"dibhiḥ | .... evam ādibhir upahataṃ dravyam apo 'bhyavaharet | apaḥ pratigamayet || vgl. ibid. 7b: ..... tad vā prakṣepya tatrai 'vo 'dakam āsiñcet..... ibid. 8a: atha pātrāṇy apo 'bhyavahared iti varttate ... nirlikhed dārumayam ... niṣṭapen mārttikaṃ | adbhiḥ sauvarṇa-rājataṃ saṃśodhayed iti śeṣaḥ | athavā nirlikhed iti varttate | nirlekhanaṃ ca saṃśodhanaṃ mārttikasya niṣṭapanaṃ sauvarṇa-rajatasyā 'dbhir eva saṃśodhanam | iti upasargaḥ || — Über den Begriff des Substituts findet sich ibid. Bl. 9a folg. eine Auseinandersetzung. Nachdem eine Stellvertretung des Opferfeuers und des Opferherrn als ausgeschlossen hingestellt ist (Bl. 9a: agner na pratinidhiḥ svāminaś ca pratinidhir nā 'sti | samavāyāt | yo hi yajate sa eva phalena saṃbadhyate | tasmād yajamānasya pratinidhir nā 'sti |) sagt der sehr korrupte Passus, in interessanter Weise den Begriff der Opferbarkeit umschreibend: .... yathā māṣā(!)-masūra-kodravā-"di yasya yaṃ(?) saṃyogaḥ | sarvatrai 'va pratiṣidhyate | ayajñiyā vai māṣāḥ | ayajñiyāḥ kodravā iti ... und ibid. 10a: atha yajñiyam anapratinidheyaṃ

yajetā[615] | 'thā 'nyām adoṣām iṣṭiṃ tanvītā(m | a)po duṣṭam[616] abhyavahareyur[617] | brāhmaṇair abhakṣ[y]a[ṃ] duṣṭaṃ havir | bhūtaṃ[618] ced ājyaṃ skanded[618] bhūpataye[619] svāhe 'ti[619] tribhir prādeśair diśo mimāya tad yajamāno devāñ[620] janam[620] agann[620] ity[620] anuṣaṅgo[621] | yajñasya tvā pramaye 'ti catasṛbhiḥ parigṛhṇīyāt | yajñasya tvā pramayo-'nmayā-'bhimayā pratimayā (paridadema)[622] svāhe[622] 'ty | anutpūtaṃ

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yathā palāśasya pāribhadrakaḥ | aśvatthasya gardabhāṇḍaḥ khadirasya kadira(!) bhavati sāmānyena tu kvacit tatas teṣām aparigrahaḥ | anyatrā 'coditatvāt pratiṣiddhasya ca māṣāde(!) aparigraha eva tatrā 'nugrahika ukta-vīīha(!)-yavā(!)-puroḍāśasya teṣām alābhe tuṣavatīnāṃ taṃḍulavatīnām oṣadhīnāṃ puroḍāśān kurvaṃti māṣādi-varjam iti ....; vgl. auch ibid. 28a: sarvaskanne naṣṭe duṣṭe vā yathāpūrvaṃ punaḥ saṃskaraṇam | und die ganz verderbte Stelle 29b: āsanneṣu haviḥṣu sarvasmin duṣṭe dugdhe vā naṣṭe vā sarvaṃ saṃśodhya vatsāpākaraṇādi-sadyaḥkriyā ṣoḍaśa-dārvidhmapiṃḍapitṛya ... vedyāḥ saṃskāraḥ kṛta eva | mṛt pradīyate | āyatīr anumaṃtraṇaṃ nā 'gnihotraṃ dohādi siddhaṃ | vedaṃ kṛtvā(?) paristaraṇādipātrayogaḥ siddham anyat | Vgl. auch K. Ś. 25. 4. 13 folg., — verunreinigtes Wasser wird weggegossen: AP 37. 18. 1. Das nirlekhanaṃ resp. saṃśodhanam der Opferinstrumente erfolgt mit der Hand: [śuddhir] yajñapātrāṇāṃ pāṇinā yajñakarmaṇi (Agnip. 156. 4).

[615] cf. Āp. 9. 15. 14f. [616] cf. Brahm. Prāy. Bl. 6b: duṣṭam apo 'bhyavaharet | und Bl. 7a: tathā ca dharmaśāstre | vasā śukram asṛg majjā viṇ mūtraṃ karṇaviṇ nakhāḥ | ślemā-'śru dūṣikā(?) svedo dvādaśai 'te nṛṇāṃ malāḥ || cf. K. Ś. 25. 5. 9 folg., vgl. Anm. 58 und die dort zitierten Stellen. [617] Āśv. Prāy. 17a folg.: vyāpannaṃ havir jale vinikṣipet || tatrā "jyena sviṣṭakṛt || prayājā-"dy-aṅga-havir-nāśe tu tad dhavir utpādyate na yajeta || na tatrā 'gnyanvādhānādi punaḥ prayogaḥ || [618] Nur verständlich als Korruptel einer älteren Fassung von Āp. 9. 15. 17: yad āryāṇām abhojanīyaṃ syān na tena yajeta; — statt bhutaṃ l.: pūtaṃ? vgl. unten: anutpūtaṃ [619] A skandet tad adbhūtayeye svāhe 'ti B made skande ced bhūtaṃyeye cet svāhe 'ti CD skaṃde ced bhūpataye cet svāhe 'ti; vgl. Āp. 9. 13. 6, 7; 14. 28. 6. [620] A devāṃ janmāṃga nityam B devāṃ janmāgaṃnityam CD devāṃ janmāṃgaṃ nityam; dieser Vorschrift entspricht genau Āp. 9. 13. 5. [621] Brahm. Prāy. 30b: devāñ janam agan .... iti skannam abhimaṃtryā 'po ninayet | Āśv. Prāy. 9a: athe 'ṣṭi-madhye haviṣāṃ skannam abhimṛśet || devāñ janam agan yajñas .... aṃhaso (Āśv. 3. 13. 15). bhūpataye svāhā bhuvanapataye svāhā bhūtānāṃ pataye svāhā yajñasya tvā pramayo 'nmayā 'bhimayā pratimayā drapsaś caskaṃda ceti (RV. 10. 17. 11). .... Auch des Überlaufens des Opfermuses wird gedacht: Āśv. Prāy. 16a: carau śrapyamāṇe prāgdiśi tāpād utsikte.... dakṣiṇataś ced .... paścāc ced .... uttarataś cet .... yugapat sarvataś cet ... vidikṣu [cet] ... || utsiktaṃ carum āpyāyati || [622] So BC; A liest: yajñasya tvā pramadānmayābhimayā paridadema svahe 'ty. Bl.'s Index verzeichnet nur: yajñasya tvā pramayonmayābhimayā pratimayā, so auch die wahre Meinung der korr. Fassung von D; vgl. Āśv. 3. 13. 15; zu vgl. ist ferner: Āp. 9. 13. 6.

ced ājyaṃ skanded[623] vittaṃ[624] prāṇaṃ[624] dadyāt[625] | tatho 'tpūtam[626] utpūyamānaṃ ced ghṛtaṃ[627] dadyād atho 'tpūtam[628] utpūyamānaṃ ced ghṛtaṃ[629] prāṇaṃ dadyād[630] devatāntare[631] ced[631] ghṛtam[631] | āhutilopavyatyāse[632] | tvaṃ no agne | sa tvaṃ na[633] | iti sarvaprāyaścittaṃ[634] juhuyāt | tvaṃ no agne varuṇasya vidvān[635] devasya heḍo 'vayāsisīṣṭhāḥ | yajiṣṭho vahnitamaḥ śośucāno viśvā dveṣāṃsi pramumugdhy asmat || sa tvaṃ no agne 'vamo bhavotī nediṣṭho asyā uṣaṣo vyuṣṭau | ava yakṣva no varuṇaṃ rarāṇo vīhi mṛḍīkaṃ suhavo na edhi svāhe 'ti | devatā-'vadāne yājyā-'nuvākyā-vyatyāsa[636] 'nāmnāta[636]-prāyaścittānāṃ vā[637] yady

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[623] AB skaṃdet C skande [624] cf. Āp. 9. 13. 1. [625] cf. Mān. Ś. 3. 1. 2. 1. Auch die Verunreinigung der Schmelzbutter verlangt Sühne (Āśv. Prāy. 17 b): ājyo-'pahatau tajjale prakṣipyā 'nyat saṃskṛtya tena pracāraḥ || ; vgl. ibid. 18 a: avattadvy-avadānā-"deḥ ślemādinā nāśe punar āyatanād evā 'vadāya sarvaprāyaścittaṃ kṛtvā yaṣṭavyaṃ || eka-dvy-ādy-avadāna-vaikalyene 'ṣṭvā tvan no agne sa tvan no agne (Āp. 9. 12. 4) ity etābhyāṃ sruvāhutī hutvā punar avadāya yajete 'ty uktaṃ prāyaścitta-caṃdrikāyāṃ || [626] D anupūtam [627] A unklar; BC vṛtaṃ; cf. M. S. 1. 4. 13. [628] A °tpūyam [629—631] Diese und die inzwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei D. A ve vittaṃ B va cica C ve cinva [630] cf. Āp. 9. 13. 2 yady utpūtaṃ citraṃ deyam. Dieß ist ursprünglich der Sinn des hier gänzlich korrumpierten Passus gewesen. [631] A evatāṃtaravedvittam B devatānāṃnarecaccittam C devatāṃtare cec cittam; so D, jedoch: °tara cec ... [632] Das Zuviel oder Zuwenig bei dem Hersagen von Mantra erheischt Sühne (Āśv. Prāy. 18 a): āśrāvaṇa-pratyāśravaṇa-vaṣaṭkāreṣu maṃtrāmtara-nyūnā-'tireke sati āśrāvitam atyāśrāvitam (Āp. 3. 11. 2) ity adhvaryuḥ sruveṇa juhuyāt || Des Ausfalls des ganzen Agnihotra-Opfers wird gedacht in Agn. Prāy. 10 b: prasaṅgād dhomaṃ lopaprāyaścittaṃ likhyate | ekasya dvayor bahūnām api vichede caturgṛhītaṃ manasvatyā juhuyāt | anekā-'gnihotrā-'tipatti-nimittaṃ manasvatyā caturgṛhītaṃ hoṣyāmī 'ti saṃkalpyā 'gniṃ vihṛtya manasvatī[r] juhuyāt | kecid yāvaṃtaḥ kāla- [l.: lā?] homena vichinnās tāvato(m) ekaikaṃ kālaṃ prati (!) ekaiko homaḥ karttavyaḥ | na manasvaty-āvṛttiḥ | pakṣahoma-nyāyena tān homān kuryād iti prāyaścitta-pradīpe | [633] RV. 4. 1. 4 f.; cf. Brahm. Prāy. 14 b: .... devatāvadāna-yājyā-'nuvākya-maṃtra-karma-viparyāse 'nāmnāta-prāyaścitt .... āpadi tvaṃ no agne sa tvaṃ no agna .... bhinna-krama-yogo(!)-viparyāsaḥ .. cf. „karmaviparyāsaḥ" oben in 3. 4. — devatāviparyāsa: K. Ś. 25. 5. 19. [634] CD °prāyaścittiṃ cf. hierzu Āp. 9. 16. 10. [635] RV. 4. 1. 4. [636] A °tyāsenātyāta B °tyāsenāmnātaḥ C °tyāseṃnātyāta D °tyāsenvāmnāta; vgl. Āśv. 3. 13. 14. K. Ś. 25. 5. 19. [637] vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 17 b: yāgāt prāg dhotur yājyā-'nuvākyā-viparyāse sati ..... und ibid.: kṛte tu yāge anuvākyā-viparyāsa-jāte prāyaścittam eva na tu yāgā-'bhyāsaḥ || yājyāyām api avihita-devatāyāṃ tad-devatyāyām anyadevatyāyāṃ vā vihita-devatā-"deśaṃ kṛtvā vihitām eva devatāṃ dhyāyan yadi vaṣaṭ kuryān na tadā

ṛkto[638] 'bhy ābādhaḥ syād[638] bhūr janad iti gārhapatye juhuyād | yadi yajuṣṭa oṃ bhuvo janad iti dakṣiṇāgnau juhuyād | yadi sāmata oṃ svar janad ity āhavanīye juhuyād | yady[639] anājñātā brahmata om bhūr bhuvaḥ svar janad om ity āhavanīya eva juhuyād[639] ājyabhāgānte sve[640] devatām āvāhayiṣyan yasyai ('va) havir niruptaṃ syāt tato-'ntayā yajetā "jyasyai 'tāni nirupya[641] | yadi bhāginīṃ[642] nā "vāhayed[642] yatra smaret tatrai 'nām upo-'tthāyā "vāhyā[643] "vāpasthāne[644] yajeta[645] | barhiṣi skanne[646] nā "driyeta | da-

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yāgā-'bhyāsaḥ pūrvoktaṃ prāyaścittaṃ viṣṇusmaraṇaṃ ca kāryaṃ || avihita-yājyāṃ vadann avihita-devatā-"deśe dhyāne [l. °naṃ] kurvan yadi vaṣaṭ kuryāt tadā pūrvoktaṃ prāyaścittaṃ kṛtvā punar avadāya yajeta || sviṣṭa-kṛd-anaṃtaraṃ smaraṇe ājyene 'tyādi pūrvavat || agnīṣomīyena puroḍāśenā "gneye yāge kṛte uktaṃ prāyaścittaṃ kṛtvā "gneyenā 'gnīṣomīyayāgaḥ || sarva-prāyaścittaṃ viṣṇusmaraṇaṃ ca || cf. ibid.: devate anuvākye yājye vā viparihṛtyā "jye avadāne haviṣī vā | devatā-viparyāsa āvāhanā-"diṣu vyutkramaḥ | anuvākyā-viparyāso 'nyadīyām anyasyā 'nubrūyāt | evaṃ yājyā-viparyāsaḥ | ājya-viparyāso jauhavau-"pabhṛtayor ity ādi | avadāna-viparyāsaḥ pūrvārdhāt pūrvārdhāt pūrvam ity ādi | havir-viparyāso nirvāpādi | yāge cā 'nyadīyasyā 'nyasya yāgaḥ | eteṣāṃ madhye anyatara-nimitte sati prāyaścittaṃ kartavyaṃ | yad vo devā .... nidhetana svāhe 'ti (Āp. 3. 11. 2) tiṣṭhann ājyāhutiṃ hutvā jānv ācyā bhūr iti gārhapatye juhuyād yadi yajuṣṭo bhuva iti dakṣiṇāgnau | vgl. dazu ferner Stellen wie Āśv. Prāy. 9b: athā "vāhanā-"diṣu devatānāṃ viparyāse yājyānuvākyāviparyāse vā juhū-'pabhṛd-dhruvā-"jyānāṃ paryāse vā pūrvārdhā-'vādāna-samaye aparārdhā-"dy-avadāne vā havir-viparyāse vā yad vo devā atipātayāni ..... (Āśv. 3. 13. 18) ity ājyāhutiṃ brahmā juhuyāt || tasmai yajamāno mukhyaṃ dhanaṃ dadyāt || yāgāt prāg yājyā-'nuvākyā-viparyāsa-jñāne prāyaścittaṃ kṛtvā punaḥ samuccārya yāgaḥ kāryaḥ || yāganaṃtaraṃ jñāne prāyaścittam eva || Über die Vertauschung der Opfermaterialien sprechen auch Āśv. Prāy. 16a: juhū-'pabhṛd-dhruvā-"jyānāṃ viparyāse yad vo devā iti sruvāhutiṃ brahmā juhuyāt || tasmai yajamāno mukhyaṃ dhanaṃ dadyāt |; vgl. ibid. 16b: haviṣāṃ viparyāseno 'dvāsane brahmā yad vo devā iti pūrvavaj juhuyāt || tasmai yajamāno mukhyaṃ dhanaṃ dadyāt || kapālānudvāsane (?) adhvaryur āśrāvayati cet tadā 'gnaye vaiśvānarāya pūrṇāhutiḥ ||

[638] A ṛcobhyābādhasyā B ṛktobhyābādha syād oṃ C rcobhyātvādha syād oṃ D ṛcobhyābādha syād oṃ; [639] AD lassen diese und die inzwischenliegenden Worte aus; vgl. Gop. Br. 1. 3. 3. [640] l.: sva-°? [641] D nirūpya [642] A bhāginīnāṃ nāvahayed B bhāginīnāvāhayed Brahm. Prāy. 36a: bhāginīṃ cen nā "vāhayet | bhāgo asyā 'stī 'ti maṃtrarthīya iti bhāginī yasyā nirvāpaḥ kṛtaḥ śāstreṇa yāgaś coditaḥ sā bhāginī tāṃ cen nāvāhayet..... cf. Āśv. Prāy. 18a: hotā yaṣṭavyāṃ devatām anāvāhye 'taraṃ karma yadi kuryāt tadā yatrai 'va smaret tatrai 'vo 'tthāya tāṃ devatām āvāhayet || na maṃdra-svara-niyamaḥ || manase 'ty eke || yady asthāninīm āvahayet tadā nigameṣu tāṃ nigamayet || sthāninīṃ cā 'dhva-

kṣiṇena ced yajetā 'rddharcāt[647] pratiṣṭhāṃ dadyāt | puroḍāśe du[ḥ]śrite[648] sarpiṣy annaṃ catuḥśarāvam odanaṃ brāhmaṇebhyo dadyāt[649] | tatas tam eva punar nirvapet | purodāṣe vikṣāme[650] yato[650] 'syā 'kṣāmaḥ[651] syāt tato yajeta[652] | dveṣyāya taṃ dadyād dakṣiṇāṃ ca[653] | puro-

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ryuś ca yāgakāle caturgṛhītena dhrauvājyena yaṣṭavyāṃ yajet || tad-devatye yājyānuvākye hotrā paṭhanīye || anumaṃtraṇaṃ yajamānena || tato viṣṇusmaraṇaṃ || viparyāsenā "vāhane brahmā pūrvavad yad vo devā iti juhuyāt || tasmai yajamāno mukhyaṃ dhanaṃ dadyāt || cf. Agn. Prāy. 16 a: sthāninīm anāvāhya devatām upotthāyā "vāhayen manase 'ty eka ājyenā 'sthāninīṃ yajet | yadi kasmiṃś cit karmaṇi yaṣṭavyā[ṃ] devatām anā-[vā]hyai 'vo 'ttaram uttaram uttaraṃ karma kuryāt tadā yāvati gate smarati tad evo [l.: 'aivo] 'potthāyā "vāhayet | yady asthāninīṃ pramādād āvāhayet tadā 'sminn eva krameṇa tām ājyena yajet | nigameṣu ca nigamayet | [643] A bāhyā [644] BC vāpasthāne [645] A yajed B yajetta; Āśv. 3. 13. 19 cf. Āśv. Prāy. 17 b: anubrūhī 'ty atra bhāginy-ullekhe hotary api bhāginīṃ puro 'nu vā vadati prāg vadanāt smaraṇe sati caturgṛhītena dhruvājye yāgaḥ karttavyaḥ || avadānā-'naṃtaraṃ smaraṇe saty abhāginīm iṣṭvā punar avadāya bhāginyā yāgaḥ kāryaḥ || [646] Āśv. Prāy. 12 b: upari sthāpitaṃ śākhe-'dhmā-barhir-ādi yady adhastāt patati tadā brahmapratiṣṭhā-manaso brahmavāco brahma-yajñānāṃ haviṣām ājyasya cā 'tiriktaṃ maṃtreṇa pūrvavat saṃsthāpyā "jyaṃ saṃskṛtya sruksruvaṃ saṃmṛjya tenaiva maṃtreṇa svāhākāraṃtenā "havanīye 'dhvaryuḥ sruvā-"hutiṃ juhuyāt || yajñāya brahmaṇa idaṃ || ājya-bhāgā-'naṃtaraṃ sthālyājyena hutvā viṣṇu-smaraṇaṃ kuryāt || śākhe-'dhmā-barhiḥ-prastara-veda-paristaraṇa-pavitra-vidhṛti-paridhy-upaveṣā-"di-dravyāṇāṃ dāhā-"dinā nāśe (cf. oben in 2. 5.) viṇ-mūtrā-"dy-upahatau vā 'dhvaryus taj-jātīyam anyad vidhāya svasthāne niyojayet || tata ājyaṃ saṃskṛtyā "jya-bhāgā-'naṃtaraṃ vā sruvāhutī juhuyāt || tvam agne ayāsi (Āp. 9. 12. 4) °ṣajaṃ svāhā || agnaye yasa idaṃ || prajāpate na °ṇaṃ svāhā || prajā °idaṃ tato viṣṇusmaraṇaṃ || pavitra-nāśe miṃdādi-gaṇo prāyaścittam ity uktaṃ prāyaścitta-pradīpe || ājyā-'valokanā-'naṃtaram etat prāyaścittaṃ tat-prāk miṃdā-gaṇa iti kecit || sa cā 'gre vakṣyate || sarvadā samuccayo vā || idhmā-barhiṣoḥ prayājā-'nuyājānāṃ ca *nyūnā-'tireke* . . . .

[647] AD °rddharātrāt [648] cf. Brahm. Prāy. 31 b: yasya puroḍāśau duḥśṛtāv iti brāhmaṇoktaṃ prāyaścittaṃ pradhāneṣv eva tad bhavati | gemeint ist M. S. 1. 4. 13. [649] cf. Āp. 9. 15. 18; Āśv. 3. 14. 1. [650] A vikṣāmepato B vikṣābheyato cf. M. S. 1. 4. 13. [651] A kṣāma BCD kṣāmaṃ [652] cf. oben 2. 1; vgl. Āśv. 3. 14. 2 und Brahm. Prāy. 32 a: atha yasya puroḍāśau kṣāyata iti śrutidarśanāt piṇḍapitṛyajñādiṣu punaḥsaṃskāra eva karttavya ity uktaṃ | Agn. Prāy. 16 a: haviṣi duḥśṛte catuḥśarāvam odanaṃ brāhmaṇān bhojayet | yadā havir apakvaṃ bhavati tadā tenai 'va haviṣā tat karma samāpya catuḥśarāva-parimitaṃ vrīhibhir odanaṃ paktvā caturo brāhmaṇān bhojayet | dakṣiṇāgniṃ vihṛtya tasminn odanaṃ paktve 'ty āpastambaḥ | [653] Agn. Prāy. 17 b: kṣāme śiṣṭene 'ṣṭvā punar yajeta | ekadeśa-dagdhe prāyaścittaṃ na bhavati | [yadā] 'vadāna-paryāptaṃ nā 'sti cet tadā tenaiva mātrā-'pacāreṇaiva

ḍāśe sarvakṣāme nirvapaṇaprabhṛtyām udāhṛtya[654] | kapāle[655] naṣṭa[656] ekahāyanaṃ dadyād[657] | dhātā dadhātu pituḥ

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yāgaḥ karttavyaḥ | tantraṃ samāpya punar-viharaṇā-"di tasyaiva yāgaḥ karttavyaḥ | avadāna-dvaya-paryāptam akṣāma-dravyam asti cen naiva prāyaścittaṃ | idam ekadeśam adagdhasya lakṣaṇaṃ | aśeṣe punar-āvṛttiḥ | aśeṣa-dagdhe punar-āvṛttiḥ kāryā | sarva-dagdha ity abhiprāyaḥ | punaryāga-punarāvṛtyor ayaṃ viśeṣaḥ | varttamāna-karma(ṃ) samāpya punar ādita evā "rabhyā 'ṃtataḥ kriyā punar-yāgaḥ | punar-āvṛttis tu varttamāna-prayoge naṣṭasya haviṣaḥ punar-utpādanam iti punar-utpāditena haviṣā sa eva prayogaḥ samāpayitavyaḥ | ayam anayor viśeṣaḥ | . . . . . kṣāme śiṣṭene 'ṣṭ[v]e 'ty asmin prayoge yā dakṣiṇā sā dveṣṭre dātavyā |

[654] A nudāhatya B mudāhyatya C °hṛtya [655] Diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei D. [656] B neṣṭe ACD naṣṭe; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 9: yadi kapālaṃ naśyet . . . aśvibhyāṃ dvikapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nivapet | [657] Āśv. 3. 13. 9; cf. Āśv. Prāy. 8a: puroḍāśa-śrapaṇam ārabhya kapālo-'dvāsana-paryantaṃ kapāle naṣṭa idam (nämlich: agnaye vaiśvānarāya pūrṇāhutiḥ) eva prāyaścittam || udvasanād ūrdhvaṃ na doṣaḥ || pātrā-"sādanā-"diśrapaṇād arvāk kapāla-bhedane gāyatryā śatākṣarayā saṃdadhāmī 'ti (Āśv. 3. 14. 10) saṃdhāyā 'bhinno gharmo . . . . . anusaṃtarantu (ibid.) . . . . . prati dadhmo yad atra svāhā yajño 'pyetu devān (ibid.) iti maṃtrābhyām apsu nikṣipet || evaṃ śvā-"dibhir ghrātāny api kapālāni pūrva-maṃtrābhyām apsu nikṣipet | anyāni mṛnmayāni pātrāṇi bhinnāni aśuci-saṃbaṃdhīni vā bhūmir bhūmim agān . . . . . bhidyatāṃ (Ā. Ś. 3. 14. 12) iti maṃtreṇā 'psu nikṣipet || baudhāyanā-"cārya-vāde kapālānudvāsane adhvaryur āśrāvayati cet tadā 'gnaye vaiśvānarāya pūrṇāhutiḥ || Āśv. Prāy. 14b: puroḍāśa-śrapaṇād ūrdhvam api kapālo-'dvāsana-paryaṃtaṃ kapāle naṣṭe iṣṭy-aśaktau srucaṃ dvādaśa-gṛhītena caturgṛhītena vā pūrayitvā juhuyāt || agnaye vaiśvānarāya svāhe 'ti || agnaye [vaiś]vānarāye 'daṃ° || pātrā-"sādanā-"di yāvac-chrapaṇaṃ kapāla-bhedane gāyatryā tvā śatākṣarayā saṃdadhāmīti saṃdhāyā 'bhinno gharmo . . . . . — anusaṃcarantu (Āśv. 3. 14. 10) || trayastriṃśad-devān (ibid.) iti maṃtrābhyām apsu prakṣipet || evaṃ śvādibhir āghrātāni kapālāni pūrvamaṃtrābhyām apsu prakṣipet || tataḥ kapālā-'ntaraṃ prokṣaṇādi kṛtvā yojayet || sarvaprāyaścittaṃ viṣṇusmaraṇaṃ ca kuryāt || yathokta-saṃkhyā-'dhiko-'padhāne nyūno-'padhāne vā kapālānāṃ parasparaṃ samyaṅ-melanā-'bhāve vā 'ṃgula-dvayo-"rdhva-pramāṇābhāve vā "jyabhāgā-'naṃtaram adhvaryur vyāhṛtibhiḥ sruvāhutīr juhuyāt || kapālo-'padhānakāle nihitā-'ṃgāre puroḍāśo-'padhānāt pūrvam anugate manasvatīm āhavanīye hutvā punaḥ kapāleṣv aṃgāraṃ nidadhyāt || anyāni mṛnmayāni pātrāṇy akṛta-prayojanāni bhinnāni aśuci-saṃbaṃdhīni vā bhūmir bhūmim agān . . . bhidyatām iti maṃtreṇā 'psu kṣipet || sarva-prāyaścittaṃ kṛtvā pūrvavat pātrā-'ntaraṃ yojayet || yasmin-kasmiṃś-cid dārumaye pātre tat-sthāne 'nyan nidhāya bhūr āyur me dhārayata prāṇaṃ me dhārayata prajāṃ me dhārayata paśūn me dhārayata āyuḥ prāṇāḥ prajāḥ paśavaḥ parāsidhyerann (TS. 3. 1. 8. 1) ity abhimaṃtrya miṃdādi-gaṇena dvādaśa-gṛhītena srucaṃ pūrayitvā jātavedasi sunavāma-soma mano jyotir (Āśv. 2. 5. 14) [iti] dvābhyāṃ tisṛbhir mahāvyāhṛtibhir juhuyād eṣa durgādi-gaṇaḥ || durgādi-gaṇena hutvā bhūmir

pitānaṣṭo[658] gharmo viśvāyur yato jātas tato 'py avāṃ[659] svāhe 'ti juhuyāt[655] | kapāle bhinne gāyatryā tvā śatākṣarayā saṃdadhāmī 'ti[660] saṃdhāya dhātā dadhātv ity eva juhuyād | āgneya[m] ekakapālaṃ nirvaped āśvinaṃ dvikapālaṃ vaiṣṇavaṃ trikapālaṃ saumyaṃ catuḥkapālaṃ[661] | naṣṭe bhinne ca bhārgavo hotā[662] kīṭā-'vapannaṃ[662] sānnāyyaṃ madhyamena parṇena mahī dyaur[663] ity antaḥparidhideśe ninayen[664] | mahī dyauḥ pṛthivī ca na imaṃ yajñaṃ mimi-

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bhūmim ity āhavanīye praharet || pātra-madhye jalādau varttamāna idaṃ prayaścittaṃ || kevala-pātrabhede āhavanīye prāsya miṃdādir eva na bhūr āyur ma ity uktaṃ prāyaścittaṃ caṃdrikāyāṃ || cf. Agn. Prāy. 14 b: kapāle naṣṭe 'nudvāsite 'bhyāśrāvite vā | udvāsanāt pūrvaṃ kapālasyā 'śuci-saṃsarga-nimittaṃ | yeṣāṃ śrapaṇā-'naṃtaram udvāsanaṃ teṣām anudvāsite kapāle saty āśrāvaṇādi kṛtaṃ ced ubhaye | nimittayor anyatara-nimitte sati vaiśvānareṣṭiḥ kāryā |

658 Mān. S. 3. 1. 25. 659 l. agāṃ = agān 660 Āp. Ś. 9. 13. 8. Āśv. 3. 14. 10. M. S. 1. 4. 13. A wiederholt kṣāme yato syā kṣāmaṃ syāt tato yajeta dveṣyāyataṃ dadyād dakṣiṇāṃ ca puroḍāśe; cf. Brahm. Prāy. 32 b: yadi kapālaṃ bhidyeta gāyatryā tvā śatākṣarayā saṃdadhāmīti saṃdhāyo 'padadhyāt 661 cf. K. Ś. 25. 5. 1. — Brahm. Prāy. 33 a sehen noch folgende Möglichkeit vor: dvayo[ḥ kapālayor] bhinnayo[r] bahūnāṃ cai 'vam eva pṛthak saṃdhāyo 'padhānam ekaikasya tathā prakṣepaḥ kecid icha(m) ichaṃti yato jātaṃ tad apy aryo (?) tayato jāte tad apy agātāṃ (?) yato jātāni tad apy agur iti ye tu madhyama-puruṣeṇa pracaraṃti tad apy agā svāhe 'ti ... 33 b: atha yasya kapālaṃ naśyatī 'ti (vgl. M. S. 1. 4. 13) prakṣālya (?) yadā tat (?) haviḥ saṃtiṣṭhe[t] tathā-'gnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaṃ nirvaped iti .... 34 a: naṣṭādhigataṃ kapālam apsu prahared iti varttate viśvāyur jato (?) tātaṃ tad apy agā svāhe 'ti ... namas te rudra ity anumaṃtraṇam. — vgl. Agn. Prāy. 17 a: kapālaṃ bhinnam anapavṛtta-karma gāyatryā . . . saṃdadhāmī 'ti saṃdhāyā 'po 'bhyavahareyuḥ | puroḍāśa-śrapaṇāt prāk kapāla-bhede gāyatryā tvā .... °mī 'ty anena maṃtreṇa saṃdhānaka-dravyaiḥ saṃdhānaṃ kṛtvā 'bhinno gharmo jīradānur yata ārttas (nach Āśv. 3. 14. 10) tad agan ..... yajño 'pyetu devān (Āśv. S. 3. 14. 10, cf. Āp. 9. 13. 9) iti dvābhyām apo 'bhyavahareyuḥ | evam apalīḍhā 'bhikṣipteṣu | śvādibhir abhikṣiptāni tad-aśanā-"dibhir abhyasyā 'śuci-saṃbaṃdhāni kapālāny abhinnāny apy evaṃ kuryāt | abhinno gharma ity ādi pūrvavat | tato vaiśvānare-'ṣṭiḥ | ata evā 'nyāni mṛnmayāni | kapālebhyo 'nyāni mṛnmayāni bhinnāny abhinnāni ca | bhūmir bhūmim agān mātā ... bhidyatām ity apa evā 'bhyavaharet 662 A hotyatākīṭābhiḥ na D hotākīdyadyannaṃ; cf. Āp. Ś. 9. 2. 5; vgl. oben Anm. 119. 663 RV. 1. 22. 13. 664 A niyen B ninayeta C ninayet; Āśv. 3. 10. 23 f. Āp. Ś. 9. 2. 4; — cf. Agn. Prāy. 5 b: yadi havi[ḥ]ṣu muhyeyuḥ pātryā samayā vibhajyā "nupūrveṇa pracared ity evaṃ devayāniḥ (l.: °yoniḥ) | bhinna-siktāni ca | .... prajāpate na tvad etāny anya (RV. 10. 121. 10) iti valmīkavapāyāṃ (vā) sānnāyyaṃ duṣṭaṃ madhyamena palāśa-parṇena juhuyāt | ..... anena svāhākārāntena maṃ-

kṣatāṃ | pipṛtāṃ no bharīmabhiḥ[665] svāhe 'ti | prāk prayājebhyo[666] 'ṅgāraṃ barhiṣy adhiṣkanden[667] namas te astv āya-

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treṇa valmīkadvāre prasiṃcet | apsu vā tūṣṇīṃ | viṣyaṃdamā(da)naṃ mahī dyauḥ .... ity antaḥparidhideśe nirvapeyuḥ |

[665] cf. Āśv. Prāy. 16a: sānnāyyaṃ pāka-samaye kuṃbhīm atītya bahiḥ patati cet tadā tat pātrāṃ[ta]re ādāya paridhi-deśe mahī dyauḥ pṛthivī ca na ity anena ninayet || sarvaprāyaścittaṃ kṛtvā 'vaśiṣṭena yajet || sarva-nāśe punar-dohā-"di || āmikṣa-yāge 'py etat samānaṃ || tasyāḥ payo-vikāratvāt || [666] D prayājebhyāṃ [667] cf. Komm. zu Āp. 9. 1. 17: .... purā prayājebhyo bahiṣparidhy aṅgāraḥ skandet ... vgl. Brahm. Prāy. 34a: yadi prāk prayājebhyo bahiḥparidhy aṃgāra skandet tam abhimaṃtrayeta adhvaryu[ṃ] mā "hiṃsīr ity evam ādibhiḥ purastād daksiṇataḥ paścād uttarata iti maṃtraviśeṣair uktam abhimaṃtraṇam | ..... yasyāṃ diśi skanno bhavati tatra yo 'vahito maṃtraḥ tenaivā 'bhimaṃtraṇaṃ bhavati | anyeṣām ādityaṃ purastāt paridadhātīty aparimāṇatvād ādityasya purastāt skanne prāyaścittaṃ na bhavati ..... 34b: yadi bahavo 'ṃgārā bahiṣparidhi skannā bhavaṃti tadā 'bhimaṃtraṇādi-prakṣepāṃtaṃ karma pṛthak karttavyam abhihomās tu ṣaḍ ete ce 'ti abhijuhotīti brahmaprāyaścittāni sruveṇa juhotī 'ti; vgl. auch oben 2. 6 und Āśv. Prāy. 16a: prāk prayājebhyaḥ paridhi-deśād bahir yady aṃgāraḥ patati purastāt tadā brahmā tam aṃgāraṃ sruva-daṃḍena nidadhyāt || mā tapo mā yajñas tapan mā yajñapatis tapan || namas te astv āyate namo rudrāya te namo yatra niṣīdasi adhvaryuṃ mā hiṃsīr yajamānaṃ mā hiṃsīr iti || yadi dakṣiṇataḥ patet sa eva sruvadaṃḍena nidadhyāt || mā tapo °si brahmāṇaṃ mā hiṃsīr yajamānaṃ mā hiṃsīr iti || yadi paścāt patet tadā .... hotāraṃ mā hiṃsīr patnīṃ mā hiṃsīr yajamānaṃ mā hiṃsīr iti || yady uttarataḥ patet tadā ..... āgnīdhraṃ mā .... yajamānaṃ mā ... iti || athainam anupraharet || ahaṃ yajñaṃ dadhe nirṛter upasthāt ... māmadanta iha no devā ..... yacchate 'ti || prahṛtam aṃgāram abhijuhuyāt || sahasra-śṛṅgo vṛṣabho jātavedā ... pratīkaḥ || mā no hiṃsīd dhiṃsito na tvā jahāmi gopoṣaṃ ca no vīrapoṣaṃ ca no yaccha svāhe 'ti || tataḥ sarva-prāyaścittaṃ viṣṇusmaraṇaṃ ca || cf. Agn. Prāy. 18a folg.: prāk prayājebhyo 'ṃgāraṃ bahiṣparidhi nirvṛttaṃ sruvadaṃḍanā (l.: °daṃḍenā) 'bhinidadhyāt | yadi prayājebhyaḥ prāg bahiṣparidhy aṃgāraṃ gachet tadā sruva(ṃ)-daṇḍena pīḍayet | paridhi-grahaṇaṃ deśo-'palakṣaṇā-'rthaṃ | na paridhi-praharaṇo-'ttaram eve 'ti niyamaḥ | mā tapo mā yajñas tapan mā yajñapatis tapas | namas te astv āyate namo rudra parāyate namo yatra niṣīdasi | iti pratidiśaṃ japitvā tato (yadi) purastāc ced adhvaryu[ṃ] mā hiṃsī[r] yaja [l.: °jñaṃ] mā hiṃsīr yaja[mānaṃ] mā hiṃsīr iti | yadi paścād dhotāraṃ mā hiṃsī[r] patnīṃ mā hiṃsīr yaja[mānaṃ] mā hiṃsīr iti | yady uttarata āgnīdhraṃ mā hiṃsīr yaja[mānaṃ] mā hiṃsīr iti | pratidiśaṃ pūrvamaṃtra-śeṣaḥ | athai 'nam anuprah[ar]ed ahaṃ yajñaṃ dadhe ..... śarma yachate 'ti tam abhijuhuyāt sahasraśṛṅgo vṛṣabho jātavedāḥ stomapṛṣṭho ghṛtavān supratīkaḥ | mā no hiṃsīd dhiṃsito na tvā jahāmi gopoṣaṃ ca no vīrapoṣaṃ ca yacha (Āśv. Ś. 1. 12. 37) svāhe 'ti | Dieses Zitat ist ein besonders deutlicher Beleg dafür, daß die Agn. Prāy. die Mantra

te[668] namo astu parāyate | namo yatra niṣīdasī[669] 'ty abhimantryā "ham yajñaṃ dadhe nirṛter upasthāt[670] taṃ deveṣu paridadāmi vidvān | suprajās tvaṃ śataṃ hi māmadanta iha no devā mahi śarma yachate 'ty ādāya sahasraśṛṅga[671] ity anuprahṛtya | mā no mahāntaṃ[672] | tvaṃ no agne[673] | somānaṃ svaraṇaṃ kṛṇuhi[674] brahmaṇaspate kakṣīvantaṃ ya auśijaḥ | sa tvaṃ no 'gne[675] | vṛṣabhaṃ carṣaṇīnāṃ viśvarūpam adābhyaṃ bṛhaspatiṃ vareṇyaṃ[676] | ud uttamaṃ mumugdhi no vi pāśaṃ madhyamaṃ cṛta avādhamāni bādhata[677] | ud uttamaṃ varuṇe 'ty[678] etābhir juhuyāt ‖ 1 ‖ sarvāṇi[679] ced āhutivelāyāṃ[680] patny[681] anālambhukā[682] syāt tām aparudhya[683] yajeta[684] | samāpyā 'mo 'ham asmi sā tvam[685]

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in der speziellen Fassung des Aśv. S. bringen; statt: „na" liest unser Ms. hier und Blatt 16a: „ne", also doch wohl: ne 't.

[668] A. V. 11. 2. 15. [669] Āp. 9. 2. 9. [670] Āp. 9. 2. 10. [671] Gemeint ist wohl: AV. 4. 5. 1. [672] AV. 11. 2. 29. [673] RV. 4. 1. 4. Brahm. Prāy. 34 b: sahaṃ yajña ity anena maṃtreṇā "dṛte sahasraśṛṃga ity anupraharati [674] RV. 1. 18. 1. [675] RV. 4. 1. 5. [676] RV. 3. 62. 6. [677] RV. 1. 25. 21. [678] AV. 7. 83. 3. [679] Korrupt! etwa: savane zu lesen? [680] BC ahutavelāyāṃ; Āp. 9. 2. 1 ff. T. Br. 3. 7. 1. 9. Die fast wörtliche Übereinstimmung beider Stellen ist textgeschichtlich bemerkenswert. [681] A palp [682] A anālambhukī; Komm. zu Āp. 9. 2. 1: ārtava-vaśād sparśanā-'narhā [683] AC aparudhye B arupadhye [684] K. Ś. 25. 11. 13 folg. bestimmen, daß die menstruierende Frau die zur Weihe notwendigen Geräte niederlegen und auf Sand sitzen resp. stehen, nach Ablauf von drei Tagen mit Wasser, dem Kuhurin beigefügt worden ist, sich reinigen und erst alsdann zu bestimmten Diensten zugelassen werden soll; vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 18b: sūtikāṃ putravatīṃ viṃśati-rātreṇa karmāṇi kārayet ‖ māsena strījanīṃ ‖ tataḥ prāg yajamāna eva rajasvalāyām api ca karmāṇi kuryāt ‖ sūtake (!) yajamānaḥ karmakāle snātvā karmāṇi kuryāt ‖ ; (vgl. auch oben Anm. 257). — Āśv. Prāy. 12a: anvādhānadine patnī ṛtuma[tī] cet tāṃ vihāye 'ṣṭiḥ ‖ yo kramaṃ [aṃ]tarvedyām (?) udag-agraṃ vidhāya patnī-maṃtrān yajamāno japet ‖ etad [d]vitīya-prayoge ‖ vikatiṣu (l.: vikṛtiṣu) dvitīyo 'pakramo na bhavati ‖ upakramo-'ttarakām ṛtumatī cet sarvatra tāṃ vihāye 'ṣṭiḥ ‖ prathama-prayoge 'nvāraṃbhaṇīyāyāṃ vrato-'panayanād ūrdhvaṃ ced ṛtumatī tāṃ vihāyā 'nvāraṃbhaṇīyāṃ samāpya yasyā 'nvārambhaṇīyā tat-karma samāpayet ‖ yathā "huḥ ‖ iṣṭy-anvāraṃbhaṇīyāyāṃ pāśuke vaikṛtīṣṭiṣu ‖ vratād ūrdhvam ṛtuṃ dṛṣṭvā kuryāt kāryaṃ na lopayet ‖ proṣite yajamāne vrātye 'hani ṛtumatī cet tadā paṃcame hi yāgaḥ ‖ proṣite 'pi saṃkalpo-'ttarakālaṃ cet tām aparudhya kuryāt ‖ cāturmāsyeṣu vaiśvadeva-parvaṇo yāge kṛte varuṇapraghāsā-"diṣv anvārabdheṣv api malinā-'mbarāyāṃ sve sve kāle 'parudhyai 'va yāga ity uktaṃ śaradvayyāṃ ‖ ādhāne dakṣiṇā-pratigrahāt pūrvaṃ ced ṛtumatī tadā 'gnayo laukikā bhavaṃti ‖ sarvam utsṛjyaṃ havir apsu kṣiptvā punaḥ samayā-'ṃtare 'gnyādhānaṃ kuryāt | dakṣiṇā-

iti tasyā dakṣiṇaṃ hastam anvālabhyo 'pāhvayītā[686] | "hutiś ced bahiṣparidhi[687] skanded āgnīdhraṃ[688] brūyuḥ[689] saṃkrahiṣyāṃ[690] tvā juhudhī 'ti[691] | tasmai pūrṇapātraṃ dadyāt[692] | puroḍāśaś ced adhiśrita udvijed utpated[693] vā[694] tam udvāsya barhiṣy āsādayet kim utpatasi kim utproṣṭhāḥ[695] śāntaḥ śānter ihā "gahi | aghoro yajñiyo bhūtvā "sīda sadanaṃ

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pratigrahā-'naṃtaraṃ ced ṛtumatī tām aparudhya samāpayet || śudhyanaṃtaram agnihotrā-"raṃbhaḥ || [685] AV. 14. 2. 71 cf. Āp. 9. 2. 3. [686] A °pākuvītā° D °pā[gr]hṇī(yī)tā° [687] ABC bahiḥparidhi (A läßt dhi aus) [688] D °dhre [689] A brūya [690] C unklar; wohl: sakrayiṣyān; denkbar wäre saṃgrahīṣyan; vgl. Āp. 9. 16. 1 und die Bestimmung in Āśv. 3. 13. 16. [691] Brahm. Prāy. 36b: yadi bahiḥparidhy āhutiḥ skaṃded agnīdhaṃ brūyāt (!) etāṃ saṃkaṣya juhudhīti . . .; der folgende Komm. liest saṃkaśya . . . kaśyati gatyarthaḥ; zweifellos besser saṃkaṣya; wörtlich identisch mit MS. 1. 4. 13; cf. Mān. Ś. 3. 1. 3. 1 vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 9b: āhuter bahiṣparidhi-skandane pūrvavad abhimṛśyā "gnīdhras tām āhutiṃ juhuyād || yajamānas tasmai dhānyādi-pūrṇapātraṃ tadānīm eva dadyāt | Agn. Prāy. 16a: āhutiś ced bahiṣparidhy āgnīdhra etāṃ juhuyād dhutavate pūrṇapātraṃ dadyāt | yadi hūyamānā "hutir bahiṣparidhi skaṃdet tadā skannā-'bhimarśane kṛte āgnīdhras tām ādāya tūṣṇīm eva juhuyāt | homaṃ kṛtavate āgnīdhrāya tadānīm eva yena yena kena cid dhānyādinā rasādinā vā pūrṇa-pātraṃ dadyād iti | Der Sühne bedarf es, wenn die geopferte Speise auf die Streu herabfällt (Āśv. Prāy. 18a): āhutir hūyamānā yadi barhiṣy adhipatet tadā "gnidhraḥ devāñ janam agan yajñaḥ caskaṃde 'ti (Āp. 9. 10. 16) tām anumaṃtrya tūṣṇīm eva juhuyāt || yajamānas tasmai dhānyādi-pūrṇapātraṃ dadyāt || sarvaprāyaścittaṃ viṣṇusmaraṇaṃ ca kuryāt || — oder wenn sie nicht ins Feuer fällt (ibid.): hute haviṣi anagnau patite tvaṃ no agne sa tvaṃ no agne (RV. 4. 1. 4 folg.) ity etābhyām adhvaryuḥ sruvāhutī hutvā punar avadāya yajeta || [692] Āśv. 3. 13. 17. [693] AB utyuted [694] Āśv. Prāy. 18a sieht auch folgende, für die ausgebildete Kasuistik der Sühnezeremonien interessante Möglichkeit vor: ekakapālaḥ puroḍāsaḥ sarvahutas tat-paryāvarttane prāyaścittaṃ || yady ekakapālaḥ puroḍāśaḥ sarvahutaḥ par[y]āva[rta]te ta[t] tam adhvaryu[ḥ] svasthāne pratiṣṭhāpayet || prajāpater varttanim anuvarttasva . . . . . nayantu (Āp. 9. 14. 1) yajamāno 'numaṃtrayate || pratikṣatre . . . . . namaḥ (Āp. 9. 14. 2) || adhvaryuḥ sruvāhutī juhuyāt || askāṃ dyaur . . . . . prajanayatu (Āp. 9. 6. 7) svāhā || yajñāye 'daṃ || askān ajani prājani . . . . . prajaniṣīmahi (Āp. 9. 6. 7) svāhā || yajñāye 'daṃ || ; cf. Agn. Prāy. 17b: yadi puroḍāśaḥ sphuṭed vo 'tpated vā | yadi puroḍāśo bhidyāt | uduched (l.: udvijed?) vā tadā kim utpatasi . . . . . sadanaṃ svam iti barhiṣi nidhāya tato mā hiṃsīr . . . . . asminn āsīda barhiṣi ity abhimaṃtrayet | [695] cf. Āp. 9. 16. 11; Āśv. 3. 14. 13; Āśv. Prāy. 16b: puroḍāśasya bhedane patane vā kim utpatasi kim utproṣṭhāḥ śāntaḥ śāṃter ihāgāhi . . . . . sadanaṃ svam iti || barhiṣi nidhāyā 'bhimaṃtrayate || tam [m]ā hiṃsīr devaprerita . . . . barhiṣī 'ti || abhimaṃtrya sarvaprāyaścittaṃ juhuyāt ||

svam āsīda sadanaṃ svam ‖ mā hiṃsīr deva preṣita ājyena tejasā "jyasva mā naḥ kiṃcana rīriṣo | yoga-kṣemasya śāntyā asmin āsīda barhir iti | taptaṃ cet karma (guṇo) tv[696] antariyāt[696] sarvaprāyaścittaṃ hutvā mo 'dvijen[697] | (nā 'ṅgā "hutim[698] antarhitāṃ dadyān | na ta-pa-varga-nimittā-'bhāvāt pradhānalope 'ntarāye[699] vā nirvaped vyāpadyeta) | śeṣ(ād avadyeṣ)aś ced vyāpadyetā "jyena sviṣṭakṛd-iḍe samāpnuyāt | samāpte ced duṣṭo[700] na kṛtām antarāṃ vā vidyāt punariṣṭir abhyāvarteta | yajño yajñasya prāyaścittir bhavatī 'ti ‖ 2 agnyādheye samitsv āhitāsu nā 'gniṃ gṛhād uddhareyur nā 'nyata āhareyur | na prayāyān nā 'nugached | yadi prayāyād anugached vā saṃvatsaraṃ saṃvatsarābhiprāyo vā yadi tvared brahmaudanaṃ paktvā punaḥ samidham abhyādadhyād | agnihotraṃ ced anabhyuddhṛtaṃ śaraśarāsyād[701] amuṃ samūhe[702] 'ti brūyād | viṣyannam[703] agne[704] tvaṃ[705] na iti[706] juhuyān | madhyamena parṇena mahī dyaur[707] iti[708] tan[708] (madhyame palāśāvāṇaparṇena mahī dyaur iti[709] tan mamadhyame palāśāvāṇaparṇena[710] mahī dyaur[709] ity[708]) antaḥparidhideśe ninayed[711] | [d]uhyamānā[712] ced avabhi[n]dyād anya-

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[696] A tvāṃtarīyā B °nvāyāt; D °nvāṃtariyāt [697] A madvijetā BC mādvijenā [698] ABC °hutīm [699] D ṃtaye [700] AD. duṣṭe [701] ABCD śaraśarā (BC °rāt) syād; s. auch Āp 9. 6. 10; cf. Āśv. 3. 11. 19; śaraśarāyat; Komm. in Brahm. Prāy. 43 a faßt dies Wort onomatopoëtisch auf: yady adhiśritaṃ . . . . śaraśire 'ty eva[ṃ] śabdaṃ kuryāt; so auch Āśv. Prāy. 4 a: agnihotradravyam adhiśritaṃ śaraśarā-śabdaṃ karoti . . . . vgl. Agn. Prāy. 8 b: agnihotraṃ śaraśarāyat samoṣāmum iti dveṣṭāram udāharet | adhiśṛtam agnihotradravyaṃ yadi śabdāyet tadā 'bhimaṃtrayeta | [702] Āp. 9. 6. 10. [703] A viṣpannam B viṣaṃtam C viṣyaṃtam [704] A agnis [705] A taṃ C tvan [706] Zitiert ist: RV. 5. 24. 1. [707] RV. 1. 22. 13; vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 4 a: atho "dvāsitaṃ tāpavaśena viṣyandamānam agnihotra-dravyaṃ tadā mahī dyauḥ pṛthivī ca na iti maṃtreṇa āhavanīyasya bhasmāṃte ninayet | sthālīgatena homaḥ | tad-abhāve dravyāṃtareṇa homaḥ | atha bībhatse dravye madhyama-palāśa-parṇena valmīka-vapāyāṃ prajāpate na tvad etāny anya ity ṛcā prakṣipya dravyāṃtareṇa homaḥ ‖ athavā tūṣṇīṃ prakṣipya dravyāṃtareṇa homaḥ | [708] D ityaṃtaṃ [709] Diese und die inzwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei B. [710] D palāśaparṇena [711] Āp. 9. 2. 5; cf. oben Anm. 93 und Agn. Prāy. 8 b: viṣyandamānaṃ mahī dyauḥ pṛthivī ca na ity āhavanīyasya bhasmānte ninayet | viṣyandanaṃ tu pūrvavat | adhiśritā-'vasthāyāṃ pay[o]-yavāgv-ādy-agnihotra-dravya-viṣyaṃdanena *yadā 'gniṃ prāpyate* tadā sthālī-gata-dravyo-'pary udakam upasiṃcet | athai 'nad dakṣiṇena pāṇinā 'bhimṛśya japati | divaṃ tṛtīyaṃ devān yajño agāt . . . . . pūrvahūtau (Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5. 3) | ity etābhyāṃ tata[ḥ] sthālīgatam apsu

syāṃ sthālyāṃ[713] dohayitvā 'dhiśrayed[714] | adhiśriyamāṇaṃ[715] ce[t] skanded adhiśritam unnīyamānam[716] unnītaṃ punar eva sannam[717] ahutaṃ[717] skandet[718] punar ānīyā 'nyāṃ[719] dohayitvā 'dhiśrityo 'nnīya juhuyāt[720] | prācīnaṃ ced dhriyamāṇaṃ skandet prajapater viśvabhṛtaḥ skannāhutam asi svāhe 'ti[721] | dohanaprabhṛtyā homa[722] skandet[723] samudraṃ tvā

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prakṣipet | udvāsite viṣyaṃdane viṣyaṃdanena *yadā bhūmiṃ prāpyate* tadā mahī dyauḥ . . . . bharīmabhir (RV. 1. 22. 13) ity āhavanīyasya bhasma-madhye prakṣipet tataḥ punar-utpattir ubhayatra | [712] ABC uhyamānā; cf. Āp. 9. 5. 7.

[713] cf. AP 37. 3. 1 . . . . ājyasthālī cyavate pracalati vā . . . . ibid. 37. 20. 1 atha cet (udapātraṃ) prabhajyeta. . . . [714] Brahm. Prāy. 41 b: yadi duhyamānā 'vabhindyād anyām āryakṛtīṃ prakṣālya punar dohayet. Daß āryakṛtīm statt āryattatīṃ des Textes zu lesen ist, beweist der unmittelbar folgende Komm.: yadi duhyamānā 'vabhiṃdyād iti brāhmaṇadarśanād anyām āryakṛtīṃ . . . Agn. Prāy. 6 b: agnihotram adhiśritaṃ sravad abhimaṃtrayeta | adhiśritam agnihotra-dravyaṃ sthālī-mūlena yadi sravati tadā sravam abhimaṃtrayeta | garbhaṃ sravaṃtam agadam akarmā 'gnir (akarma nach Aśv. S. 3. 10. 31) . . . . . parastād (Āp. S. 9. 4. 1) iti bhinnaṃ siktaṃ vā 'bhimaṃtrayeta (soweit wörtlich gleich Āśv. Prāy. 3 a folg.) | sthālī-bhedena vikṣiptam agnihotra-dravyaṃ duṣṭaṃ bhavati | skaṃdanena ca vikṣiptam ubhayaṃ yāvat skannaṃ tāvan-mātraṃ duṣṭa[ṃ] bhavati na pātragataṃ (cf. oben Anm. 724) | samudraṃ vaḥ prahiṇomi svāṃ yonim api gachata | ariṣṭā asmākaṃ vīrā mayi gāvaḥ saṃtu gopatāv (Āśv. 3. 11. 6; cf. unten in 4. 4) iti maṃtreṇa duṣṭasyā 'bhimaṃtraṇā-'bhimarśane taṃtreṇa kuryāt | tata āpo (!) [']bhyavahareyuḥ | skanne payasy etad abhimaṃtraṇaṃ na bhavati agre vakṣyamāṇatvāt | [715] A adhiśrayamāṇaṃ [716] Bei A dittographiert. [717] A sānnamahutaṃ B sannamāhutaṃ C saṃnamaṃhutaṃ [718] Brahm. Prāy. 42 a werden folgende Möglichkeiten aufgezählt: yady adhiśritaṃ skaṃded yad udvāsyamānaṃ yad[y ud]vāsitaṃ yadi vo 'nnīyamānaṃ (?) yady unnīta[ṃ] yadi puraḥ purāhṛtaṃ (?) [cf. Komm. zu Āp. 9. 6. 2] homāya punar avanīyād . . . . . vāruṇīṃ nigadya vāruṇyā "jyaṃ juhuyāt (!) imaṃ me varuṇa (RV. 1. 25. 19) ity ādyā . . . . ca nigadya tat tvā yāmī (RV. 1. 24. 11) 'ty uttarayā juhuyāt tatra karma pradarśyate; — in den Worten unseres Textes: punar eva . . . ahutaṃ skandet kann eine Korruption von yadi puraḥ parāhṛtaṃ skandet (s. o.) gesehen werden. [719] ABC anyān [720] Āp. 9. 5. 8 f. [721] Vergl. dazu: prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvaṃ hutam asi svāhā Āp. 9. 6. 3; Āśv. 3. 11. 11. [722] BCD homā; l.: ā homāt; [723] cf. Āśv. Prāy. 3 b: atha dohanādi-prācī[na]-haraṇāt prāg yadi skanne samudraṃ va iti maṃtreṇa yad adya dugdhaṃ pṛthivīm asṛpta . . . . tan mayī 'ti [Āśv. 3. 11. 7] cābhimaṃtryo 'pāṃśu japet | tad apsu prakṣipya pātragata-śeṣeṇa homaḥ | homā-'samarthe śeṣe 'nyāṃ dugdhvā homaḥ | Der Anfang dieses Passus ermöglicht ein Verständnis, wo nicht eine Rekonstruktion, des obigen Textes; s. auch die unmittelbare Fortsetzung der Āśv. Prāy.: atho 'nnayanādi-pūrvāhuti-paryaṃtaṃ dugdhā-"di-sādha-

prahiṇomī 'ty[724] apo[725] ninīyo[725] 'd uttamam ity abhimantryo 'd uttamaṃ mumugdhi na[726] ud uttamam varuṇe[727] 'ti vāruṇy(en)ā[728] "jyā-"hutīr[728] juhuyā[c][729] | (chāvalī[730] deva)

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raṇa-homa-dravye skanne prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvaṃ hutam asī 'ty [Āp. 9. 6. 3] abhimṛśya apsu prakṣipya homasa[mar]thaśeṣeṇa vāruṇīṃ japitvā vāruṇyā pūrvāhutiṃ juhuyāt | anya-homakāla-paryaṃtaṃ yajamānasyā 'naśanaṃ bhavati | aśeṣe skanne sthālyāḥ punar-unnayanaṃ kārayitvā pūrvavaj juhuyāt | sthālyām apy abhāve ājyaṃ saṃskṛtyo 'nnīya pūrvavad dhomādi kartavyaṃ | athavā śeṣeṇa juhuyāt punar unnīyā 'śeṣe ājyam aśeṣe iti nimittatraye prakṛtivad dhomaḥ | vāruṇī japo vāruṇī homo 'naśanaṃ ca yajamānasya naimittikaṃ karmatrayaṃ punarhomaṃ ca gāṇagāriḥ || ājyam aśeṣa iti tṛtrīya eva nimittaṃ tat trayaṃ śeṣahomaḥ punar unnīya homa iti kecit | Āśv. Pray. 4 b: prācīna-haraṇā-'nantaraṃ duṣṭe punar-unnayanaṃ ||

[724] AV. 10. 5. 23; Āp. 9. 5. 6; daher werden unreine Substanzen dem Wasser übergeben; cf. oben Anm. 58. Āśv. 3. 11. 6; Brahm. Prāy. 41 b: samudraṃ vaḥ prahiṇomīty anena maṃtreṇā 'pa upaninīya nīcau [l.: nīcair] dravyaṃ prāpyaṃ yatra skaṃdet tad apo ninayed iti brāhmaṇaṃ yad adya dugdham abhimantrayati . . . Āśv. Prāy.: atha sthālī-bhedād bhinnaṃ skannaṃ vā sādhāraṇam agnihotra-dravyam abbimaṃtrayet | samudraṃ vaḥ . . . . . gopatāv (Āśv. 3. 11. 6) ity apsu prakṣipet | [725] AB ayoninīyo C apo minīyo D apo nīnīyo [726] RV. 1. 25. 21. [727] RV. 1. 24. 15; cf. Agn. Prāy. 7 a: āhuti-dvayasyā 'paryāptau anyaṃ dravyam.... juhuyāt | etad dohanā-"dy ā prācīna-haraṇāt | prācīnaharaṇāt prāg agnihotra (l.: °tre) skanne samudraṃ va ity anenā 'bhimṛśya yad adya dugdham (cf. Āp. 9. 5. 6) iti payasi | payo-vyatirikte dravye adhiśritā-'vasthāyāṃ skanne vakṣyamāṇaṃ brāhm[aṇ]oktaṃ viṣyaṃdane yad abhimarśanaṃ tad bhavati | tataḥ skannam apo 'bhyavahareyuḥ | prākṛta eva homaḥ | prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvaṃ hutam asī 'ti (Āp. 9. 6. 3) tatra skannābhimarśanaṃ śeṣeṇa juhuyāt punar unnīyā 'śeṣa ājyam aśeṣa etad ā homād vāruṇīṃ japitvā vāruṇyā juhuyād anaśanam ā 'nyasmād dhoma-kālāt | tata[ḥ] prayogaḥ | prācīna-haraṇādy-uttarāhuti-madhye yady agnihotraṃ skandet tadā prajāpater . . . asīti payo-'bhimarśanaṃ samudraṃ va ity anena taṇḍulādy-abhimarśanaṃ kṛtvā tataḥ skannam apo 'bhyavaharet | tataḥ sruci madhye homa-dvayasya paryāpta-dravyaṃ cetainaiva [l.: cet tenaiva] mātrā-'pacāreṇaiva homaḥ nā 'trā 'bhyānayanaṃ | yadi sarvaṃ skandet tadā punar unnīya homaḥ |; vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3: yasyā "gnihotry upāvasṛṣṭā duhyamānā spandeta .... sā yatra skandayet tad abhimṛśya japet .... tatra yat pariśiṣṭaṃ syāt tena juhuyād yady alaṃ homāya syād | yady u vai sarvaṃ siktaṃ syād athā 'nyām āhūya tāṃ dugdhvā tena juhuyāt . . .; cf. Āśv. Prāy. 3 b: pātra-gaṭaṃ tad duṣṭaṃ śeṣā-'bhāve dravyāṃtareṇa homaḥ | [728] A vāruṇye dadyādāyāhutīr BC vāruṇyo nadyād ājyāhutī D vāruṇyādogdhādājyāhutīr [729] Āp. 9. 6. 1; — Brahm. Prāy. 42 b: vāruṇī prāyaścittaṃ karttavyaṃ varuṇo vā etat (!) yajñasya gṛhṇāti yad ārchati cf. oben Anm. 724. [730] D °vaṇī

sāyaṃ [yasya] skanno[731] homaḥ[732] syāt[732] prātar nā 'śnīyāt | prāta[r ya]sya skanno[731] homaḥ[733] [syāt] sāyaṃ nā 'śnīyān | (mantraskannaṃ)[734] ced abhivarṣen mitro janān yātayatī[735] 'ti samidham ādhāyā 'nyā(ṃ) dugdhvā punar juhuyād[736] | mitro janān yātayati bruvāṇo mitro dādhāra pṛthivīm uta dyāṃ | mitraḥ kṛṣṭīr animiṣā 'bhicaṣṭe mitrāya havyaṃ ghṛtavaj juhota svāhe 'ti[737] mantra-saṃskṛtaṃ[738] | kīṭā-'vapannaṃ hiraṇyagarbha[739] iti valmīkavapāyām[740] avanīyā[741] 'nyāṃ dugdhvā punar juhuyāt[742] ‖ 3 ‖ agnihotraṃ ced anabhyuddhṛtaṃ sūryo

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[731] ABC skanno D skaṃnnā [732] A homāṃ syāt B homāsyā C homāt D homā syāt [733] BCD homāt cf. Āp. 9. 6. 9; Agn. Prāy. 8 a: varuṇī-japo vāruṇa-homo 'naśanaṃ ca | [734] l. vielleicht: °trasaṃskṛtaṃ; s. im folg. [735] RV. 3. 59. 1; Āp. 9. 2. 6 (fast wörtlich übereinstimmend); Āśv. 3. 11. 22; K. Ś. 25. 11. 23. [736] Brahm. Prāy. 42 a: avavṛṣṭaṃ nā mṛd eva kārttakasecanaṃ divyādir adbhiḥ saṃsarga ity arthaḥ | paṭalādi-dravya-vihṛtair ity arthaḥ ... tatra bhūr bhuva svar iti purastād dhoto vīdad ity evam-ādi brāhmaṇa-darśanāt | vyāhṛtīr agnihotram iti vo 'ccārya mitra iti pūrvām āhutiṃ juhuyāt parisamāpte tasminn aparahomāṃte stome ca parisamāpte 'pare punaḥ (!) ahomo vā 'parayor ity etat sūtram etad vratam ichaṃti | teṣām iha prāg aparahomād anyāṃ dugdhvā 'tha punar agnihotraṃ juhuyāt (!) anyāṃ dugdh[v]e 'ti vā 'n[y]ena dohanaṃ niyaṃyate | kiṃ tu punar agnihotraṃ vidhīyate anya[d] dravyam upādāya punar agnihotraṃ hotavyam iti payasi vā 'vavṛṣṭe niyamaḥ | kiṃ tarhi sarvadravyeṣv eva vṛṣṭeṣu tatra (!) avavṛṣṭavaśena etat | nai 'tan naimittikaṃ | cf. Agn. Prāy. 9 a: mitro janān yātayati bruvāṇa iti samid-ādhanaṃ | sragāte (?) 'gnihotra-dravye yadā varṣet tadā nimittā-'nantaraṃ mitro .... juhote 'ty āhavanīye samidham ādadhyāt | tatas tenaiva homaḥ ‖ vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 4 b: agnihotra-dravye vṛṣṭir idaṃ (?) ścota(ṃ)ti tadā mitro .... juhota svāhā ‖ mitrāye 'daṃ ‖ iti samidaṃtaraṃ nimittā-'nantaram eva juhuyāt ‖ athavā prākṛta-maṃtra-sthāne ayaṃ taṃtraḥ | [737] ABC °hote 'ti [738] ABCD maṃtraṃ-° [739] AV. 4. 2. 7. [740] ABC vapāṃ [741] Mss. apa° resp. api°. Als Mittel, sich eines unreinen Gegenstandes zu entäußern, gilt das Heraufgießen resp. Aussetzen desselben auf einen Ameisen- oder Maulwurfhügel, das Aufhängen auf Bäumen, das Fortwerfen in Wasser. Letztere drei Arten bei Beseitigung eines Fötus angewendet: K. Ś. 25. 10. 14. [742] Āśv. 3. 10. 23; Brahm. Prāy. 43 b: kīṭāvapannaṃ prājā(va)patyarcā valmīka-vapāyām avanīya bhūr ity upatiṣṭheta . . . prājāpatyarcā ... hiraṇyagarbha ity etayā apari punaḥ prajāpate na hi tvattānī 'ty etayā .... viṣya (?) saṃvā valmīka-vapāyāṃ kīṭāvapannam aṃtaḥparidhy avavṛṣṭe vā vidhānaṃ avanayed iti ...; cf. Agn. Prāy. 5 b: duṣṭāni havīṃṣy apsu prakṣipet sarvatra | prajāpate na tvad etāny anya (AV. 7. 80. 3) iti valmīka-vapāyāṃ vā sānnāyyaṃ duṣṭaṃ madhyamena palāśa-parṇena juhuyāt | prajāpate ... rāyīnāṃ (!) ity anena svāhākāraṃtena maṃtreṇa valmīka-dvāre prasiṃcet | apsu vā tūṣṇīṃ |

'bhyudiyād[743] ihai 'va kṣemya edhi[744] mā prahāsīr[745] mām amum āmuṣyāyaṇam[745] iti śamayitvā praṇīya pravṛttā-'tipattau[746] maitraṃ caruṃ nirvapet sauryam[747] ekakapālaṃ | varo[748] dakṣiṇā | 'gnīn upasamādhāya yajamānaḥ patnī vā 'bhuñjānau vāgyatāv[749] araṇīpāṇī[750] sarvāhṇam[751] upāsīyātām[752] | dvayor[753] gavoḥ[753] sāyam agnihotraṃ juhuyād[754] | agnaye

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[743] Brahm. Prāy. 51 a: anuddhṛtaṃ ced abhyudiyād uttarato gārhapatyasya saṃstīryā 'gnihotra-pātrāṇi prayujya saṃstīrya (?) pavitram utpādya pavitre prākṣa . . .(?) sruvaṃ juhūm ājyasthālīṃ co 'ttarataḥ prayujya agnihotrasya daśahotrābhi . . . rśanāṃtaṃ kṛtvā saṃsādanāni gārhapatyasya pākayajñadharmeṇā "jyaṃ saṃsrutyo 'ttarataḥ agnihotrapātrāṇām avasthāpya caturgṛhītaṃ gṛhītvā pavitre gārhapatye akṛtvā "jyasthālīm apanīya siddhaṃ | [744] Āp. 9. 7. 6. (Die differenzierenden Bestimmungen finden sich in 9. 7. 2 ff.; cf. 9. 7. 10); Āśv. 3. 12. 7. [745] D prahāsīd idam aham amuṣyāyaṇam iti [746] A pravṛttāpitau B pravṛttānipattau C pravṛttāpipacau (°tvau?) s. hierzu Āp. 9. 7. 6; — Brahm. Prāy. 58 a folg. behandeln das gleiche Thema; . . . prātar agnihotraṃ ced abhyudiyād anv agnir uṣasām agram akaśad (M. S. 1. 8. 9) ity unnītam abhimaṃtrayate | (Komm.) prātar agnihotragrahaṇāt praṇīte gnau prātar agnihotrārtham abhyudiyāt . . . na hi sūryābhyudaya eva yasyā 'hutam agnihotraṃ sūryo 'bhyudiyād brāhmaṇa-darśanāt tatre 'daṃ prāyaścittam anuṣaṃgaṃ kuryād anv agnir ity unnītam abhimaṃtrayate brāhmaṇadarśanāt . . . . . anādeśād adhvaryur evābhimaṃtrayate āhavanī-[yaṃ] yajamāna ihai 've 'ty abhimaṃtrayate . . . mām amum iti nāma gṛhṇāty āmuṣyāyaṇam iti gotraṃ māṃ yajñadattaṃ bhāradvāja ity evam anyatrā 'thā 'mum iti . . . prātar vastor iti aṃtato 'nuṣajed iti sāyam-agnihotra-kālātikrama uktaṃ | hutai maitraṃ caruṃ nirvapet | sauryam ekakakapālaṃ hute hutamātre sadyaḥkriyā syād iti | iṃdhānau dampatī vāgyatāv anaśnaṃtau sarvāhnam upāsīyātāṃ | . . . agnisamīpe . . . āsīyātāṃ dvayor gavoḥ sāyam agnihotraṃ juhuyād . . . sāyaṃ patny anvāste na prātar iti patnyā pratar-anvāsanam eva pratiṣidhyate . . . prātar agnihotraṃ ced abhyudiyād . . . anuddhṛtam . . . . uddharaṇād ārabhya prāk pūrvasyā "huter idaṃ prāyaścittam . . . vgl. oben 1. 2. [747] ABCD saurya; cf. Āp. 9. 7. 7. [748] A vanaro B caro; cf. Āśv. 3. 12. 8. [749] Auch der Bruch der Schweigepflicht verlangt Sühne (Āśv. Prāy. 17 a): yatra vāgyamo vihitas tad-bhreṣe ato devā (RV. 1. 22. 16) iti japed api vā 'nyāṃ vaiṣṇavīṃ ‖ upāṃśu-madhyamā-"dir yatra svaro vihitas tad-bhreṣe 'dhvaryur ābhir gīrbhir . . . . . syāma (Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 11. 4—5) svāhe 'ti sruvāhutiṃ juhuyāt ‖ yatra ekaśruty-ādi vihitaṃ tad-bhreṣe viṣṇuṃ śrutvā tad eva punaḥ paṭhet ‖ [750] BC aruṇāpaṇi D araṇiyāṇi [751] A sarvātsam BC sarvāhnim [752] B upāsīdhātāṃ; cf. Āśv. 3. 12. 9. [753] BC dvayokaṃchoḥ; ddvayor gaṭhoḥ; verbessert nach Āp. 9. 7. 9. [754] Brahm. Prāy. 47 a: yadi rudraḥ paśūn abhimanyeta dvayo gavo sthālyā dohane ca dohayitvā samānīya sajūr jātavedā (M. S. 1. 8. 6) iti pūrvām āhutiṃ juhuyāt | . . . . dvayor gavyo sthālyā dohanena ca (?) dohayitvā . . . . atha sthālyāṃ samānīya bhūr bhuvaḥ svar agni-

vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped | yadi hy ayaṃ divā prajāsu hi manyeta sajūr jātavedo[755] divā pṛthivyā haviṣo vīhi[756] svāhe 'ti sajūruho[757] vā syāt sajūr agnaye divā pṛthivyā haviṣo vīhi svāhe 'ti dvādaśarātram agnihotraṃ juhuyād | yadi na viramayed agnaye[758] suśīryatamo[759] juṣasva svāhe 'ty aparaṃ dvādaśarātraṃ[758] niśāyāḥ sāyamāhuter atipattir[760] prātarāśe prātarāhuter āsādyā 'gnihotram ā[761] ta-

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hotraṃ sajūr iti co 'kt[v]ā pūrvām āhutiṃ juhuyāt Bl. 48 a: dvayor gavor ekasyā dvayor vā niṣīdane punaḥ prāyaścittam ity upajātam iti kṛtvā prāyaścittaṃ bha[va]ti. Bl. 60 b: dvayor gavoḥ sāyam agnihotraṃ hutvā . . .

[755] Āp. 6. 14. 12. [756] C vrīhi [757] A sajūrudvo B sājūruho D sajūsaho gemeint: sajūr u hai 'va? [758] Statt dieser und der inzwischenliegenden Worte setzt D: niśā [759] A suśīryatapto B suśīryatamo C sruśīryatamo [760] cf. K. Ś. 25. 10. 23; Agn. Prāy. 4 b: atha rātreḥ prathamaḥ praharaḥ sāyaṃhoma-kālaḥ || daśa ghaṭikāḥ prātarhoma-kālaḥ || svakāle praṇīteṣv agniṣu (!) uktakālā-'tikrame prāyaścittam ucyate | sāyaṃkālā-'tipattau ājyaṃ . . . . saṃskṛtya caturgṛhītaṃ gṛhītvā āhavanīye juhuyāt | doṣā vast[o]r namaḥ svāhe 'ti maṃtreṇa | parisamūhanādikuśeṣū 'pasādanāṃtaṃ kṛtvā bhūr bhuvaḥ svar iti japitvā brāhmaṇāya gāṃ dattvā samid-ādhānā-"di-homa-śeṣaṃ samāpya teṣv evā 'gniṣu vāruṇīm iṣṭiṃ pūrṇāhutiṃ vā kuryāt | atha prātaḥ-kālā-'tipattau prātar vast(o)r namaḥ svāhe 'ti caturgṛhītaṃ hutvā kuśeṣū 'pasādanāṃtaṃ kṛtvā gāṃ dattvā homaśeṣaṃ samāpya (!) āhavanīyam evā 'nugamayen na dakṣiṇāgniṃ || punar gārhapatyād āhavanīyaṃ praṇayet | ihaiva kṣemya edhi mā prahāsīd [d]evadattaṃ mā bhāradvājaṃ iti praṇayet | atra maṃtre yajamāna-nāma . . . . . iṣṭir mitraḥ sūrya iti devate || abhi yo mahinā divaṃ . . . . . pṛthivīṃ (RV. 3. 59. 7) | pra sa mitra marto . . . . . dūrāt (RV. 3. 59. 2) iti mitrasya caror yājyānuvākye | taraṇir viśvadarśataś . . . . . anīkam (RV. 1. 50. 4) iti sūryasya || pūrṇāhutyau vā kārye | tato daṃpatī vāgyatau (s. oben 4. 4) tān evā 'gnīn jvalaya(ṃ)to upāsīyātāṃ | homakāle anaśnaṃtau ekasyā gor dugdham adhiśritya tasmin dvitīya-gor dugdham ānayet | tenā 'gnihotraṃ hutvā dakṣiṇāgny-āhavanīyayor na dhāraṇaṃ | tataḥ prātaḥkāle agnihotraṃ hutve 'ṣṭiḥ | agnir vratabhṛd devatā | tvam agne vratabhṛc . . . . . jātavedaḥ | (Ā. Ś. 3. 12. 14) || pūrṇamāsavad ānyat || pūrṇāhutir vā || athā praṇīteṣu homakālātipattau agnīn vihṛtyā "jyaṃ saṃskṛtya juhvāṃ caturgṛhītaṃ gṛhītvā manasvatyā "havanīye juhuyāt || evam aneka-kālā-'tipattāv apy eṣaiva prāyaścittiḥ || atīta-homā api pakṣa-homa-nyāyena kartavyā ity eke |. Die Versäumnis eines Manenopfers muß rituell gesühnt werden (Agn. Prāy. 19 a): apastaṃbo-'kta-piṃḍapitṛyajña-lopa-prāyaścittaṃ | piṃḍapitṛyajñā-'tipatti-nimittaṃ caturgṛhītenā "jyena saptahotāraṃ hoṣyāmī 'ti saṃkalpya caturgṛhītaṃ gṛhītvā | mahā(ṃ)-havir hotā | satyahavir adhvaryuḥ | acyutapājā agnīt | acyuta-manā upavaktā | anādhṛṣyaś cā 'pratidhṛṣyaś ca yajñasyā 'bhigarau | ayāsya udgātā | vācaspate hṛdvidhe nāman vidhema te nāma | vidhes tvam asmākaṃ nāma | vācaspatiḥ somam

mitor[761] āsīta | saṃsthāpyau[762] 'ṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ svar janad [d]oṣā vastoḥ[763] svāhe 'ti juhuyād | atha prātar ahar-aha[764] rātriṃ[764] rātrim ity upasthāne syād | agnaye 'bhyujjuṣasva svāhe 'ti sruveṇa gārhapatye juhuyād[765] | yasyā 'nnaṃ[766] nā 'dyāt[766] tasmai brāhmaṇāya[767] dadyāt[767] adhastāt samidham āharet | smṛtāgnihotrī tiraśco darbhān dakṣiṇāgrān[768] kuryād | yasyo 'bhāv anugatau sūryo 'bhinimloced[769] abhyudiyād vā 'raṇiṃ[770] gatā vā naśyeyur[771] asamārūḍhā[771] vā prakṛtyai

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apād mā daivyas taṃtuś chedi mā manuṣyaḥ | namo dive namaḥ pṛthivyai (M. S. 1. 9. 1 Text variiert vgl. TA. 3. 5. 1) svāhā vācaspataye brahmaṇa idaṃ ta ity āhavanīye juhoti | Das Verfehlen des richtigen Zeitpunktes ist selbst bei Einzelheiten des Opfervollzuges ominös (Āśv. Prāy. 18 a): *vaṣaṭkāre* anāgate atīte vā ..... Noch mehr bedarf das versehentliche Auslassen eines Opfers oder Opfergliedes der Sühne (Āśv. Prāy. 18 b): prayājā-"dy-aṃgā-'karaṇe ..... aṣṭau vyāhṛtīś ca sruveṇa juhuyāt || piṃdapitṛyajñā-'karaṇe 'py etat prāyaścittaṃ || tad etat samiṣṭayajuṣaḥ pūrvaṃ kāryaṃ || sarvatrā 'karaṇe .... Die versäumte heilige Handlung muß nachgeholt werden (ibid.): prāyaścitte kṛte paścād atītam api karma vai kāryam ity eka ācāryā ne 'ty ane[ke] 'pi vipaścitaḥ || pathikṛn-mukhenā 'tipanna-yāgaṃ vā juhuyād iti kecit || tad etad iṣṭy-aṃtarā-"raṃbhāt prāg yadā tatra kāraṇa-vaśān na kṛtaṃ tadā pathikṛn-mukhene 'ṣṭy-aṃtaraṃ kāryaṃ || Auch bedarf es der Sühne, wenn gegen die beim Opfer vorgeschriebene Observanz in irgend einer Weise verstoßen wird (Agn. Prāy. 14 a): athā "gneyyā iṣṭayo vratā-'tipattau vratapataye vrata-lopa-nimitta eve 'ṣṭiḥ kāryā | sāgnāv agni-praṇayane 'gnivate | oder wenn die heiligen Feuer bei ihrer Anlegung verwechselt werden: yady anyo 'gnir āhavanīyāyatane āhavanīyārtham uddhriyate tam agnim anidhāyai 'va smarati cet tadā "yatanastham uduhye "dānīm uddhṛtaṃ nidadhyāt | tathā 'satī 'ṣṭir na bhavati | etasminn api pakṣe yady anapavṛtta-karmo 'duhyeta tadā vyāhṛtihomaḥ karttavyaḥ || apavṛttaṃ tu na kiṃcid api prāyaścittaṃ || tadā smṛtau etasmin pūrva-praṇīte nidadhyāt tadā 'gnivate 'ṣṭiḥ kāryā ||

[761] A aṃtamitor [762] A samānya BCD sāmāny [763] B °vāstāḥ [764] ABCD °-aha rātriṃ [765] Brāhm. Prāy. 2 b zitiert als maßgebend für alle Sühnezeremonien: brahmā prāyaścittāni sruveṇa juhoty etat sūtram. Agn. Prāy. 19 a: sruveṇa juhuyād brahmā | sarvatre 'ṣṭika-prāyaścitteṣu brahmaiva karttā | Śrautaprāy. Candrikā 1 a: homa-sādhana-pātrā-'nuktau *juhuḥ* | caturgṛhītā-"di-viśeṣā-'nuktau juhvām ekagṛhītaṃ | vahni-viśeṣā-'nuktāv āhavanīyaḥ | kartṛ-viśeṣā-'nuktāv adhvaryuḥ | karma-madhye patitāni prāyaścittāni tu ājyena bhavaṃti | [766] A yasyānaṃnāsyāt B yasyāṃnaṃtādyā C yatyānaṃnādyāt D yasyānnanādyāt [767] A °dayadyād; BCD °yadadyāt [768] BC dakṣiṇāgnān [769] BC bhimloced; D bhiniproced [770] C °yāṇiṃ [771] B °yu samā° C yuḥ samā° D yurasamārūḍho

"va punar ādadhīta[772] ‖ 4 ‖ iti yajñaprāyaścitte *caturtho 'dhyāyaḥ* samāptaḥ[773] ‖

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[772] Āśv. 3. 12. 29 f.; Brahm. Prāy. 51 b: yasyo 'bhā[v] . . . .gārhapatyā-'havanīyāv anugatau sūryo 'bhyastam iyāt abhyudiyād vā punarādheyam eva tasya prāyaścittiḥ; K. Ś. 25. 3. 24; cf. Āśv. Prāy. 10 b: gārhapatyā-"havanīyayor nāśe tū 'bhaya-niṣṭha-bhasmanā 'raṇī ayaṃ ta (RV. 3. 29. 10) iti maṃtreṇa saṃspṛśye 'taḥ prathamaṃ jajñe agniḥ svād yoner ..... prajānan (Kauś. S. 133. 6) mathitvā gārhapatya ādhāya tata āhavanīyaṃ praṇīya pūrvoktaṃ prāyaścittaṃ [d. h.: die beim Erlöschen des gārhapatya-Feuers angewandte] kuryāt ‖ ubhayor ubhayasāpekṣatvena kramā-'nupatteḥ ‖ tata ubhayatrā 'nvādhāno-'pasthāne ‖

[773] BC lesen statt dieses Kolophons: ity atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścitta-prasaṃge dvādaśamo 'dhyāyaḥ ‖ 12 ‖; B beginnt sodann mit: oṃ D ity atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścitta-prasaṇgo dvādaśo 'dhyāyaḥ |

Atharvaprāyaścittāni. Text mit Anmerkungen von Prof. JULIUS VON NEGELEIN, University of Kœnigsberg, Germany.

agnihotraṃ [774] ced anabhyuddhṛtaṃ sūryo 'bhinimloced [775] brāhmaṇo bahuvid [776] uddhared [776] | yo brāhmaṇo bahuvit syāt samuddharet [776] | sarveṇai 'vai 'naṃ tad brāhmaṇa uddhared yenā 'ṃtarhita[ṃ] [777] hiraṇyam agrato hared [778] | vāruṇaṃ yavamayaṃ caruṃ nirvaped [779] ita eva prathamam iti | ita eva

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[774] D °tre [775] BD bhimloced C bhimloce; cf. Āp. 9. 6. 12. [776] A liest statt bāhu°: ba°; B bahuvid yo brāhmaṇo bahududdha°; CD bahuvid uddhared yo brāhmaṇo [ba]huvit syāt; cf. Āśv. 3. 12. 16. [777] A yo nyaṃta°; die Stelle ist zweifellos verderbt. [778] Brahm. Prāy. 49a: yasyā 'gnim anuddhṛtaṃ sūryo 'bhinimrocet(!) yo brāhmaṇo bahuvit sa uddharet (!) yasya yajamānasyā 'gnim anuddhṛtaṃ gārhapatyād aviyojitam ity arthaḥ | . . . . ṛtvig-vyatirikto 'pi yo bahuvit sa uddhared iti . . . . anyeno 'ddhṛtam apy anuddhṛtam iti hiraṇyaṃ baddhvā darbheṇā 'grato hareta paścād agnihotreṇā 'nviyāt (!) | hiraṇyaṃ baddhvā darbheṇo 'ddhṛtir iti vyākhyātaṃ | yatra yatra hiraṇyaṃ baddh[v]eti tatra tatro 'ddharaṇam iti tene 'hai 'ke agniṃ taṃ badhvā (?) 'grato hared iti agner uddharaṇaṃ prakṛtaṃ tasyā 'grato nayed ity arthaḥ | paścād agnihotreṇā 'nviyād anugacched ity arthaḥ.....tatra bahuvit kecid ācakṣate | caturdaśabhir vidyāsthānair adhītair vijñātaiś ca bhavaṃti | Bl. 51a: iyāṃs tu viśeṣaḥ | caturgṛhītam ājyam agrato haret caturgṛhītena hiraṇyaṃ bādhyate (!) tathā kecid iti purastāt pratyaṅmukha ājyaṃ juhuyāt | cf. Āśv. Prāy. 5b: athā "havanīye 'praṇīte yadi sūryā 'stamānaṃ (!) tadā bahuvidaṃ brāhmaṇam ānīya teno 'ddharaṇādini . . . nāṃtaṃ kārayet | agnipraṇayanakāle hiraṇyaṃ darbhair baddhvā 'nyaḥ purastān nayet | tataḥ paścād bahuvid agniṃ praṇayet | tataḥ sāyaṃ-kālā-'tipatti-prāyaścittaṃ vāruṇī-'ṣṭy-antaṃ sarvaṃ kāryam ity eke | kuśeṣū 'pasādanā-"di-vāruṇī-'ṣṭy-aṃtam ity apare | athā "havanīye 'praṇīte yadi sūryodayas tadā saṃskṛtaṃ caturgṛhītam ājyam ekaḥ purastān nayet | tataḥ paścād dhiraṇyavad rajatam eko nayet | tataḥ paścād bahuvid agniṃ praṇayet | tata āyatane 'gniṃ nidhāya purastāt pratyaṅmukha upaviśya jānav ājya (l.: jānū ācya) uṣāḥ ketunā svāhe 'ti [Ā. S. 9. 7. 10] hutvā prātaḥkālā-'tipatti-prātar-vrātabhṛtīṣṭy-aṃtam āhavanīyā-'nugamavarjaṃ kuryāt | kuśe[ṣū] 'pasādanādi-prātar-vrātabhṛtīṣṭy-aṃtaṃ kuryād ity eke | [779] Āp. 9. 7. 1.

prathamaṃ jājñe[780] agnir ābhyo yonibhyo adhi jātavedāḥ | sa gāyatryā triṣṭubhā jagatyā 'nuṣṭubhā devo devebhyo havyaṃ vahatu prajānann[781] iti paścād gārhapatya-lakṣaṇasyā 'raṇī nidhāya mathitve 'ṣe rāyyai ramasve 'ty ādadhyāt | iṣe rayyai ramasva[782] sahase dyumna ūrje 'patyāya | saṃrāḍ asi svarāḍ[783] asi sārasvatau tvo 'tsau prāvatām iti | yaḥ kaś cā 'gnīnām anugachen[784] nirmanthyaś[785] ced[785] dakṣiṇāgnim |

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[780] D yajñe [781] Kauś. S. 133. 6; die Mss. fügen hinter °nuṣṭubhā ein: bṛhatyā paṃktyā guptaḥ (D uṣṇiḥ) punar. [782] Ap. Śr. 9. 9. 1, wo aber die Vorbedingung für die Zitierung dieser Sprüche eine andere ist; vgl. V. S. 13. 35. [783] fehlt bei A. [784] Für das Erlöschen aller Opferfeuer schreiben Aśv. Prāy. 6 a vor: sarvavahnīnāṃ nāśe sūryā-'stamayo-'dayāt (!) prāg bhasmanā 'raṇī saṃspṛśya maṃtreṇa mathitvā praṇīya pūrvoktā tapasvatīṣṭir jyotiṣmatīṣṭiś ca kartavyā | idam iṣṭidvayaṃ homaṃ kṛtvā teṣv evā 'gniṣu kartavyaṃ | athavā sūryā-'stamayo-'dayā[t] prāṅ maṃthanopakramaṃ kṛtvā pratinidhiṃ laukikāgni-pramukhaṃ gārhapatyā-"yatane pratiṣṭhāpya vihṛtya homaṃ kṛtvā 'gnīn utsṛjya mathitvā tapasvatīṣṭir jyotiṣmatīṣṭiś ca kartavyā pūrṇāhutī vā | sarveṣāṃ nāśe sūryā-'stamayo-'dayāt prāṅ maṃthanopakramā-'bhāve 'gnyādheyaṃ punarādheyaṃ vā kartavyaṃ | .... sūryā-'stamayo-'dayā-'naṃtaraṃ sarvānugatau pūrvavan mathitvā 'gnihotraṃ hutvā tapasvatīṣṭi[r] jyotiṣmatīṣṭiś ca pūrṇāhutī vā | vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 10 b: evaṃ sarva-nāśe āyatana-tritaya-niṣṭha-bhasmanā 'raṇī ayaṃ ta (RV. 3. 29. 10) iti maṃtreṇa saṃspṛśya pūrvavan mathitvā 'gnidvayaṃ vihṛtya pūrvavat prāyaścittaṃ taṃtreṇa kṛtvā paścād dakṣiṇāgniṃ vihṛtya prāyaścittiṃ kuryāt | tasyo 'bhaya-sāpekṣatvāt | tata sarvatrā 'nvādhāno-'pasthānāni | sarvanāśe bhasmanā 'raṇī saṃsparśā-'bhāve ca yadi sūryā-'stamayo-'dayau bhavatas tadā 'gnivichittiḥ | anvāhitānām ajasrāṇāṃ yadā kadācin nāśo 'pi etad eva prāyaścittaṃ | tatrā 'nvādhānādi nā 'sti | pakṣāṃtaram uktvā "ha bhagavān baudhāyanaḥ | manasvatīṃ ced āhavanīye juhuyāt sai 'ṣā 'jasrāṇām anvāhitānāṃ savana-gatānāṃ cā 'gnīnām udvātānāṃ prāyaścittir etad eva homakāle 'nvādhāna-varjaṃ | etayaivā "vṛtai 'kasminn udvāte dvayor ve 'ti | vikṛtiṣu anvāhita-nāśe etad eva prāyaścittaṃ | vgl. Agn. Prāy. 13 a: uddharaṇo-'ttaraṃ udayāstamayāt prāk sarvaṃ (!) yugapad anugaccheyus tadā gārhapatyasya pūrvavan maṃthanā-"dy-utpattiṃ kṛtvā "havanīyaṃ praṇīya tapasvatī[ṃ] pūrṇāhutiṃ kṛtvā 'gniṃ parityajya tato hiraṇyaṃ puraskṛtye 'ty ādi vāruṇāya svāhe 'ty aṃta[ṃ] kṛtvā tato dakṣiṇāgner utpattiḥ | tataḥ karmaśeṣaṃ samāpayet | udayā-'stamayā-'naṃtaram iyam evo 'tpattiḥ | udayāstamaye yugapad-anugamane sarvā-'nugatis tatra tu punarādhānam eva | karmaṇas tretā-'gni-sādhyatvād āhavanīya-homa-kale trayāṇām agnīnāṃ samyak samiṃdhanaṃ kṛtvā homaḥ (!) kuryāt | yasya kasya cit karmaṇo 'rthāya vihṛteṣv agniṣu yat kiṃcid agnisādhya[ṃ] naimittikam utpādyate tasya naimittika-sahitasya ta evā 'gnayo bhaveyuḥ | na punaḥ-punar vihartavyaḥ | sarvāṃś ced anugatān ādityo 'bhyudiyād vā 'bhyastam iyād vā 'gny ādheyaṃ punar-ādheyaṃ vā yadi sarveṣv agniṣv anugateṣv ādityo 'stam udayaṃ vā gacheta tadā 'gnyādheyaṃ punar-

ahute[786] cet[787] sāyaṃ pūrvo 'nugached agnihotram adhiśrityo 'nnīyā 'gninā pūrveṇo[788] 'ddhṛtyā[788] 'gnihotreṇā 'nudraved[789] | adattapūrva-dhanaṃ[790] dadyāc | chvas tapasvatīṃ nirvaped | āyāhi tapasā janiṣv[791] ā 'gne[792] pāvako arciṣā | upe 'māṃ suṣṭutiṃ mama | ā no yāhi tapasā janeṣv āgne[793] pāvaka dīdyat | havyā deveṣu no dadhad iti havīṃṣi dadyāt | sāyam ahutam atī 'tarasminn[794] etad eva prāyaścittam anyatrā 'pi ṣṇutyā[795] ced | ahute cet prātaḥ pūrvo[796] 'nugacched avadāheṣum[797] aśnīyāt | teṣv alabhyamāneṣu bhasmanā 'raṇiṃ saṃspṛśya mathitvā 'vadadhyād[798] | agnaye jyotiṣmata iṣṭiṃ nirvaped | ahute

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ādheyaṃ vā prāyaścittaṃ bhavet | Mit dem Fall, das irgendein Opferfeuer erlischt, beschäftigen sich Agn. Prāy. 18a: anugate tu maṃthanāditapasvatī-'ṣṭy-aṃtaṃ tatra prāyaścittaṃ | tatra tu yāvajjanma tā(n)van mathit[v]ā yadi laukikāgni-sthāpane anavakāśas tadā yāvad-utpattis tāvan ma[ṃ]thanam eva tata āyatane nidhāyā 'nuddharaṇa-prāyaścitta-pūrvakahomaḥ karttavya[ś] ca | tato 'nuddharaṇa-prāyaścittena saha yadi kālo 'tipannas tadā manasvatīhomaś ca kāryaḥ | [785] AD nirmathyaś ce B nirmaṃthyaś ca C nirmaṃthyās ce

[786] B āhute; cf. Āp. 9. 9. 6. [787] A ce [788] A °ṇodvṛtyā [789] Brahm. Prāy. 51 b folg.: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre pūrvo 'gnir anugachet | svapradhāne 'gnihotreṇa prāsaṃgike 'gninā ca sahā 'gnihotreṇa co '[d]dravet | atrā 'nugached iti svayam anugataya(?) tad(?) bhavati nānugameti yathānugamayya pūrvam iti āhuta iti prāk pūrvasyā 'hute ita eva prathamaṃ jajña (MŚ. 3. 3. 1) uddhṛtam abhimaṃtrayate pradhānatvād anyasya cā' 'nādeśād adhvaryūr abhimaṃtranādīni karoti | iṣe rāye ramasve ty (MŚ. ibid.) ādhāsyamāne uddhṛtam ādhāsyamānaṃ cā 'gnim abhimaṃtrayate saṃrāḍ asīty (ibid.) ādadhāti | amṛtāhutim ity asyā "dhānamaṃtrasyā 'yam apacādadyāṃbādhakaṃ | sārasvatau tvā (ibid.) ity āhitam avasthāpitam agnim abhimaṃtrayata iti vyavahitam apy anuvarttate ['']hute ['']gnaye jyotiṣmate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ nirvaped vāruṇaṃ yavamayaṃ caruṃ hutasyā mātre upavasatho na syāt idaṃ sāyam agnihotre vā viśeṣā-'bhidhānāt ubhayaṃ tu bhavati | [790] B °-pūrve-° [791] M. S. 4. 10. 2. Āp. 9. 9. 3; vgl. auch Āśv. 3. 12. 27. [792] A agne [793] Die Worte von arciṣā bis āgne fehlen bei C; AD lesen: agne. [794] A ahutemititi itaraścisminn [795] BCD sutyā [796] A aparvvā [797] A läßt diese und die zwischenliegenden Worte aus; vgl. Āp. 9. 9. 7; Brahm. Prāy. 68 b: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre ['']paro 'gnir anugached iti . . . AP. 37. 10. 1: apraṇīto 'huto 'gnir upaśāmyati; vgl. ibid. 37. 13. 1: praṇīto 'gnir upaśāmyati . . . . [798] Brahm. Prāy. 52 a folg.: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotra uddharaṇād ārabhya prāk pūrvasyā "huteḥ svapradhāna ity uktaṃ | tatrā 'bhimarśanāṃtaṃ kṛtvo 'ddharet | . . . agnim adhvaryur gṛhṇīyād agnihotradravyaṃ soma śarmā gṛhṇīyāt sahanayanaṃ somaśarmā udya chattraṃ kṛtvo 'pāste adhvaryuḥ | paristaraṇāṃtaṃ kṛtvo 'pasādyaṃ juhuyāt taṃ sadya jyotiṣmatī bhūyo bhūyaḥ praṇīte 'nugame sakṛd eve 'ṣṭiḥ bahuvidā praṇīyamāne 'nugate sa eka(?) bhūyaḥ praṇayed abhimaṃtraṇādīni ca kuryat(!)

cet prātar aparo[799] vā 'nugacched[797] anugamayitvā pūrvaṃ mathitvā 'param uddhṛtya juhuyāt | tvaramāṇaḥ pūrvam agnim anvavasāya tataḥ paścāt prāñcam uddhṛtya juhuyāt[800] ‖ 1 ‖ uparuddhe cen mathyamāno na jāyeta[801] yatra dīpyamānaṃ

ā paristaraṇād āyur mecheti sādite 'nugate agne (??) eva dakṣiṇato 'gnihotradravyasya prayogaḥ (!) yadi hutāyāṃ samidhā (?) 'nugachet (!) bhūyo 'nugata abhimaṃtraṇādayo maṃtrā āvartaṃte sakṛd eva samid bhūyo bhūyo 'nugata ekatra bhasmany avasthāpite 'gner darśane tatrāsaṃdehān na jyotiṣmatī (!) agnimatī (!) āditaś ce 'yam eva sthāpite bhūyo bhūyaḥ praṇīte prathamasyā 'gner darśane 'bhyuddhṛtadhāraṇalakṣaṇānāgnimatī jyotiṣmatī bhavati gataśriya uddharaṇābhāvād ita eve 'ty abhimaṃtraṇaṃ bhavati iṣe rāya iti ca maṃtratrayaṃ bhavati | yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre pūrvo 'gnir anugachet tamo vā etasya yajñaṃ yuvata iti brāhmaṇaṃ

[799] D ayaste cf. Kauś. S. 7. 3. 4: abhyuddhṛto ['] huto 'gnir pramādād upaśāmyati mathite vyāhṛtīr juhuyāt . . . [800] Āp. 9. 9. 8; vgl. zu diesem Abschnitt Brahm. Prāy. 46 b folg.: yadi pūrvasyāṃ hutāyāṃ skaṃdeta yatra ve 'ty arthaḥ | ity anena maṃtreṇa samidham ādhāyo 'ttarāṃ yathāvidhiṃ juhuyāt (!) vyākhyātaṃ punar āgnihotra-vidhānaṃ | yadi pūrvasyāṃ hutāyām āhavanīyo 'nugached agnir dārau dārāv agnir [M. Ś. 3. 2. 9] iti hiraṇyaṃ nidhāyo 'ttarāṃ yathāvidhiṃ juhuyāt (!) hiraṇyaṃ nidhāye 'ty agnisaṃpādanārthaṃ hiraṇyaṃ nidhāya juhoty agnimaty eva juhotī 'ti darśanāt | uktam punaragnihotraṃ yatra pūrvasyāṃ hutāyāṃ skanded āhavanīyā-'nugamaś co 'bhayaṃ bhavati tatrā 'gnisaṃpādanāya pūrvaṃ hiraṇyam ādhāya samidham ādadhyād . . . . . .; vgl. ferner ibid. 53 a: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre 'paro 'gnir anugached ahuta iti prāk pūrvasyā "huteḥ (!) agnihotra iti . . . anugamayya pūrvasmin mathitvā praṇayed anugamayya pūrvam aparasmān mathitve 'ti yena nyāyena maṃthanaṃ samāropya mathitvā praṇayed iti viśeṣa uktaḥ siddham agnihotraṃ śvo bhūte 'gnaye tapasvate janadvate pāvakavate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ nirvapet śvo bhūta iti yena prakāreṇa śvo bhūto nirvāpaḥ svastha evam arthaṃ kṛtvā 'nyedyur nirvāpaḥ | yadi tvareta eva prāñcam uddhṛtya dakṣiṇāgnim anvānīya sāyaṃprātar juhuyāt . . . . Bl. 54 b: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre 'paro 'gnir anugachet svapradhāne uddharaṇād ārabhya prāk pūrvasyā "huter gārhapatyānugame anugamayya pūrvaṃ gārhapatyaṃ samāropya nirmathya praṇayanād ārabhyā 'gnihotraṃ siddhaṃ | upavasathaṃ kṛtvā 'gnaye tapasvata iṣṭi uddhṛtamātra āhavanīye gārhapatyānugame pātryām evā 'nugamayet (!) anugamite yady aparo dṛśyate tapasvatī jyotiṣmatī (!) uktam anugate jyotiṣmatī uktam anugate jyotiṣmatī nā 'nugamita iti . . . . [801] cf. Āśv. Prāy. 7 a: atha samārūḍheṣu mathyamāno na jāye[ta] tadā laukikāgni-brāhmaṇapāṇy-ajakarṇa-darbhastambā-'psu kāṣṭheṣu pṛthivyāṃ hutvā 'naṃtaram eva maṃthanaṃ kuryāt | pṛthivyāṃ pūrvasamid api na bhavati | homaḥ kāryaḥ | kāṣṭhe parisamiṃdhanādayo lupyaṃte | brāhmaṇa-pāṇy-ādau tisras tisraḥ samidho na bhavaṃti | tadānīṃ yajamānasya yāvajjīvaṃ saṃvatsaraṃ vā vrataṃ brāhmaṇapāṇi-home brāhmaṇāya vasati-dānaṃ | ajakarṇa-home aja-māṃsaṃ nā 'śnīyāt | darbha-staṃba-home darbhāsane no 'paviśet | apsu home viveko na kāryaḥ | cf. Agn. Prāy. 18 a: agnihotrāya

parāpaśyet tata āhṛtyā 'gnihotraṃ juhuyād[802] | yadi taṃ na vinded brāhmaṇasya dakṣiṇe pāṇau juhuyāt | tato brāhmaṇaṃ na paricakṣīta | yadi taṃ na vinded ajāyā dakṣiṇe karṇe juhuyāt | tato 'jāṃ nā 'śnīyād | yadi tāṃ[803] na vinded darbhastambeṣu[804] juhuyāt | tato darbheṣu nā "sīta | yadi tān[805] na vinded apsu juhuyāt | tato 'dbhiḥ pādau na prakṣālayīta[806] | yadi tān na vinded dhiraṇye juhuyāt | tato hiraṇyaṃ na bibhṛyād | āpadi mathitvā vihṛtyā[807] 'gnihotraṃ juhuyād | agnihotre ced anabhyuddhṛte haviṣi vā nirupte śakuniḥ śyenaḥ śvā vā 'ntareṇa vyaveyād[808] idaṃ viṣṇur[809] iti | idaṃ viṣṇur vicakrame tredhā nidadhe padaṃ | samūḍham asya pāṃsure | pra tad viṣṇur[810] | iti bhasmanā padam upavaped[811] | ano[812] rathā 'sya[813] puruṣo[814] [vā] vyaveyād[815] yad agne pūrvaṃ nihitaṃ[816] padaṃ hi te sūryasya raśmīn anvātatāna | tatra rayiṣṭhām anusambharai "tāṃ saṃ naḥ sṛja sumatyā vājavatye[817] 'ty ādadhyāt[818] ‖ 2 ‖ anvāhitāgniś cet[819] prayāyāt[819] tubhyaṃ tā

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kāle 'gnāv ajāyamāne 'py anyam ānīya juhuyuḥ | agnihomārthaṃ praṇayana-kāle samārūḍho 'gnir mathyamāno na jāyeta anyaṃ laukikam agnim ānīya praṇīya tatraiva homa[ḥ] karttavyaḥ | etad anugate na bhavati | cf. Āśv. 3. 14. 14 ff.; K. Ś. 25. 4. 1 folg. [802] Āp. 9. 3. 3 ff. [803] Es handelt sich aber offenbar um das männliche Wesen; s. K. Ś. 25. 4. 5; — D tan [804] K. Ś. 25. 4. 6: kuśa-stambe [805] D taṃ [806] Das Gleiche lehrt Āp. 9. 3. 14. Nach K. Ś. 25. 4. 9 soll das Wasser in den zugehörigen Gefäßen an die Feuerstätten gestellt werden. Denn „vor dem Wasser darf man nicht Ekel empfinden, so lehrt der Veda". [807] AB vihatyā. — Die obige Aufzählung der Substitutionsopfer lehrt eindringlich den Glauben an die absolute Notwendigkeit des Vollzuges des Agnihotra. [808] cf. Āp. 9. 6. 11; vgl. auch Āp. 9. 10. 15, 11. 24; Āśv. 3. 10. 10. [809] AV. 7. 26. 4. [810] AV. 7. 26. 2. [811] Āśv. 3. 10. 14. [812] ABD ato [813] D rathāśva [814] ABCD °ṣa [815] A vyavāped; Bvyavāye C vyavāyo; vgl. Āp. 9. 10. 17; l. ano-rathā-'śva-puruṣa-vyavāye? [816] So die Mss. mit M. Ś. 3. 4. 10. [817] T. B. 1. 4. 4. 10. Ap. Ś. 9. 10. 17; Āśv. 3. 10. 16. [818] Brahm. Prāy. 70 a: yasyā 'dhiśrite 'gnihotre haviṣi vā nirupte some vā pratatte 'no ratho 'śvaḥ puruṣa śvā kṛṣṇaḥ śakunir anyad vā saḥtvam aṃtarā viyāyā[t] trayastriṃśat taṃtava (MŚ. 3. 4. 9) ity āhavanīye hutvā gām anva[ve]tyā "varttayet . . . Bl. 70 b: yady ano vā ratho vā 'ntarā viyāyād iti kathaṃ punar atha śakaṭaṃ vā vinā vāhair aṃtarā gachet . . . .; daß unter dem śakuni der Ath. Prāy. der kṛṣṇaśakuni, also etwa der Rabe, zu verstehen sei, lehrt auch der Komm. zu dieser Stelle, der den Text erweiternd interpretiert: puruṣagrahaṇa[ṃ] dvipadāprasidhy-arthaṃ . . . śva-grahaṇa[ṃ] siṃha-śṛgāla-śvāpada-prasidhy-arthaṃ kṛṣṇaśakuni[ḥ] kākaḥ (!) tasya grahaṇaṃ . . . . ano-rathābhi pratyekam abhimaṃtraṇaṃ trayastriṃśat taṃtava iti; Bl.

aṅgirasastama[820] viśvāḥ sukṣitayaḥ pṛthag agne kāmāya yemire iti hutvā prayāyād[821] | anvāhitaś ced anugached anv agnir[822] ity anyaṃ praṇīyā 'gnyanvādhāna[823] vrato-'pāyanābhyāṃ manaso 'pasthāya bhūr iti vyāharet[824] | pāthikṛtī[825] syāt[826] patho 'ntikād darbhān āhared | anaḍvān dakṣiṇā | sa-

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71 a folg.: idaṃ viṣṇur vicakrama iti padaṃ khyāpayaty āpo 'nvatiṣcet [l. °siñcet?] | padaṃ yopayitve 'ti padanyāsenā 'ntarāgamanaṃ prāyaścittam iti darśayati; vgl. oben 2. 2 und Text von 1. 3; s. auch Agn. Prāy. 3 b: śvavyavāye tv ayam apy aparo viśeṣaḥ | idaṃ viṣṇur .... pāṃsure [cf. unten 5. 2] iti maṃtreṇa śuno yāni padāni tāni bhasmanā pūrayet | pratipadaṃ maṃtrā-"vṛttiḥ | tataḥ(!) āhavanīyaṃ punaḥ praṇayed uddhriyamāṇam iti | tata upatiṣṭheta tad(?)yad agne pūrvaṃ.... vājavatyā (s. Text) tvam agne .... asī 'ti (cf. oben 2. 1, 3, 8) ca .... etābhyāṃ tato 'gnaye pathikṛte svāhe 'ti pūrṇāhutiḥ | iṣṭipakṣe varttamānaṃ karma samāpya tasminn evā 'gnau iṣṭiḥ karttavye ['ti] prati darvi-homeṣv eṣa vidhiḥ | [819] A ce mriyāyāt B cet prāyāyāt C cet prathayāt D cet prāpunyāt [820] RV. 8. 43. 18. [821] Agn. Prāy. 1 b: anvāhitāgneḥ prayāṇo-'papattau pṛthag agnīn nayeyuḥ | .... tubhyaṃ tā aṃgirastame 'ti (!) (RV. 8. 43. 18) vā "jyā-"hutiṃ hutvā samāropayet | tubhyaṃ .... °re | ity ājyā-"hutiṃ hutvā samāropayed vā | ayaṃ te yonir ṛtviya ity araṇī gārhapatye pratitapet | ... ayaṃ te .... giraḥ (RV. 3. 20. 10) iti nā 'gny-aṃtare | pāṇī vā | yā te agne yajñiyā tanūs taye 'hy ārohā "tmānam achā vasūni kṛṇvann aryā ... rūṇi yajño bhūtvā yajñam āsīda iti (gemeint ist etwa TB. 2. 5. 8. 8) pāṇī pratitapet | dvayor api samāropaṇaṃ yajamānaḥ kuryāt | varṇa-svarā-"di samyag uccārya samāropaṇaṃ karttavyaṃ | cf. Āśv. Prāy. 11 b: iṣṭi-madhye prayāṇa-prāptau gārhapatye ājyaṃ saṃskṛtya jānav ācyā "havanīye sruveṇa juhoti | tubhyaṃ tāṃ aṅgirasastama ... yemire svāhā | agnaya idaṃ | araṇī gārhapatye yajamānaḥ pratitapet | ayaṃ te .... rayiṃ | tūṣṇīm itarayoḥ pratitapet | tata sthalā-'ṃtaraṃ gatvā vihāraṃ kalpayitvā uddhanyamāna (gemeint: °manam Āp. 5. 4. 1) ity uddhṛtya śaṃ no devīr (RV. 10. 9. 4) ity avokṣya araṇī pratyavaroh[y]a śaṃ yor (RV. 10. 9. 4) iti maṃtreṇa maṃthayet | svayaṃ vā maṃthet | pratiyatnaṃ maṃtrāvṛttiḥ | jātam agniṃ gārhapatye ādhāya tata ubhayatrā 'pi vihṛtyā 'raṇigata-prāyaścittaṃ karoti | tac caivaṃ | gārhapatye smārtavad ājyaṃ saṃskṛtya sruk-sruvaṃ niṣṭapya sruci caturgṛhītaṃ gṛhītvā juhoti mano jyotir (VS. 2. 13) iti | tata sāṃgatā-siddy-arthaṃ sruvā-"hutiṃ viṣṇu-smaraṇaṃ ca kṛtve 'ṣṭiśeṣaṃ samāpayet | [822] AV. 7. 82. 4; 18. 1. 27. [823] A °'gnyaṃnādhāna B °'gnyavādhāna C gnyaṃnvādhāna; cf. dazu etwa Brahm. Prāy. 28 b: agner api nāśe yathāpūrvam eva saṃskaraṇam. [824] Brahm. Prāy. 15 b: vratopetasya ced āhavanīyo 'nugacchet praṇīte manasā vratam upetya bhūr ity upatiṣṭheta [825] BC pāthikṛtvām; cf. Brāhm. Prāy. 3 a: kālātipattau pāthikṛtī kartavye 'ti śrutyarthaḥ [826] Āśv. Prāy. 2 a: yadi ... āhavanīyaḥ śamyā-pa[rā]sād apy atīyāt | yadi vā (!) amāvāsyāṃ paurṇamāsīṃ vā 'tīyāt | yadi vā 'nyasyā 'gniṣu svayaṃ yajet | yadi vā (!) asyā 'gniṣv anyo yajeta | yadi vā 'syā 'nyo gnir agnīn vyaveyāt | tadā

rvatra[827] pāthikṛtyām[828] anaḍvān | agnīnāṃ cet kaścid upavakṣ(ay)et[829] sa śam[yā]yā[ḥ][830] prāg vāsaṃ[831] pāthikṛtī[832] syāc | cham[yā]yāḥ[833] parā(k) parās(y)āc ced idaṃ ta ekam[834] iti tānt[835] saṃbharet[836] para[837] ū ta[837] ekam iti dvitīyaṃ dvitīyena[838] | tṛtīyaṃ tṛtīyena jyotiṣe 'ti[839] | tasmād[840] avakhyāyās[841] tatra nirvaped | adhi ced anuprāyāya[842] mathitvā tatrai 'kān vaset[843] kālā-'tipāte[844] ca darśapūrṇamāsayor |

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bhinna-kālīnaṃ prati nimittaṃ pāthikṛtī kāryā | abhinna-kālīnā-'nekanimitta-saṃbhave sakṛt pāthikṛtī kāryā | aṣṭākapālaḥ | vetthā hi (RV. 6. 16. 3) . . . oṃ ye agniṃ pathikṛtaṃ ā devānām . . . (RV. 10. 2. 3) anaḍvān dakṣiṇā | [827] A sa sarvatra [828] BCD °kṛtvām [829] bei A unklar [830] bei A unklar [831] A vātaṃ l.: parāsāt? [832] B schiebt ein [°tī] syām anaddhān agnīnāṃ cet kakṣid upavakṣayet saśamyā prāg vāsaṃ pāthikṛtī [833] B chamyā C chaṃmyā [834] AV 18. 3. 7. [835] A tān B tāṃ [836] cf. Agn. Prāy. 2 b: yady utpādanī prayatno niḥphala[ḥ] syāt (cf. oben 5. 2) tadā-tadā punar-ārambhā-'vasare maṃtra āvarttayitavyaḥ | evaṃ punaḥpunar āvarttayet | āhavanīyam avadīpyamānam arvāva (l.: arvāk) śamyāparāsād idaṃ ta ekaṃ para ū ta ekam iti saṃvapet | Comm.: āhavanīyasyai 'kadeśaḥ samasto vā yady āyatanād bahir gachet [ta]dā "śamyāparāsāt tadā idaṃ ta ekaṃ para ūta ekaṃ tṛtīyena jyotiṣā saṃviśasva | saṃveśane tanvaś cārur edhi priyo devānāṃ parame janitre (RV. 10. 56. 1) | iti tam ādāyā "yatane prakṣipya tato vyāhṛtihomaḥ |. In unserem Texte werden wir dem entsprechend zu lesen haben: sa [agniḥ] śamyā-parāgāsād (besser: śamyāyāḥ parāg āsād) [yadi syāt] pāthikṛtī syāc | chamyāprāg-āsāc (besser: chamyāyāḥ prāg āsāc) ced [agniḥ syāt] | idaṃ te . . . Āp. Ś. 9. 1. 17 erwähnt den gleichen Fall; vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 2a: āhavanīyasyai 'kadeśaḥ samasto vā yady āyatanād bahir arvāk śam[y]āparāsyat patati tadā idam te . . . ekaṃ maṃtreṇa punaḥ svāyatane kṣipet | samastavyāhṛti-homaḥ kārya ity eke | na visphuliṃgaṃ vā 'trā 'syaitat prāyaścittaṃ | gārhapatya-dakṣiṇāgnyoḥ sva-svāyatanād bahiḥ-patane tūṣṇīṃ prakṣipya vyāhṛti-homaḥ kāryaḥ | cf. Āśv. Prāy. 15 b: gārhapatya-dakṣiṇāgnyor āyatanād bahiḥ-pāte tūṣṇīṃ prakṣipya brahmā vyāhṛtibhir juhuyāt | ; ibid. 16 b: prāk prayājebhya iti srug-ādāpanād arvāk sarvaṃ gṛhyata iti vṛttikṛto-'ktaṃ (cf. oben 4. 1) | etat-kālā-'tiriktā-'ṅgāra-skaṃdane idaṃ ta ekaṃ . . . . . parame janitre iti maṃtreṇa svāyatane punaḥ kṣipet | tataḥ sarva-prāyaścittaṃ na visphuliṃga-mātrasyai 'tat prāyaścittaṃ | etad āhavanīyasyā 'rvāk śamyā-parāsāt patane | yadi śamyāparāsād apy atīyāt tadā pāthikṛtī | aśaktau pūrṇāhutiḥ | agnaye pathikṛte svāhe 'ti | [837] ABCD paratra [838] B dvitīyaṃṣṭa C fehlt [839] A °'ti tṛtīyaṃ [840] A yasmād [841] l. etwa avakṣayaṇe? A acakṣayās D avakṣāyās [842] A anuprāyā B anuprāya [843] l.: vāsayet [844] D °pāti B °-tipāttve; vom Verstreichenlassen der zum Opfer festgesetzten Zeit scheint auch AP 37. 12. 1 zu reden.

vidhy-ardha-samāpte ced aparādhaṃ vidyāt (samāpte cet s)trīn haviṣyād[845] | agnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśa-kapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped[846] | yasya havir niruptaṃ purastāc candramā abhyudiyāt tāṃs tredhā taṇḍulān vibhajed[847] | ye madhyamās[848] tān[848] agnaye dātre 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped | ye sthaviṣṭhās tān indrāya pradātre dadhani[849] caruṃ | ye kṣodiṣṭhās tān viṣṇave śipiviṣṭāya | śrite[850] prāg ukte[851] taṇḍulā-'bhāvād ardhaṃ vā vidyāt ‖ 3 ‖ agnaye vītaye[852] 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped[853] yasyā 'gnayo mithaḥ saṃsṛjyerann | agnaye vivicaye 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped yasyā 'gnayo[854] grāmyeṇā 'gninā saṃsṛjyerann | agnaye śucaye[855] 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped yasyā 'gnayaḥ śāvenā 'gninā saṃsṛjyerann | agnaye 'nnādāyā[856] 'nnapataye 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped yasyā 'gnayo dāvenā 'gninā saṃsṛjyerann | agnaye jyotiṣmate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped yasyā 'gnayo divyenā 'gninā saṃsṛjyerann | agnaye 'gnimate[857] 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped yasyā 'gnayo[858] 'bhiplaverann | agnaye

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[845] BCD havi syād; cf. Brahm. Prāy. 37 b: kālātipattau pāthikṛty anāgate ca (!) atra nityaviśeṣam etad [d]raṣṭavyaṃ; dazu ausführlicher, korrupt überlieferter Comm.; l. oben im Text: cet trir haviḥ syāt? [846] Diesem wohl nicht hierher gehörigen Satze fehlt der Vordersatz, der nach Āśv. Prāy. 8 a zu ergänzen sein dürfte: āhitāgneḥ śatrūṇāṃ bhojane 'gnaye vaiśvānarāya pūrṇāhutiḥ | [847] vgl. oben 2. 2; 4. 1; Brahm. Prāy. 26 a behandelt den gleichen Fall und stellt die spezielle Möglichkeit auf: yadai 'ko muṣṭi[r] dvau vā prakṛtīnāṃ niruptau bhavataḥ (!) tadā candramaso 'bhyudaye vijñāte kathaṃ karttavyam [848] B °mā syus tād [849] B dadhati [850] B śrute CD śṛte [851] BC prākte? prātte? [852] fehlt bei A; cf. Āśv. Prāy. 8 a: gārhapatyā-"havanīyayoḥ saṃsarge 'gnaye vītaye pūrṇāhutiḥ | [853] Āp. 9. 3. 21; vgl. zu diesem Abschnitt die im Brāhmaṇa-Stil ausgeführte Reproduktion in 2. 7. [854] Āp. 9. 3. 18; K. Ś. 25. 4. 31—32; „yasyā 'gnayo" d. h.: die zum Opfer nötigen Feuer; vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 8 a: gārhapatya-dakṣiṇāgni-mukhānāṃ saṃsarge samāropya mathitvā 'gnaye vivicaye pūrṇāhutiḥ | [855] Āp. 9. 3. 22; cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 29—30; danach kann in diesem Falle von einer Sühne Abstand genommen werden; cf. oben 2. 7; Āśv. Prāy. 8 a: agninā śavāgni-saṃsarge samāropya mathitvā 'gnaye śucaye pūrṇāhutiḥ | [856] Auch in diesem Falle ist nach K. Ś. 25. 4. 32 folg. eine Sühne nicht unbedingt notwendig. Das Sühneopfer soll vielmehr nur bei religiöser Überängstlichkeit stattfinden und dann dem Agni saṃvarga gelten. Eben dieser devatā soll es im ähnlichen Falle nach Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7 geweiht sein. [857] AD psumate; vgl. Āp. 9. 3. 22. K. Ś. 25. 4. 33. [858] bei B fehlen diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte; vgl. Āp. 9. 10. 11.

'gnimate[859] 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped[858] ya āhavanīyam anugatam abhyuddhared | agnaye kṣāmavate[860] 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped yasyā "hitāgner[861] agnigṛhān[862] agnir dahed anagnir gṛhān vā | 'gnaye[862] vratapataye 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ ni[r]vaped[863] ya āhitāgnir ārtijam[864] aśru[864] kuryāt[865] tataḥ[865] pravased[866] | agnaye vratabhṛte 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped[867] parvaṇi yo vrata-velāyām avra-

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[859] cf. aber Āśv. Prāy. 8a: sāgnāv āyatane 'gniṃ praṇīya sthāpane 'gnaye agnimate pūrṇāhutiḥ | pūrvapraṇītāgniṃ niḥkāśya sthāpane prāyaścittaṃ nā 'sti | araṇyoḥ samārūḍha-vahnīnām ucchiṣṭādy-upaghāte caturgṛhītenā "havanīye manasvatī-homaḥ | ātma-samārūḍhāgnir yadi bhojanādi kuryāt tadā 'raṇyor laukikāgnau vā 'varohya vihṛtya pūrvoktam eva prāyaścittam | punas tvā "ditye 'ti (Āp. 9. 10. 9) samiṃdhanaṃ vā | [860] K. Ś. 25. 4. 36 gehadāhe 'gnaye kṣāmavate puroḍāśaḥ [861] A °gnir [862] Diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte sind korrumpiert. Der Rekonstruktionsversuch schließt sich vorzugsweise an A an. A agnigṛhādd agni hedata (na?) gnigṛhān ca (va?) B agnigrahāṃn dehed anagnigrahān vā 'gnaye C agnigṛhān dahed anagnigṛhān vā gnaye D agnigṛhādaheddanagnigṛhe nvāgnaye; unter anagnir wäre dann etwa „Phosphorescenz" zu verstehen. [863] Brahm. Prāy. 66 b: yasyā "hitāgner iti vyākhyātaṃ brāhmaṇe 'gnaye kāmavate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ nirvapet | yasyā "hitāgneḥ sattognir gṛhān dahed agnir vāi 'tasya kṣāmo gṛhān abhyacyatam iti sa dahaty evā 'param iti ..... kṣāmo gṛhān abhyacyati [ucaḥ samavāye samavaiti] dahanāya sa kṣāmaḥ sa[ṃ]-bhūyā (•pā?) enam api dahati | .... adāhuko 'syā 'param agnir gṛhān bhavati | cf. Āśv. Prāy. 8 a, welches — offenbar ursprünglicher und vernünftiger — den *Vratapati* bei Verletzungen der religiösen Enthaltsamkeitsvorschriften empfiehlt: anvādhānā-'naṃtaraṃ grāmāṃtaraṃ na gacchet (cf. oben 4. 3) | madhu-māṃsā-"di nā 'śnīyāt | na buddhi-pūrvaṃ retaḥ skaṃdayet | ityādi vrata-lope vratapataye pūrṇāhutiḥ | — Zur Rekonstruktion des Textes sind Āśv. Prāy. 8 a wichtig: gṛhadāhe 'gnaye kṣāmavate pūrṇāhutiḥ | . Zu obigem vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 12 a: anvādhānā-'naṃtaraṃ buddhi-pūrvaka-retaḥ-pāte imaṃ me varuṇa [V. S. 21. 1] tat tvā "yāmī 'ty [VS. 21. 2] etābhyāṃ sruvā-"hutī ājyabhāgā-'naṃtaraṃ juhuyāt | buddhi-pūrvakaretaḥ-pāte ārtyā 'śru-pāte madhu-māṃsā-"di-bhakṣaṇe vā vrātapatīṣṭiḥ | aśaktāv ājyabhāgā-'naṃtaraṃ sruci dvādaśa-gṛhītaṃ caturgṛhītaṃ vā gṛhītvā "havanīye juhuyāt | agnaye vratapataye svāhe 'ti tato viṣṇusmaraṇaṃ | ; vgl. Agn. Prāy. 14 a: kṣāmāyā (erg.: 'gnaye) "gāra-dāhe śucaye saṃsarjane 'gninā | anyene 'ti sarvāgnibhiḥ | mithaś ced vivicaye | gārhapatyādayaḥ sarve dvau dvau vā parasparaṃ yadi saṃsṛjyeran tadā vivicaya iṣṭiḥ kāryā | grāmyeṇa saṃvargāya pacanāgniḥ | vaidyutenā 'psumate | vaiśvānarāya vimatānām anna-bhojane | [864] A āvirjam aśnu BD ārtvijam aśru C tvijam aśru; verbessert nach Āp. 9. 4. 16; cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 28, 11. 30. [865] A kuryāstat B kuryāts C kuryā [866] B prasaved; cf. Āp. 9. 4. 15. [867] ABCD wiederholen hinter •ped: ya āhitāgnir ārtvijam aśru kuryāt pravaset; C läßt aśru aus.

tyaṃ[868] cared agnaye tantumate[868] 'ṣṭākapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped yasya saṃtatam[869] agnihotraṃ juhuyuḥ ‖ 4 ‖ atha saṃnipatiteṣu prāyaścitteṣu vaivicīṃ[870] prathamāṃ kuryāt | tato 'gnaye śucaye | vrātapatīm antataḥ kṣāmavatīṃ[871] parivarttayed[872] yasyā 'gniṣv[873] anyaṃ[873] yājayed[874] yo[874] vā[874] yajen[874] | mārutaṃ trayodaśa-kapālaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvaped yasya yamau[875] putrau jāyeyātāṃ gāvo vā | yamasūr dakṣiṇā dhenur bhāryā vā[876] | pṛṣadājyaṃ cet skannaṃ[877] skannā dyaur[878] ity abhimantrya | skannā dyauḥ skannā pṛthivī skannaṃ viśvam

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[868] A avrātyaṃ caret tantumate dagnaye tantumate B vratyaṃ caret taṃtumata agnaye tantumate C wie A, jedoch agnaye; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 8. [869] B tataṃ C taṃtaṃm; cf. Āp. 9. 4. 15. [870] Nach Brahm. Prāy. 65 a folg. wird aber die Vaivicī vollzogen, wenn die Opferfeuer sich mit einander vermengen oder wenn deren Asche sich vermischt; ebenso Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6. Nach K. Ś. 25. 4. 32 ist das Opfer für Agni vivici in gleichem Falle fakultativ. [871] A kṣāmavatā [872] B pativarttayed C parivartayed [873] B ṣv anyaṃ fehlt bei C; bei A unklar. [874] A yājaye vā yajen B yājayed yo vā jayan C yājaye yo vā jayen; cf. Brahm. Prāy. Bl. 62 a: yo 'nyāgniṣu yajeta yasya cānye 'gniṣu yajeran yasyāgnayaḥ saṃsṛjyeran . .; cf. K. Ś. 25. 8. 16. [875] Āp. 9. 14. 7, 17. 1; Āśv. 3. 13. 12, Ait. Brāhm. 7. 9. [876] cf. den sehr korrupten Passus Brahm. Prāy. 68 b; ferner Āśv. Prāy. 8 b: yasya bhāryā gaur vā yamau janayet tadā marudbhyaḥ pūrṇāhutiḥ | Agn. Prāy. 14 b: yasya bhāryā gaur vā yamau janayed iṣṭir marutaḥ | [877] Brahm. Prāy. 72 a folg.: yadi pṛṣadājyaṃ skandet (!) hiraṇyam antarddhāya bhūyo [']bhyūnnīyo [!) 'śveno (!) 'paghrāpya mano jyotir varddhatāṃ bhūtir ity etābhyām āhutiṃ juhuyāt | . . . . Bl. 72 b: yadi pṛṣadājyaṃ skaṃded iti pṛṣaskannam ājyo pṛṣadājyām ājyaṃ dadhimiśraṃ ghṛtaṃ śaḍguṇaviśiṣṭaṃ pṛṣadājyam ity abhidhīyate | . . . . hiraṇyam aṃtarddhāya hiraṇyaṃ tatrā 'vasthāpya yadi skanno bhūyo bhyūnnīyaḥ bhūya tatrai 'vā 'bhimukhyena nīyeti vacanāt | . . . . Bl. 73 a: aśvena gaṃdho pādān kārayitvā mano jyotir varddhatāṃ bhūtir ity etābhyām āhutīr juhuyād . . . . trayastṛṃśat taṃtava ity āhavanīye hutvā . . . . . Bl. 73 a folg.: tatrai 'vā 'ntardhāyā 'vasthāpya yat skannaṃ hiraṇyam apanīya pṛṣadājyam aśveno 'paghrāpya [a]śvam apanīya brahmā "hutī juhoti . . . . Es ist von einigem Interesse, daß der Vers „trayastriṃśat taṃtavas" als Zauber bei Zerreißungen verschiedener Art angewendet wird, z. B. (Bl. 75 b folg.): yadi raśanāṃ chidyād yadi dvidhā kuryāt paśuvikārāt paśor (?) eva trayastriṃśat tantava ity etayā graṃthi[nā] saṃdhā[ya?] . . . jyaitayai 'va juhuyāt (cf. AP. 37. 16. 1, 17. 1) . . . . . patnī-raśanāyā[ṃ] mekhalāyāṃ vā dvidho kṛtāyāṃ punaḥ sannahanaṃ brahmacāriṇo mekhalāchede kṛtasya goprī 'tyādayas trayo mantrā bhavaṃti | . . . . Bl. 94 b: yadi soma skaṃde vyākhyātaṃ pṛṣadājyena soma skanded iti; cf. K. Ś. 25. 6. 6—7, 10; pṛṣadājya-skandane caike catustriṃśad-dhomam ichanti.

idaṃ jagat skannādo[879] viśve devāḥ prā skannā[t] prāyatāṃ[880] havir ity abhimantrye 'ha gāvaḥ[881] prajāyadhvam[881] ity anyasya pṛṣadājyasya juhuyāt paśugavā[882] cet sruvair[883] hutvā "srāvaṃ[884] yāty[885] avadānam[886] akarme[886] 'ty anyasyāṃ dṛḍhatarāyāṃ śrapayeyur[887] | [yady] avadānaṃ na viṃdet tadā "jyasyā 'vadyed[888] | upākṛtaś cet paśuḥ prapated[889] vāyavyāṃ yavāgūṃ nirupyā 'nyaṃ tad-rūpaṃ tad-varṇam iti samānaṃ ‖ 5 ‖ atha yasyā 'hargaṇe[890] [']visamāpte yūpo virohet[891] pravṛhya yūpavirūḍhāny avalopya tapo hy agne[892] aṃtarām amitrāṃ[893] tapa śaṃsam araruṣaḥ parasya tapo vaso cikitāno acittān vi te tiṣṭhantām ajarā ayāsaḥ | yo naḥ sanutyo abhidāsad agne[894] yo aṃtaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt[895] | tam ajarebhir vṛṣabhis tava[896] svais[896] tapā[897] tapiṣṭha tapasā tapasvān | yasmāt[898] kṛṇoti ketum ā naktaṃ cid dūra ā sate | pāvako yad vanaspatīn[899] yasmān minoty ajaro (nabhihita)[900] iti dve | pañcabhir aparaṃ paryukṣya suparṇā vācam[901] iti virūḍhāni hutvā punaḥsamāyāt tasmiṃs tvāṣṭram ajaṃ piṅgalaṃ paśuṃ bahurūpam ālabhetā | 'gninā tapo 'nvabhavad[902] | vācā brahma | maṇinā[903] rūpāṇī | 'ndreṇa devān | vātena prāṇānt[904] | sūryeṇa dyāṃ | candramasā nakṣatrāṇi | yamena[905] pitṛn | rājñā manuṣyān | upalena nādeyān | ajagareṇa sarpān | vyāghreṇā "raṇyān paśūṃ | chyenena patatriṇo | vṛṣṇā 'śvān | ṛṣabheṇa gā | bastenā 'jā | vṛṣṇinā 'vīr | vrīhiṇā

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[879] Ap. Ś. 9. 17. 1. [879] A skaṃnādyau [880] A prāyatā B prāyeprātaṃ C prāyeyātāṃ; gemeint vielleicht: prajāyatāṃ [881] A gāvoghaṃ B yā vo yaṃ C yāvo ya D gāvo yaṃ; — gemeint: AV. 20. 127. 12; RV. 1. 177. 4. Ap. Śr. 9. 17. 1. [882] B °gāvā; paśugavā ist offenbar eine Interpolation, die das Subjekt des Satzes verdrängt hat. [883] A suvair B bruvai C survai [884] A śravaṃ BC sruvaṃ [885] ABD yātī [886] A madāvāmakarme B mavadāmakarme C mavādāmakarme [887] cf. Āp. 9. 4. 1. [888] Brahm. Prāy. 77 b: . . . . . āvadānāny api yadi na viṃdet tadā "jyasyā 'vadyet . . . praiṣa iṃdrāgnibhyām ājyasyā 'nubrūhī 'ti darśanāt (!) ājyena saṃsthāpya punar yajeta atra kecid ācakṣate sarvaviṣayam etad bhavati | [889] cf. oben 2. 9. [890] D ahavisargaṇe [891] Vgl. oben 2. 6; K. Ś. 25. 10. 1 folg. [892] RV. 3. 18. 2. [893] A amitrāya [894] B agner; RV. 6. 5. 4. [895] Mss.: manuṣyāt [896] AD varāhais; B tavasyais C tāpastes [897] AD tapo [898] A yasmā; bei C fehlen die Worte yasmāt bis vanaspatīn [899] RV. 5. 7. 4; Ap. Ś. 14. 29. 3. [900] l.: nā 'bhihite? [901] AV. 6. 49. 3. [902] Ap. Ś. 20. 11. 10. [903] Die Mss. lesen: balinā [904] A prāṇa C prāṇaḥ

'nnāni | yavenau 'ṣadhīr | nyagrodhena[905] vanaspatīn | udumbareṇo "rjaṃ | gāyatryā chandāṃsi | trivṛtā stomān | brāhmaṇena vācam iti brahmā pūrṇāhutiṃ juhuyāt | ‖ 6 ‖ iti[906] yajñaprāyaścitte pañcamo 'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ[906] |

athā 'taḥ saumikāni vyākhyāsyāmo | havirdhāne cet prapateyātāṃ purā bahiṣpavamānād adhvaryur dakṣiṇam udgṛhṇīyāt | pratiprasthāto 'pastabhnuyāt[907] | pratiprasthāto 'ttaram udgṛhṇīyād | adhvaryur upastabhnuyād[907] yathāprakṛti stambhāno 'pamānau[908](!) sam aśvinor avasā nūtanena[909] mayobhuvā supraṇītī[910] gamema | ā no rayiṃ vahatam ota vīrān ā viśvāny amṛtā saubhagāni[911] | śiro yajñasya pratidhīyatām[912] amṛtaṃ devatāmayaṃ[912] | vaiṣṇavyāḥ | (kriyatāṃ[913] śira āśvinyāḥ[914] pratihrīyatāṃ[915] amṛtāṃ[916]) dyubhir aktubhiḥ paripātam[917] asmān[918] ariṣṭebhir aśvinā saubhagebhiḥ | tan no mitro varuṇo māmahantām aditiḥ sindhuḥ pṛthivī[919] uta dyaur | ity āgnīdhrīye[920] juhuyād | auduṃbarīṃ ced apahareyur yām eva kāṃcit prachidyā 'vadadhyād adhvaryur udgātā yajamāna | ūrg asy ūrjaṃ mayi dhehi | śriyāṃ tiṣṭha pratiṣṭhitā | divaṃ stabdhvā 'ntarikṣaṃ ca pṛthivyāṃ ca dṛḍhā bhave 'ti[921] |

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[905] Diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte sind in den Mss. ganz entstellt. A yamena pina yajñā manuṣyā phalena nādeyātrajagareṇa sarpān grāmyeṇāraṇyān paśvānnāpanena patatiniṇo vṛṣabheṇa gā vastenājā vṛṇāvī vīhīṇāntābi yavenauṣadhīnyagrodhena [vanaspatīn] B yamena pitṝn rājñā manuṣyān phalena nādeyāny ajagareṇa sarpān vyāghreṇā "raṇyān paśūn chyenena patatriṇo vṛṣṇāśvān ṛṣabhopyagā vastenājā vṛṣṇināvin vrīhiṇā 'nnāni pavanenauṣadhīnr nyagrodhena; C (ähnlich B und D) yamena pitṝn ājñā manuṣyān upalena nādeyān ajagareṇa sapān vyāghreṇāraṇyān paśvaṃ chenena patatriṇo vṛṣṇyāśvān ṛṣabheṇa gā vastenājā vṛṣṇināvīn vrīhiṇāṃnāni yastvoṣadhīnyagrodhena; auch die folgenden Worte sind bei A und B sehr inkorrekt geschrieben. [906] Bei BCD lautet der Kolophon: ity atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścitta-prasaṃge trayodaśo 'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ [907] ABCD °pastha brūyāt [908] A pasamāne BD pamāne C pamāno vielleicht Imperative plus „anas". [909] RV. 5. 42. 18. [910] A °ṇītaṃ [911] A °bharāṇi [912] Ap. Ś. 14. 33. 8; Mss.: pratihrīyatām (A °hūyatām) [913] B ɔkriyatā C kṛyatāṃ; gemeint ist: dhīyatāṃ [914] C upādhinyā [915] A pratihudayatāṃ; gemeint ist: pratidhīyatāṃ [916] fehlt bei BCD; der in Klammern gesetzte Passus ist offenbar eine Wiederholung der letzten Worte des vorausgegangenen Mantra. [917] C °pātum [918] RV. 1. 112. 25. [919] AC °vīr [920] Vgl. K. Ś. 25. 6. 8. [921] AD bhavati BC bhava

dhartri dharitri janitri yamitrī[922] 'ti brahmā[923] | 'ntaḥ[923]-sadaso[924] bahiṣpavamānena stūyur[925] | dīkṣitasya gārhapatyo 'nte[926] gārhapatyo 'nugacched[927] agniṃ naro dīdhitibhir araṇyor[928] hastacyutī janayanta praśastaṃ | dūredṛśaṃ gṛhapatim atharyum iti mathitvā 'vadadhyād | āśv anupraṇītaś[929] ced anugached etayai "va[930] mathitvā 'vadadhyād | agnayaś cen mithaḥ saṃsṛjyerann[931] agninā 'gniḥ saṃsṛjyata[932] ity ete[933] japec | chālāmukhīyaś ced anugacched gārhapatyāt praṇīya bhadraṃ karṇebhir[934] iti catasro japet | bhadraṃ karṇebhiḥ śṛṇuyāma devā bhadraṃ paśyemā 'kṣabhir yajatrāḥ | sthirair aṅgais tuṣṭuvāṃsas tanūbhir vyaśema devahitaṃ yad āyuḥ | svasti na indro vṛddhaśravāḥ[935] svasti naḥ pūṣā viśvavedāḥ[936] | svasti nas tārkṣyo 'riṣṭa-nemiḥ svasti no bṛhaspatir dadhātu | pṛṣadaśvā marutaḥ pṛśnimātaraḥ[935] śubhaṃyāvāno vidatheṣu jagmayaḥ[937] | agni-jihvā manavaḥ sūracakṣaso viśve no devā avasā gamann iha | śatam in nu śarado anti devā yatra naś cakrā jarasaṃ tanūnāṃ | putrāso yatra pitaro bhavaṃti mā no madhyā rīriṣatāyur gantoḥ | iti | preddho agna[938] iti catasṛbhir juhuyāt | preddho agne dīdihi puro no 'jasrayā sūrmyā yaviṣṭha | tvāṃ śaśvanta upa yanti vājāḥ | sapta te agne samidhaḥ sapta jihvāḥ[939] sapta ṛṣayaḥ sapta dhāma priyāṇi | sapta hotrāḥ saptadhā tvā yajanti sapta yonīr āpṛṇasva ghṛtena svāhā | yan me manasaś chidraṃ yad vāco yac[940] ca me hṛdaḥ[940] | ayaṃ devo bṛhaspatiḥ saṃ tat siñcatu rādhasā[941] | mamā 'gne varca[942] ity ekā-"gnīdhrīyaś ced anugacched gārhapatyāt praṇīya mamā 'gne varca iti ṣaḍbhir

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[922] Ap. Ś. 14. 33. 2; das Zitat ist in der Wiedergabe der Mss. völlig korrumpiert; es lesen BCD: dharti dharitrī janitrīty amitrīti haritry adharitrī janitry amitrīti janitrī hanitrīti [923] BD brahmātaḥ; AC brahmātra; korrupt! [924] ABCD svaraso [925] A brūyuḥ B stayur [926] A °tyotpate B °tyo 'nve C tyoṃte; l.: °patyo-'tpāte? [927] Vom Erlöschen der Opferfeuer handelt zusammenhängend K. Ś. 25. 3. 1 folg.; cf. oben 1. 5; 2. 7. [928] RV. 7. 1. 1; Āp. 14. 16. 1. [929] C °ṇītā; A °ṇīte B °nīti D °ṇī [930] C etayiva [931] cf. oben 2. 7; 5. 4. [932] Kauś. S. 108. 2; dagegen Āp. a. a. O.: agninā 'gniḥ samidhyate [933] A ate [934] RV. 1. 89. 8; Āp. 14. 16. 1. Von dieser Eventualität scheinen auch Brahm. Prāy. Bl. 114 a zu handeln (durch Korruption fast völlig unverständlich geworden). [935] RV. 1. 89. 6, 7, 9. [936] C viśvatejaḥ [937] A jāmayaḥ [938] RV. 7. 1. 3. [939] VS. 17. 79. [940] AC yat svagne hṛdaḥ B yas tv agne hṛdaḥ [941] ABCD rādhase [942] AV. 5. 3. 1.

juhuyād | auttaravedikaś[943] ced anugacchec chālāmukhīyāt praṇīye 'mo agna[944] iti trayodaśabhir juhuyāt | imo agne vītatamāni havyājasro vakṣi devatātim achā prati na īṃ surabhīṇi vyantu | sapta te agne samidho[945] | yan me manasaś chidraṃ[946] | mamā 'gne varca[942] iti juhuyāt | paśuśrapaṇaś ced anugacched auttaravedikāt praṇīya tvaṃ no agne[947] sa tvaṃ na[948] iti sarvaprāyaścittaṃ hutvā | yady ukhyo[949] 'nugacchet punaḥ punaḥ prajvālya ‖ 1 ‖ kāyamāno vanā tvaṃ[950] yan mātṛr ajagann apaḥ | na tat te agne pramṛṣe nivartanaṃ yad dūre sann ihā 'bhavaḥ | yās te agna ārdrā yonayo yāḥ kulāyinīḥ[951] | ye te agna indavo yā u nābhayaḥ | yās te agne

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943 cf. Āśv. Prāy. 11 a: varuṇapraghāseṣv auttaravedikasyā 'gner dakṣiṇa-vihārasthasya vā nāśe śālāmukhāt praṇīya pūrvoktaṃ prāyaścittaṃ kuryāt | („pūrvokta" s. den Schluß des im Ms. unmittelbar vorhergehenden Passus Anm. 784 Cit. 2) nā 'trā 'nvādhānaṃ | śālāmukhīyā-'nvādhāna-vyatirekeṇa pṛthag anvādhānasya pūrvam ananuṣṭhānāt | na caivam anvāhita-prāyaścittaṃ na syād iti vācyaṃ | anvāhita-śālāmukhīyāt praṇītvena dvayor apy anvāhitatvāt | anvāhita-śālāmukhīya-nāśe tu purāṇa-gārhapatyāt taṃ praṇīya pūrvoktaṃ prāyaścittaṃ kṛtvā 'nvādhānādi kuryāt | 944 RV. 7. 1. 18. 945 VS. 17. 79. 946 Āp. 14. 16. 1, 17. 1. 947 RV. 4. 1. 4. 948 AV. 20. 98. 2. 949 Des in anderen Traktaten häufig erwähnten Ausgehens des dakṣiṇāgni gedenkt unser Text nicht; s. z. B. Āśv. Prāy. 9 b: anvādhānā-'nantaraṃ dakṣiṇāgni-nāśe śucir bhūtvā vihāraṃ praviśya gārhapatyaṃ taṃ praṇīya prāṇān āyamya dakṣiṇāgni-nāśa-nimittaṃ prāśayec cittaṃ (l.: °nimitta-prāyaścittaṃ) kariṣya iti saṃkalpya gārhapatye smārtavad ājyaṃ saṃskṛtya sruk-sruvaṃ niṣṭapya saṃmṛjya sruci caturgṛhītaṃ gṛhītvā "havanīye samidham ādhāya juhoti | mano jyotir juṣatām ājyaṃ (Ā. Ś. 2. 5. 14) haviṣā ghṛtena svāhā | manase jyotiṣa idaṃ na mama (gemeint: AV. 18. 2. 2?) | sāṃgatāsidhyartham ekāṃ sruvāhutiṃ juhuyāt | bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ svāhā | tato viṣṇu-smaraṇaṃ | adhvaryu-sannidhau sa eva sarvaṃ kuryāt | saṃkalpaṃ tyāgaṃ ca yajamānaḥ | viṣṇu-smaraṇam ubhayoḥ | aiṣṭikājye sati na smārtavaj ājya-saṃskāraḥ | aiṣṭi-saṃmārge sati na punaḥ pātra-saṃmārga ity uktaṃ prayaścitta-caṃdrikāyāṃ | tato dakṣiṇāgneḥ paścād ūrddhvaṃ jānu(r) upaviśya *mahyaṃ yajantv* (AV. 5. 3. 4) ity ādi tātrī (?)-kāṣṭhāny ādhāya vyāhṛtibhir upasthānaṃ kuryāt | evam anvāhitā-"havanīya-nāśe 'pi | ; ibid. 10 a folg. findet sich eine Sühnezeremonie "gārhapatya-dakṣiṇā-'gnyor nāśe"; vgl. Agn. Prāy. 12 b: dakṣiṇāgny-anugamanaṃ (l.: °ne) tūṣṇīṃ gārhapatyāt praṇīya bhūr ity upasthānādi samānaṃ | homas tu (!) āhavanīye ta[t]-tad-agnau vā sarva-prāyaścittaṃ tu (!) āhavanīya eva | ity anvāhita-prāyaścittaṃ | ibid. 13 a: atha dakṣiṇāgner anugatiḥ | anugataṃ dakṣiṇāgnim utpādayiṣyāmī 'ti saṃkalpya yonitaḥ praṇayet | tata āhavanīye 'gnaye tapasvate janadvate pāvakavate svāhe 'ti pūrṇāhutiṃ juhuyāt | 950 RV. 3. 9. 2. 951 M. S. 2. 7. 15: 98. 11; Āp. 15. 17. 5.

tanva ūrjo nāma tābhiṣ ṭvam ubhayībhiḥ saṃvidānaḥ śataṃ cinvānas tanvā niṣīdata | sākaṃ hi śucinā śuciḥ[952] praśastā kratunā 'jani | vidvāṅ[953] asya vratā dhruvā vayā[953] ivā 'nurohata ity[954] ādhāya samidhaṃ kṛṣṇāṃ dadyād | vāso-yugaṃ[955] dhenuṃ[955] vā | yady ukhā vā[956] bhidyeta tair eva kapālaiḥ saṃcityā 'nyāṃ kṛtvā syūtā devebhir amṛtenā"gā[957] ukhāṃ svasāram adhi vedim asthāt satyaṃ pūrvair ṛṣibhiś cākupāno[958] | agniḥ pravidvān iha tat karotu | stavādejarudharanamadrir[959] ity anumantrayet[960] | vasatīvarīś[961] cet skandeyuḥ[962] pṛthivī vibhūvarī[963] 'ti | cālyakaṃ[964] cety[964] āvṛtte | namas te bhuvo viśva[ṃ] tad gṛhītvā māndā vāśā[965] iti catasṛbhir āgnīdhrīye juhuyāt | māndā vāśāḥ śundhyūr ajirāḥ | undatīḥ suphenāḥ jyotiṣmatīs tamasvatīr | mitrabhṛtaḥ kṣatrabhṛtaḥ svarāṣṭrā iha mā'vata | vṛṣṇo aśvasya saṃdānam asi vṛṣṭyai tvo 'panahyāmi | devā vasavā agne indra sūrya[966] | devā udno datto 'dadhiṃ bhintta divas pa-

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[952] RV. 2. 5. 4; Āp. 16. 15. 7. [953] C viddhā ārtvijyā dhruvā vrata [954] Das Zitat ist in den Mss. sehr korrumpiert. AC lesen statt: °rohate ity: °rohosāty; B °rohasīty [955] AC °yugaṃ dhenu BD °gāṃ dhenuṃ [956] A läßt vā aus. [957] M. S. 2. 7. 16. Āp. 16. 26. 6. [958] AD cā kūryān; B cākuryā C cā kūryāṃ; gemeint ist wohl die Fassung von K. Ś. 39. 3. [959] Infolge seiner Korruption für mich nicht identifizierbar. BD: stavādejarudhiramadrir C wie B, nur: stadeja° [960] A °yeta [961] A °varīyaś [962] Āśv. Prāy. 13 a erwähnen einen in der Opferpraxis sicherlich sehr häufig auftretenden analogen Fall: praṇītānāṃ prokṣaṇīnāṃ cā 'mbuskandane saṃsrāve vā . . . [963] K. Ś. 35. 3; Āp. 14. 17. 3. [964] Durch Korruption unverständlich geworden. Statt des ca-Lautes vielleicht (mit A) va zu lesen; D statt dessen sinīvaly uruṃdhe ity [965] Ap. Ś. 14. 18. 1. [966] TS. 2. 4. 8. 1. Das Zitat, wohl aus abweichender Rezension hervorgegangen, ist verunstaltet; A liest: māṃdā vāsāsaduṃdubhejirā uṃdarī supheḍāḥ | jyotiṣmatīs tamasvatīr mitrabhṛtaḥ kṣatrabhṛtaḥ svarāṣṭra ihamāvatāḥ | vṛṣṭyaṃ saṃdānam asi vṛṣṭye tvo 'panahyāmi | devā vasavo 'gni sūryo tro danno dadhibhurddivaspūrjanyāṃdaṃtarikṣā samudrāt tato no vṛṣṇyāvan | devāṃ yujo mitravaruṇaryamā śukra tadevātsavitāyāhayā taṃtrannapāṃ narāśaṃsohnodatto dadhikinaṃ divaḥ syur janyād antarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vṛṣṭyāvann iti BC māṃdāvāśā śrudhyū (? C śrudbhyū) iṣa bhejirāṃdaṃdūtīḥ suphetāḥ | jyotiṣmatīs tamasvatīr mitrabhṛtā kṣatrabhṛtā svarāṣṭra ity amāyata | vṛṣṇo (C °ṣṇe) aśvasya saṃdānam asi vṛṣṭyai (C vṛṣṇyau) tvopanahyāmi | devatā vasavo agna (C āgna) indrasūryo hnodatto (nho°) dadiṃbhit | divas phū(syū)-rjanyād aṃtarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vṛṣṭyāvat | devā yujo mitrāvaruṇāryamā yuktaṃ (C fügt no ein) devāḥ sapītayo apāṃ napāt tanūnapāṃ nārāśaṃso 'nhodatto dabhiṃbhit (C dadhiṃdibhit) diva spūrjanyād aṃtarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vṛṣṇyāvān iti

rjanyād antarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vṛṣṭyā 'vata | devā yujo mitrāvaruṇā 'ryamā yuktaṃ devāḥ sapītayo apāṃ napāt tanūnapān narāśaṃsa udno datto 'dadhiṃ bhintta divas parjanyād aṃtarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vṛṣṭyā 'vate 'ti | pravṛttāś cet syuḥ samāsiñcantv[967] iti saṃsiñcen[968] | nivṛttāś cet syur apām ūrmī[969] 'ti gṛhītvā ṣaḍbhir āhavanīye juhuyād | indriyāvān madintamas taṃ vo mā 'va kramiṣam | achinnaṃ tantuṃ pṛthivyā anu geṣam[970] iti hutvā ‖ **2** ‖ abhivṛṣṭe[971] some dyauś ca tvā pṛthivī ca śṛṇītām antarikṣaṃ ca | indur indum avāgād iṃdor iṃdro 'pāt[972] | yajñaś ca tvā vāyuś ca śṛṇītām ahaś ca tvā rātrīś ca śṛṇītāṃ darśaś ca tvā paurṇamāsaś ca śṛṇītāṃ yajñaś ca tvā dakṣiṇā ca śṛṇītāṃ dakṣaś ca tvā mānasaś ca śṛṇītām arkaś ca tvā 'śvamedhaś ca śṛṇītām | . . . . ś ca tvā . . . .[973] iṃdur iṃdum upāgāt[974] sāyāme so ma[975] bhūt sarva[976] tasya[976] ta[976] iṃdav[976] | indrapītasyo 'pahūtasyo 'pahūto bhakṣayāmī[977] 'ty abhimṛṣṭasya[978] bhakṣayet | sasomaṃ cec camasaṃ sadasi stotreṇā 'bhyupākuryād dhiraṇyagarbhas tad[979] it[979] padam[979] iti[979] dvābhyāṃ[979] juhuyāt[980] | tad it padaṃ na viciketa vidvān[981] yan[982] mṛtaḥ[982] punar apy eti jīvān | pravṛttā[983] ca sthalī syāt[983] trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛj jīvo garbho na mṛtasya jīvāt svāhe 'ty | anyaś ced[984] āgrāyaṇād[984] gṛhṇīyād[984] āgrāyaṇaś[985] ced upadasyed āgrāyaṇād gṛhṇīyād grahebhyo[986] vā "hṛtya[987] śukra-dhruvau[988]

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[967] Gemeint ist AV. 7. 33. 1. [968] AD saṃvaṃ B siṃcaṃ C saṃgnicaṃ [969] AV. 20. 28. 4; Vait. 31. 22. [970] Ap. Ś. 10. 19. 10. [971] A abhipṛṣṭa [972] K. S. 35. 11; Āp. 14. 29. 2. [973] die Mss. geben nur diese Silben als Rest des Textfragments; AD śrutvā [974] MŚ. 3. 6. 15. [975] BCD somā [976] A: (somas) tat savita iṃdavaḥ | BC (°mā) bhūt sarva tasya ta iṃdav | D bhūs tat savitasya ta [977] vgl. V. S. 38. 28. [978] l.: abhivṛṣṭasya? [979] BC aditidvābhyāṃ [980] Brahm. Prāy. 93 a: cec camasam abhyupākuryāt (!) hiraṇyarbha ity āgnīdhrīye pūrṇāhutiṃ juhuyāt.... [Comm.] yadi sadasy avasthitaṃ camasam abhyupākuryāt (!) hiraṇyagarbha ity ..... [981] TB. 3. 7. 10. 6. [982] A yad amṛtaḥ B yan mataḥ C yan ataḥ [983] Diese und die inzwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei BCD; statt ca lies A va; cf. AP 37. 19. 1 yasyā 'sāmāpte karmaṇy udapātraṃ pravarttate [984] hinter ced etwa: upadasyed zu ergänzen. A nyaścehāprāyaṇāhuṇīyād B anyaś ceṃdrāgrāyaṇād gṛhṇīyād C anyaś cedāgrāyaṇāt gṛhṇīyād; vgl. K. Ś. 25. 12. 25. folg. [985] BC ṇāc [986] ABC gṛhebhyo [987] ABC °hutya cf. Brahm. Prāy. 82 a: yady āgrāyanaḥ skaṃded upa vā dasyed itarebhyo grahebhyo nirgṛhṇīyāt | ... yadī 'tare grahā skaṃdeyur upa vā dasyeyur puro grāya apo nigṛhṇīyāt. [988] A dhruvo

varjam | ā tvā yajñasye[989] 'ti catasṛbhir juhuyād | ā tvā yajñasya raṃhyā[t] suṣvāṇaḥ pavate sutaḥ | pratnāni pāti kāvyaḥ | goṣā[990] indo nṛṣā asy aśvasā vājasā uta[990] | pratnāni pāti kāvyaḥ | devānāṃ deva[991] iti dve | dhruvaś ced upadasyet pravṛttā cet sthālī syād vasavas tvā "dīs tarpayantu rudrās tvā tarpayantu | ādityās tvā tarpayantv ity utsṛjya dhruvā dyaur[992] ity abhimantrya dhruvaṃ[993] dhruveṇe[994] 'ti gṛhītvā "yurdā asi dhruva iti catasṛbhir āgnīdhrīye juhuyāt | āyurdā asi dhruva āyur me dāḥ[995] svāhā | varcodā asi dhruvo varco me dāḥ svāhā | tejodā asi dhruvas tejo me dāḥ svāhā | sahodā asi dhruvaḥ saho me dāḥ svāhā | grāvṇi[996] śīrṇe[996] dyotānasya[996] mārutasya brahmasāmena stuvīrann[997] ity eke bhakṣaṇīyam[998] uparaveṣv apinayet || 3 || apidagdhe[999] some kṛtāṃtvād[1000] upakrameraṇyaṃ[1001] vacanāt[1002] | japtvā purā dvādaśyā[1003] punar[1004] dīkṣāvāṃtādviti[1005] | tatra tā dadyād[1006] yāḥ[1007] kasyai tvā[1008] dāsya[1008] bhavati | tathai 'vai 'nām[1009] ṛtvijo[1009] yājayeyur[1009] | yady akrīta-somam[1010] apahareyur[1011] anyaḥ[1012] krītavyo | yadi krīto[1013] naṣṭaḥ[1014] syāt sā nityā 'bhiṣicyo | rājā-"hāra[1015] iti kiṃcid deyaṃ[1016] | tenā 'sya sa

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989 RV. 9. 6. 8. ACD ātvāyasyeti B ātmāyajñaśceti 990 RV. 9. 2. 10; fehlt bei B. 991 Kauś. S. 74. 12. 992 AV. 6. 88. 1; Āp. 14. 27. 7. 993 fehlt bei A. 994 AV. 6. 87. 3; Āp. 14. 27. 7. 995 Āp. 14. 27. 6; Ś. Ś. 4. 12. 10. 996 A gnāhi śīrṇe rghotāsya BC grāvṇi śīrṇe dyotā asya; D dhyātā asya 997 A suvīram 998 ABCD °yām 999 A apidagve BCD apidagdhaṃ 1000 A kṛte tā B kṛtāṃ tvā C vṛttāṃ tvā?; l. wahrscheinlich: krītatvād 1001 Brahm. Prāy. 95 a: yadi rājā 'bhidahyeta grahān adhvaryu[ḥ] sparśayeta stotrāṇy udgātā śastrāṇi hotā 'tha [a]dhvar[yur] yajñaṃ sa[ṃ]bhṛtyā purva ceṣṭeraṃ .... Bl. 96 b folg.: yadi rājā 'bhidāhyata krayāt prāg dakṣiṇakālāt sarveṣv evā 'vadhiṣu prāptaṃ kāmaṃ vipracārād eka ichaṃti 1002 BD cavanāṃ; zu diesem völlig verderbten Passus scheint Āśv. 6. 8. 1 parallel zu sein. 1003 A °daśā 1004 A punad B puna 1005 A °ddhīti A wiederholt: tatra krameraṇyaṃ vacanān japtvā purā daśā punaddīkṣāvāddhīti; s. K. Ś. 25. 14. 30. 1006 B dṛdyād 1007 fehlt bei BCD 1008 A tvasya tad; zu verbessern nach K. Ś. 25. 14. 31. 1009 AD tayaivanā ṛtvir yājayeyur B tathaiva nām ṛtvijo ryayajñeyur C wie B; nur: ryajaya 1010 A °krītaḥ so° 1011 AC upa° 1012 BC anya AD anyatra 1013 A krītaṃ yo BCD krītavyo 1014 BC ceṣṭa AD neṣṭa 1015 D rajohāra 1016 Brahm. Prāy. 82 a: cet krītam apahareyur iti yasya krayeṇā 'bhisaṃbaṃdhaḥ (!) upariṣṭāt somagrahaṇāt . . . dvau somaprakārau haimavato 'sau javanakha tatra haimavate (!) ālohita-varṇako maujavato babhruvarṇakaḥ | . . . . maujavatasyā 'pahāre kecit haimavata āhartavya tam abhiṣuṇuyāt | .... cf. K. Ś.

parikrīto bhavati | yadi somaṃ na vindeyuḥ pūtīkān abhiṣuṇuyur[1017] | yadi na pūtīkān arjunāny[1018] atha[1018] yā[1018] eva kāś cau 'ṣadhīr āhṛtyā 'bhiṣuṇuyuḥ[1019] | pañcadakṣiṇaṃ kratuṃ saṃsthāpayeyur ekadakṣiṇaṃ vā | yena yajñena kāmayeta tena yajeta | [a]tra yat kāmayeta tatra tad dadyāt | prātaḥsavanāc cet kalaśo vidīryeta vaiṣṇavīṣu śipiviṣṭavatīṣu tṛcā[1020] stūyur[1021] | (mādhyaṃdinaś cet[1022] pavamāne sa-mādhyaṃdināt[1023] pavamānā[1024]) yadi mādhyaṃdinā[1025] "rbhavasya[1025] pavamānasya purastād vaṣaṭ-kāra-nidhanaṃ sāma[1026] kuryād | yadi tṛtīya-savana etad[1027] eva[1028] || 4 || bhūmir bhūmim agān[1029] mātā mātaram apy agāt | ṛdhyāsma putraiḥ paśubhir yo no dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām iti | yan mārttikaṃ bhidyeta[1030] tadā 'po gamayet[1031] tathaiva dārumayaṃ ya ṛte cid abhiśriṣa[1032] ity etayā "labhyā 'bhimantrayate |

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25. 12. 17 folg. Dem ālohita entspricht hier vollständig: avyaktarāgapuṣpāṇi tṛṇāni. Als Surrogate werden genannt (der Stufenfolge nach eins für das andere) śyenahṛta, pūtika, ādāra, aruṇadūrvā, haritakuśa; die Schilderung dieser Pflanzen ist von Wichtigkeit. [1017] Wörtlich gleich PB 9. 5. 3; cf. Āśv. 6. 8. 5 f.; Brahm. Prāy. 83 a; K. Ś. 25. 12. 18; Pet. Wb. u. pratinidhi: somā-'bhāve bhavet pūtividhiḥ pratinidhāv uta | [1018] A arjananaithāyā B arjjanānaithāyā C arjunānaiṣyāyā D arjunānairthāyā [1019] Brahm. Prāy. 83 a: yadi na pūtikān athā 'rjunāni yadi na pūtikatṛṇāni ca viṃde[t] tata abhiṣuṇuyād iti varttate lohita-tūlāni *haimavatasya sthāne* haimavato lohitākāra iti bhāvaḥ . . . . *maujavatasthāne* babhrutūlāny arjunāni varttate . . . . yadi nā 'rjunāni na viṃded iti varttate ca ca (?) yā kāś co 'ṣadhīn āraṇyā abhiṣuṇuyād vā 'rjunāni na . . . viṃded yāḥ kāmāś cau 'ṣadhīr āraṇyā darbhakās ādikā abhiṣuṇuyāt somavikrayiṇaś ca kiṃcid dadyād iti . . . . 93 a gedenkt noch des Falles: droṇakalaśe cet somaṃ na viṃdet skanded (?) upadasyed (?) vā . . . . tad dhiraṇya[m] ṛjīṣe 'py asya prakṣipyā 'bhiṣuṇuyād . . . [1020-1021] cf. unten 6. 6; statt tṛcā erwarten wir ṛkṣu [1022] B ci C cit [1023] A °dinā BC dināt [1024] fehlt bei A. [1025] °dina ārbha° wäre grammatisch richtig. [1026] A sama B samāna C samā me [1027] fehlt bei C [1028] Brahm. Prāy. 87 a: (yadi mādhyaṃdine grāvā śīryate [cf. oben 6. 3] . . .) . . . yadi prātaḥsavane kalaśo dīryeta vaṣaṭkāranidhanaṃ . . . . . ekasmin dārumaye kalaśe droṇakalaśa iti prayoga . . . . . eteṣām aṣṭānāṃ yadi kaścid dīryeta . . . 87 b [ganz verderbt]: yadi prātaḥsavane droṇakalaśaṃ kalaśo dīryetā 'bhimarśanākāle tatra somasūryā 'smin pātre samāvapati ya tritīya (?)-sthānā[t] tu kṛtvo 'dgātṛbhiḥ prahitaṃ saṃmṛṣṭam avasthāpya tasmin somam avanayet . . . . . [1029] Āp. 3. 20. 9; 9. 16. 2. [1030] cf. Āp. 9. 16. 2 f.; Āśv. 3. 14. 12; cf. oben 3. 7—8. [1031] A yogamayait BC yo maye; D yo gamayet [1032] AV. 14. 2. 47; vgl. K. Ś. 25. 5. 29 f. und unten Note 1147.

sarvatra śīrṇe bhinne naṣṭe 'nyaṃ kṛtvā punar mai 'tv indriyam[1033] ity ādadīta[1034] | bahiṣpavamānaṃ cet sarpatāṃ[1035] prastotā vichidyeta brahmaṇe varaṃ dattvā tatas tam eva punar vṛṇīyād | yad udgātā vichidyeta sarvavedasa-dakṣiṇena yajñena yajetai | 'vaṃ sarveṣāṃ vichinnānāṃ sarpatām ekaikasmin kuryād | dyauś ca ma indraś ca me[1036] | tantuṃ tanvan[1037] | mā pragāma patho vayam[1038] iti | śastrāc[1039] cec chastram anuśaṃsan[1040] vyāpadyeta mā[1041] pragāma patho vayam[1038] iti pañcabhir juhuyād | rāthaṃtaraṃ cet stūyamānaṃ[1042] vyāpadyeta samyag digbhya[1043] iti dvābhyāṃ juhuyād[1041] | yavā-"dīnām avapannānāṃ[1044] vyāvṛttānām uttarāsāṃ[1045] yathāliṅgaṃ dvābhyāṃ juhuyān | nārāśaṃsā(d) unnetād[1046] upadasyerann[1046] ayaṃ no agnir adhyakṣa[1047] iti dvābhyāṃ | pānnejanyāś ced upadasyet samāsiñcantv[1048] it isaṃsiñcet ‖ 5 ‖ atha ced dhutā-'hutau somau pītā-'pītau vā saṃsṛjyeyātāṃ[1049] yajñasya hi stha ṛtvijā[1050] gavīṃdrāgnī kalpatā yuvaṃ hutā 'hutasya cā 'syā yasye 'ndrāgnīvītaṃ pibata ghṛtam imāṃ ghṛtam iti dvābhyāṃ juhuyāt | prātaḥsavanāc[1051] cet[1052] kalaśo[1053] vidīryeta vaiṣṇavatīṣu[1054] śipiviṣṭavatīṣu gaurīvitena stūyuḥ[1055] | samāna-janapadau cet somau saṃsavau syātāṃ pūrvo

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[1033] Kauś. 9. 2. [1034] AD °dhīta; K. Ś. 25. 6. 1 folg. lehrt die Entstehungsgeschichte irdener Gefäße in interessanter Weise. [1035] ABC sarpatātāṃ [1036] TS. 4. 7. 6. 2. [1037] RV. 10. 53. 6; Āp. 9. 8. 7. [1038] AV. 13. 1. 59. [1039] A śastrāṃ [1040] AC °sa B °saṃ [1041] Diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei D. [1042] AB sūya° [1043] BC samādigbhya AD samādiśya; cf. Paipp. S. 15. 1. [1044] A āpavannānāṃ B apannānāṃ C āpannānām [1045] A uttārāsāṃ C uttasasāṃ; l.: uttarābhyāṃ? [1046] l. unnītā? cf. K. Ś. 25. 12. 11; vgl. Brahm. Prāy. 89 a: yadi nārāśaṃsā upadasyeyuḥ yaṃ yaṃ hamanupatiṣṭhera tasya biṃdum avanayet [1047] Kauś. 89. 13. [1048] Gemeint ist jedenfalls AV. 7. 33. 1; cf. Āp. 7. 17. 1: asmāṅ̃ avantu payasā | [1049] Brahm. Prāy. 90 a (ganz korrupt): yadi hutāhutātopapītau va somau saṃsṛjyeyātām aṃtaparidhy aṃgārā dakṣiṇāho hy ahutasye 'ti juhuyāt yadi hṛtād āhṛte hute [']hute pītārupīti apītād vā 'pī 'ti saṃsargo bhavet taṃ yat saṃsṛṣṭe 'daṃ tataḥ paridhy aṃgārāṃ dakṣiṇā 'po hyu 'hutasya ce 'ti juhuyāt [1050] cf. RV. 8. 38. 1; (Text nach BC); hinter ṛtvijā liest A: gaviṃdrāgnīvītaṃ pivata ghṛtam īmāṃ chṛtam taṃ pibata ghṛtam imāṃ ghṛtam [1051] ABC °vanaṃ [1052] D ca tad [1053] B °śe; vgl. K. Ś. 25. 12. 22. [1054] ABC °vīṣu cf. 6. 4 [1055] Brahm. Prāy. 103 b folg. behandeln in überaus korrupter Form das gleiche oder ein ähnliches Thema: yadi prātaḥsavanavesomer ity etāsti so somo iya stuta iti marutvatīṣu gāyatreṇa stuyuḥ | ..... yadi madhyaṃdine somā

'gniṃ[1056] parigṛhṇīyāt[1056] pūrvo devatāḥ parigṛhṇīyāt | nā 'tirātryā[1057] prātar-anuvākam upākuryād | abhiṣṭāvyā 'tha[1058] saṃveśāyo[1059] 'paveśāya gāyatryai chandase 'bhibhūtyai svāhe[1060] 'ti purastāt prātaranuvākasya juhuyāt | triṣṭubha[1061] iti mādhyaṃdine[1062] vidviṣāṇayoḥ saṃsavāv[1063] iti vijñāyate[1064] | savanīyā-'nantaram agnaye yaviṣṭhāyā ṣṭākapālam ity āhavanīye[1065] mahad[1065] abhyādadhyāt[1065] | saṃbhārāṇāṃ caturbhiś caturbhiḥ pratidiśaṃ juhuyād | uttamam[1066] āgnīdhrīye somabhāga[ṃ] brāhmaṇeṣu śaṃse[t][1067] | vajrāṇāṃ śyenaviṣamasya[1068] ca phaṭkāraprabhṛty[1069] anujānīyāt | sarveṣu cā 'bhicārikeṣu saṃdīkṣitānāṃ ca vyāvarttetā 'gneran brāhmaṇaḥ[1070] procya jīvā nāma sthā tā imaṃ jīvet(v)o[1071] | 'pajīvā nāma sthā tā imaṃ jīveta | jīvikā nāma sthā tā imaṃ jīveta saṃjīveta | jīvalā nāma sthā tā imaṃ jīveta saṃjīveta | saṃjīvikā nāma sthā tā imaṃ jīve(s)t(v)e | 'ty[1072] apaḥ[1072] paribrūyāt[1072] | tāsām udagarvāk[1073] kuryād | upāṃśv-antaryāmau[1074] ca cet te[1074] prāṇāpānau[1074] pātām | upāṃśu-savanas te vyānaṃ pātu | śrotraṃ cā 'śvinau pātāṃ | dakṣakratū te mitrāvaruṇau pātāṃ | stana ity ṛtupātre[1075] | ātmānaṃ ta āgrayaṇaḥ pātv | aṅgāni ca ta ukthyaḥ pātv | āyuṣ te dhruvaḥ pātu | vīryaṃ te lakṣmīḥ pātv iti juhu-

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'tiridhyeti . . . vaṇ mahāsti sūrye 'ty ādityavatīṣu gaurīvitena sapte suyuḥ | yadi tṛtīyasavane somo tiricyeta viṣṇo śipiviṣṭavatīṣu gaurivatena sāmnā s[t]uyuḥ . . . . yady atirātrāviṣṭośapaviṣṭavatīṣu bṛhatā stuyu yady atirātrād itiricyati viṣṇo śipiviṣṭavatīṣu vahatanāśāstrādayaḥ | vgl. K. Ś. 25. 13. 6 folg. [1056] ACD gnir gṛhṇīyāt B gnir gṛhṇīyā. Vgl. K. Ś. 25. 14. 8 folg.; P. B. 9. 4. 2. [1057] A tāni rātryāḥ B tāni rātryā C tāni rātryāt [1058] A abhiṣṭāvyartheḥ BC atiṣṭāvyātha D iti bhiṣṭavyātha [1059] C saṃdeśātho B saveśāyo D saṃveśayo [1060] P. B. 9. 4. 6. [1061] fehlt bei A. [1062] ACD °nenā D °nevā [1063] A samavov; BCD samāvāv; zu ergänzen hinter mādhyaṃdine: saṃveśāyo 'paveśāya jagatyai chandase 'bhibhūtyai svāhe 'ti tritīya-savane; l. sodann: nānā-vidviṣāṇayoḥ saṃsava iti [1064] BC °yaṃte D jñāyaṃte; cf. TS. 2. 2. 9. 6: traiṣṭubhaṃ mādhyaṃdinaṃ savanam [1065] A °nīyamahṛdabhyāṃdadhyāt [1066] A °mamam [1067] A saṃse B śaṃśe B śaṃse [1068] A °ṣayanasya BC °viṣanasya [1069] B vaṣaṭkāra CD vaṣaṭkāraḥ [1070] CD brāhmaṇāḥ [1071] Āp. 14. 20. 8 in erweiterter Fassung; cf. AV. 19. 69. 2 ff.; in den Mss. korrumpiert; vgl. Āśv. 6. 9. 1. Die Fehlerhaftigkeit des vorausgegangenen Textes macht es schwer verständlich, daß es sich bei diesen Sprüchen um die Abwehr von Krankheiten, die den dīkṣita befallen haben, handelt. [1072] BC, dessen Textfassung wir im übrigen gefolgt sind, liest: ity ayaḥ paribrūyāt; AD ity ayaḥ paridhi brūyāt; A läßt die Worte saṃjīveta jīvalā nāma bis ayaḥ pari° aus. [1073] A arvāṃ B ārcā C ācā; l. udakārthaṃ? [1074] Āp. 14. 21. 4; Āśv. 6. 9. 3; AB °yāmo cet prā° C °yāmau ce prācet-prācet prā° [1075] AB kratupātre (l.: ṛtu?) C ṛcupātre

yāt | puṣṭinā puṣṭiṃ[1076] prāṇena prāṇaṃ tejasā tejaś cakṣuṣā cakṣuḥ śrotreṇa śrotram āyuṣā "yuḥ punar dehī 'ti sakṛd etāni juhuyād brahmāṇi sūktāni ‖ 6 ‖ brahmā brāhmaṇācchaṃsī vai "ndra-vāyavād[1077] grahaṃ gṛhṇīyāt[1078] | sa cen[1079] mriyetā[1080] 'gnibhya[1081] eva[1081] trīn aṅgārān uddhṛtya dakṣiṇaṃ pāṇiṃ[1082] śroṇiṃ[1083] prati[1084] dagdhvā[1084] 'sthīny[1085] upanidadhyus[1086] | tasya putraṃ bhrātaraṃ vo 'padīkṣāṃ[1087] samāpnuyuḥ[1088] | sa cen mriyetā 'gnibhya eva trīn aṅgārān uddhṛtya dakṣiṇaṃ pāṇiṃ śroṇiṃ pratitapyai 'va dagdhvā[1085] [1089] hotuḥ[1090] pramukhā[1091] ṛtvijaḥ[1092] prācīnāvītaṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇān ūrūn āghnānāḥ sarparājñīnām (ūrttyā)[1093] kīrttayantaḥ[1094] stotre[1094] stotre[1095] 'sthi-puṭam[1096] upanidadhyuḥ | saṃvatsare[1097] 'sthipuṭaṃ[1097] nidadhyuḥ[1098] | saṃvatsare 'sthīni yājayet | samāpte saṃvatsare dīkṣitānāṃ ced upadīkṣeta somaṃ[1099] vibhajya[1099] viśvajitā[1100] 'tirātreṇa | yady āśvinī[ṣu][1101] śasyamānāsv[1102] ādityaṃ purastān na paśyeyur aśvaṃ śvetaṃ rukmapratihitaṃ[1103] purastād avasthāpya[1104] sauryaṃ śvetaṃ (g)ajam[1105] upālaṃbhyam ālabheta tasya[1106] tāny eva

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[1076] cf. Āp. 10. 10. 6. [1077] A veṃdra° BCD caimdra° [1078] ACD gṛhṇāti yāt [1079] A ven C te [1080] A mṛyetā° C bhāyetā° [1081] A °bhyas C °bhāva [1082] A °pāṇiḥ [1083] B daṃ CD fehlt [1084] A tathaiva dagdhā C dadhyā; l.: pratidhāya; der völlig korrupte Text Brahm. Prāy. 112 a gibt die gleichen Worte wieder. [1085] Diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei A. [1086] B uyannidhyus [1087] D °dīkṣeraṃ [1088] K. Ś. 25. 13. 28 folg.; dieser Satz ist zweifellos eine Duplik des Folgenden. [1089] B daśvā C läßt dagdhvā aus. [1090] B hotṛḥ [1091] CD °kha [1092] fehlt bei C [1093] AD sāyaṃrājñīnāmūrttāya B sāyaṃsājñīnāmūrttāyā C sāyaṃrājñīnāmūrtyāya [1094] A kīrttanastotre BD kīrttiyantastotre C kīrttiyannāstotre [1095] fehlt bei AC. [1096] AD sthipuṭa BC sthiputrim [1097] A °tsarāsthipuṃtha C °puraṃ [1098] vgl. hierzu K. Ś. 25. 13. 31—36. [1099] A somam avibhajya [1100] K. Ś. 25. 10. 4 folg. [1101] A aśvinī [1102] C °nāstv D °nāḥsv [1103] ABCD °hataṃ [1104] Brahm. Prāy. 101 a: yasyā "śvine śasyamāne sūryo no "diyād aśvaṃ śvetaṃ rukma-pratimuktaṃ purastāt pratyaṅmukham avasthāpayet kūrmeṇa pūrvām avedaṃ naimittikam abhidhīyate yasya yajamānasyā "śvina śasyamāne sūryo no 'diyāt tatro 'ktam udite sūryo nīti tad yadi no 'dgīyāt (?) tato gachet tasmin kāle sūryas tata iti naimittikam aśva śveta-rukma-pratimuktaṃ pratipūrvam uktābaṃdhane ['] śvavadva rukma prāpnoti purastād varṣavidvātasṛ tasminn eva kāle sūryasapatny (?) rthaprasrutaṃ mukham avasthāpayet .... [1105] Statt des sachlich unmöglichen gajam von ABC ist vielmehr: ajam zu lesen, wie z. B. aus Brahm. Prāy. 102 a hervorgeht: sauryo ja śvetam apālaṃbhyā .... [1106] A tasyā

tantrāṇi yāni savanīyasyuḥ purastāt saṃdhi camasā[1107] "savānām[1108] anupradānaṃ syād | aśvamedhe ced aśvo nā "gacched āgneyo 'ṣṭākapāla iti mṛgākhare[1109] ṣaḍḍhaviṣkām[1109] iṣṭiṃ[1109] nirvaped daśa-haviṣam ity eke[1110] | vaḍavāṃ ced aśvo 'bhīyād agnaye 'ṃhomuce 'ṣṭākapālaṃ sauryaṃ payo[1111] vāyavyāv ājyabhāgau ‖ 7 ‖ somarūpeṣū 'kta ācāryakalpo | brāhmaṇaṃ tu bhavati | trayastriṃśad vai yajñasya tanva | ity ekānna[1112]-triṃśo[1113] pākanagnim[1114] aśvaṇām[1115] ity arthalopān nivṛttis | trīṇi vā catur-gṛhītāny anuvākasye 'ty ācāryā ete nityakalpāyā "rtvijyetarūpayasāṃ[1116] tanvām ārttim ārchatāṃ co'ttarāṃ vā saṃdhiṃ[1117] saṃdhāya juhuyād iti taittirīyabrāhmaṇam iṣṭvā tad-daivatyām[1118]-edhikīyatām[1119] arttir vidyāj jāmiṃ puruṣavidhiṃ māyayā vā yajñasaṃbaṃdhinīṃ vāṅ-manaś-cintāyāṃ[1120] prāg viharaṇād ārtāya prajāpatir manasi sārasvato vāci visṛṣṭāyāṃ vidhānaṃ dīkṣāyāṃ brahmavrate svāhe 'ty etena nyāyena vājasaneyībrāhmaṇamoghena mantrāḥ[1121] kḷptāḥ[1121] | prajāpataye svāhā dhātre svāhā pūṣṇe svāhe[1122] 'ty | aparāhṇikaś cet pravargyo 'bhyastam iyāc chukro[1123] 'si[1124] divo 'chata[1125] iti juhuyād vyāhṛtibhiś ca | śvaḥsutyāṃ[1126] ced ahutāyāṃ tad-ahartāv[1127] apāgached[1128] indrāya harivata[1129] iti brūyād ihā 'nvīcamatibhir iti tisṛbhiḥ | prātaranuvākaṃ ced duritam upākuryāt pra vāṃ daṃsāṃsy aśvināv avocam[1130] iti pañcabhir juhuyāt ‖ 8 ‖ pra vāṃ daṃsāṃsy aśvināv avocam asya patiḥ syāṃ sugavaḥ suvīraḥ | uta paśyann aśnuvan dīrgham āyur astam ive 'j

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[1107] AB vamatsā C vamasā [1108] ABD asāvānām C asāvān [1109] AD mṛgākhaṣaṃḍaḍhaviṣāyām iṣṭiṃ BC mṛgāravareṣaḍhaviṣyābhiṣṭiṃ [1110] Einen allgemeinen Fall dieser Art erwähnten Brahm. Prāy. 73 b: yadi daivān mānuṣād vā pramādāt paśur upākṛtaḥ palāyeta .... upo devān daivīr viśa iti darbhyābhyāṃ (śāṣayā) co 'paspṛśatī 'ti ... dhvajā-"dibhāve vātam apanīya vāyavyāṃ yavāgūṃ nirupye 'ty ānantaryaṃ darśayati .... [1111] B pavo [1112] AD ekāṃ na B ekānta; cf. G. B. 2. 2. 10. [1113] A triśo [1114] C °kajagnim D pākamagnim [1115] BD °ṇāyām [1116] C °rupa° A °kalpārghijyeta° [1117] A saṃdhit B saṃdviṃ C saṃddhiṃ [1118] B devatyām [1119] BD ekīkīyati C ekīyati; beide mit der Wiederholung: tavatyā mehīyatim [1120] D cintanīyāṃ [1121] A mantra luptā; gedacht ist an VS. 8. 54, das Zitat aber deckt sich mit M. Ś. 3. 6. 2; cf. Ś. B. 12. 6. 1. 3 folg. [1122] VS. 18. 28; 22. 32. [1123] ABD chakro [1124] AV. 2. 11. 5; 17. 1. 20. [1125] B deva 'cha CD divocha [1126] A sutyaṃ B sutyā C sutyāṃ [1127] A °rttāv B °rttav C °rtav [1128] A adhyāgached [1129] Ap. Ś. 13. 17. 2. [1130] RV. 1. 116. 25.

jarimāṇaṃ jagamyām || 1 || madhvaḥ somasyāśvinā madāya[1131] pratno hotā vivāsate vāṃ | barhiṣmatī rātrir viśritā gīr iṣā yātaṃ nāsatyo 'pa vājaiḥ || 2 || yo vām aśvinā manaso javīyān rathaḥ svaśvo viśa ājigāti | yena gachathaḥ sukṛto duroṇaṃ tena narā vartir asmabhyaṃ yātaṃ || 3 || ṛṣiṃ narāv aṃhasaḥ pāñcajanyam ṛbīṣād atriṃ muṃcatho gaṇena | minaṃtā dasyor aśivasya māyā anupūrvaṃ vṛṣaṇā codayaṃtā || 4 || aśvaṃ na gūḍham aśvinā durevair ṛṣiṃ narā vṛṣaṇā rebham apsu | saṃ taṃ riṇītho viprutaṃ daṃsobhir na vāṃ jūryaṃti pūrvyā kṛtāni || 5 || iti | prātaḥsavanaṃ cen mādhyaṃdinaṃ savanam abhyastamiyād agnir mā pātu vasubhiḥ purastād[1132] iti juhuyād | agnaye svāhā vasubhyaḥ svāhā gāyatryai svāhā | mādhyaṃdinaṃ cet tṛtīyasavanam abhyastamiyāt somo mā rudrair dakṣiṇāyā diśaḥ pātv[1133] iti juhuyāt | somāya svāhā[1134] rudrebhyaḥ svāhā triṣṭubhe svāhā | tṛtīyasavanaṃ ced abhyastamiyād varuṇo mā "dityaiḥ[1135] sūryo mā dyāvāpṛthivībhyāṃ pratīcyā diśaḥ pātv iti juhuyād | varuṇāya svāhā "dityebhyaḥ svāhā jagatyai svāhā | ā bharataṃ śikṣataṃ vajrabāhū[1136] asmān indrāgnī avataṃ śacībhiḥ | ime nu te raśmayaḥ sūryasya yebhiḥ sapitvaṃ pitaro na āsan | indrāgnibhyāṃ svāhe | 'ndrāviṣṇubhyāṃ svāhā | rātriparyāyāś ced abhivichidyerann indrāya svāhe | 'ndrāṇyai svāhā | chandobhyaḥ svāhā | ṛtvijāṃ[1137] ced[1138] duritam upākuryād agnaye rathaṃtarāya svāho | 'ṣase svāhā | paṅktaye svāhā | 'śvibhyāṃ svāhā | mā naḥ piparid aśvine 'ti | sarvatrā 'nājñāteṣv[1139] agnaye svāhā | yajñāya svāhā | brahmaṇe svāhā | viṣṇave svāhā | prajāpataye svāhā | 'numataye svāhā | 'gnaye sviṣṭakṛte svāhe 'ti | trātāram indraṃ[1140] | yayor ojase[1141] 'ti cai | 'tā viṣṇu-varuṇa-devatyā | uktāni prāyaścittāny | athai 'kāgnau yatra puroḍāśā uktā[1142] sthālīpākāṃs[1143] tatra[1143] kuryāt | puroḍāśeṣu japair eva[1144] kuryāt | sarvatra chedanabhedanā-'vadāraṇa-dahaneṣū[1145] 'khāsu[1145] somakalaśa-mahāvīra-

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[1131] RV. 1. 117. 1. [1132] AV. 19. 17. 1. [1133] AV. 19. 17. 3. [1134] VS. 22. 27 ff. [1135] AV. 19. 17. 4. [1136] RV. 1. 109. 7. [1137] B ṛtvijo C ṛtvijoc [1138] A ce D ca [1139] cf. 760; vgl. ferner Āśv. Prāy. 18 b: anājñātaṃ yathātathaṃ svāhā | agnaya idaṃ | puruṣa-saṃmito yajño | agnaya idaṃ vyāhṛtihomaṃ viṣṇusmaraṇaṃ ca kuryāt | [1140] AV. 7. 86. 1. [1141] AV. 7. 25. 1. [1142] B uptā (?) [1143] B °kāṃsū . . . (unklar) [kuryāt]; AC °kās tatra [1144] AB ava [1145] A chedanabhedanāvadāṇadahaneṣūṣāsu BC chedanāvadāraṇadahaneṣukhāsu

yajña-bhāṇḍeṣu sarvatra śīrṇe bhinne[1146] naṣṭe[1147] 'nyaṃ kṛtvā punar mai 'tv indriyam[1148] ity ādadīta | sarvatra mā no vidann[1149] ity abhayair[1150] aparājitair[1151] juhuyād | abhayair aparājitair juhuyāt || 9 || ṣaṣṭho[1152] 'dhyāyaḥ[1152] | atha yatrai 'tat pārthivam āntarikṣaṃ divyaṃ devair asurair vā prayuktaṃ tad adbhutaṃ śamayaty atharvā prabhur adbhutānāṃ | so dūrvā-"jyaṃ[1153] gṛhītvā "havanīye juhoti | pṛthivyai śrotrāyā 'ntarikṣāya prāṇāya vayobhyo dive cakṣuṣe nakṣatrebhyaḥ sūryāyā 'dhipataye svāhe | 'ti sūtraprāyaścittis[1154] | tatra ślokaḥ |

prāyaścittānāṃ parimāṇaṃ na yajña upalabhyate | tasmād dṛṣṭaḥ samāso 'tra taṃ nibodhata yājñikāḥ |

ity atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścittaprakaraṇaṃ[1155] samāptam[1155] |

[1146] Agn. Prāy. 5 b: kaṭhiṇa-dravyeṣu bhedanaṃ dru (?) va-dravyeṣu kṣaraṇaṃ ubhayatra bhūmi-gatam eva duṣṭaṃ bhavati | ; die auf die Erde oder ins Feuer gefallene Opfergabe ist unrein. [1147] Brahm. Prāy. 105 a: ukhā yady (a)sra[vaṃ] gache[t] (cf. oben 6. 2; vgl. AP. 45. 2. 19) tataḥ praṇīyā . . . "havanīye punaḥ . . . . . Bl. 107 b: yady ukhā 'bhibhidyeta mahāvīro vā kapālāni cūrṇapeṣaṃ piṣṭ[v]ā mṛdā saṃsṛjya yo dhyā . . . vitiśraya ity (vergl. oben Note 1032) ukhāṃ kṛtvā tathā mahāvīrya ukhāmarthavīrayonulye naimittikam ity ataḥ (!) ubhayor abhidhīyate . . . Bl. 108 a folg.: karma pradarśyate [yady ukhā 'bhibhidyeta] . . . . . agnim anyasmin pātre ['] vasthā . . . . . pya pravṛtti[ṃ] kṛtvā kapālāni pūrṇatpeṣaṃ piṣṭvā mṛdā saṃsṛjya yatrātevadabhiśratha ity ukhāṃ kuryāt . . . . pūrṇapeṣam piṣṭety evam-ādinā 'dya tatedabhiśiṣṭa iti . . . Vgl. auch Brahm. Prāy. 109 a: prāg dīkṣābhyaḥ . . . yad bhidyeta . . . sakṛtyāhutīr (?) juhuyāt (!) yadi dīkṣitasyo 'paramed . . . . [1148] AV. 7. 67. 1. [1149] AV. 1. 19. 1. [1150] fehlt bei BC; D °bhayā [1151] D parā° [1152] fehlt bei BC. [1153] C dūrvāṃjyaṃ [1154] D °cittisūtra [1155] A prāyaścittiḥ prasaṅge caturdaśamo 'dhyāyaḥ; B wie A; nur: °ścitta° und hinter °dhyāyaḥ || 14 || Bei C fehlt von °ścitta an der ganze Rest; A fügt hinter 'dhyāyaḥ hinzu: | śubham astu | siddhir astu | kalyāṇam astu | śrī-viśveśvarāya namaḥ | śrī-sarvavidyānidhāna-kavīndrā-"cārya-sarasvatīnām atharvavede vaitā(ya) nasūtre prāyaścitti-prāsaṅga-pustakam | B fügt hinter || 14 || hinzu: śrī-yajña-puruṣā-'rpaṇam astu | śrī-guru-ramadāsa-caraṇī-tat-para-viṣṇu-nārāya devadhara | śeke || 1785 || randranāma-saṃvatsare māhemāgha-śuddha induvāra idaṃ pustakaṃ samāptam | ; Colophon zu D s. bei Weber, Berl. Handschr. Cat.

Vedic, Sanskrit, and Middle Indic.—By TRUMAN MICHELSON. Ethnologist in the Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D. C.[1]

In an interesting paper (JAOS. 32, pp. 414—428) Mr. W. Petersen has discussed the general interrelations of Vedic, Sanskrit, and Middle Indic. It may be noted that he uses 'Prakrit' in the sense of 'Mittelindisch'. The following criticism is presented by the writer as he believes that Petersen has overlooked the evidence of the Asokan dialects in a number of cases.

In the discussion as to whether Prākrit is derived from Vedic or Sanskrit, it should have been mentioned that it has been demonstrated that not a single dialect of the Asokan inscriptions can be derived from either the literary Vedic or Sanskrit. See Johansson, Shb. ii, § 88; Michelson, JAOS. 31, pp. 232, 241; IF. 24, p. 54; TAPA. 40, p. 26.

The position taken, that during the period of the composition of the Vedic hymns two distinct groups of Indic dialects were developed and separated by an uncrossable gulf does not seem probable by the analogy of the Asokan dialects. Johansson and the writer have made it clear that the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra versions of the Fourteen Edicts (for their speech is essentially one) is far closer to Vedic or Sanskrit than the other dialects are. There is no uncrossable bridge. It can be confidently asserted that this dialect, though it has certain ear-marks of the Middle Indic stage of development, such as the assimilation of stops of one order to those of another order, yet as a whole belongs to an earlier stage of development. Now if it is not feasible to draw hard and fast lines in the time of Asoka, what right have we to assume such lines in earlier times unless some definite proof be given?

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Petersen has allowed traces of Middle Indic in the Rig Veda so far as phonetics are concerned. But Epic Sanskrit teems with Middle-Indicisms morphologically; and it should be especially noted that such forms phonetically do not present the same aspect as the later dialects (e. g. Epic Sanskrit *kurmi*, *dadmi* = Pāli *kummi*, *dammi* respectively). Such forms are usually due to metrical considerations, and are borrowed from dialects. Are such dialects also to be classed as Middle Indic? Again I do not think a hard and fast line can be drawn.

The point made that Vedic and Middle Indic cannot have been contemporaneous dialects which arose in different localities, by the argument that it is highly improbable that one section of the country should have been so conservative and another so prone to innovation, is not in accordance with the evidence of the Asokan dialects: the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra dialect is highly conservative while the 'Māgadhan' dialects show numerous phonetic changes; the Girnār dialect as a whole is not phonetically as archaic as the first dialect nor has it suffered as many phonetic changes as the second dialects.

The assumption that the sound-changes in Middle Indic were due not to gradual changes, but to the fact that the aborigines differed anatomically from the Aryans, and had linguistic traits widely different from them; and that it was owing to this that they were unable to speak the language as the Aryans, and so modified it to suit their own characteristics, is a point to be proved. Granting anatomical differences in the vocal apparatus, no such direct influence can be maintained until it has been shown that the non-Aryan languages of India possess the characteristic sounds of Middle Indic languages, that the groups of consonants which suffer assimilation in these languages are not tolerated in the non-Aryan languages and show the same assimilations, that the same loss of intervocalic consonants occurs in them.

An indirect influence can be maintained if it be shown that the non-Aryan languages do not possess the groups of consonants which suffer assimilation nor such consonants as are lost when intervocalic, even if the non-Aryan languages do not agree precisely with the Middle Indic languages. In the same way the change (or substitution) of one sound for another such as *s* for *ś* cannot be charged directly or indirectly to the

influence of non-Aryan languages unless there be positive evidence. Similarly certain morphological characteristics of Middle Indic languages such as the almost complete loss of the perfect tense, the formation of other tenses on the present stem, extensive levelling of distinctions between singular and plural (e. g. Pāli *brūmi*, levelled by *brūma*), and the like cannot be charged to the direct or indirect influence of the non-Aryan languages unless it be demonstrated that the same or like phenomena respectively occur in them.

But again the evidence of the Asokan inscriptions indicates that the changes were gradual. Thus though the Girnār dialect possesses but one sibilant, it can be shown that this is a late development (see JAOS. 31, pp. 237, 246 and the literature cited there). Again the treatment of *r* in consonantic groupes is a case in point (ibidem, pp. 236, 246); it is clear that the assimilation in certain cases is recent. From the state of affairs in the Girnār dialect, it might well be argued that the assimilation of *r* in consonantic groups (which assimilation is not connected with those in the Girnār dialect, and is merely a parallel development) in the 'Māgadhan' dialects is the result of gradual changes.

Moreover, it has been shown that some of the most characteristic assimilations in consonantal groups in the Middle Indic dialects had their beginning in even earlier times: see Wackernagel, AiGr. i. § 98 (and the literature cited there); Whitney, Skt. Gr.[3] §§ 228, 232; Whitney-Lanman, Atharva Veda, p. lxvii and on i. 22. 1, iv. 19. 6, v. 20. 12. This is against any theory of direct influence on the part of the non-Aryan languages; and it supports the view that the phonetic changes were gradual and not due to mere substitution of sounds. And it may be noted that in part parallel assimilations are found in other Indo-European languages. Thus for example popular Latin *tt* from *ct* and *pt* (Italian *otto*, *sette* = Latin *octō*, *septem* respectively), Cretan Greek ττ from κτ and πτ (Λύττιοι, νυττί for Λύκτιοι, νυκτί; Buck, Greek Dialects, p. 68, § 86. 1, 2) are parallel to *tt* from *kt* and *pt* in Middle Indic (Pāli *satta*, *sitta-* = Skt. *sapta*, *sikta-* respectively); similarly Ionic-Attic Greek λλ from *ly* (ἄλλος) is parallel to Pāli, Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra *ll* (written *l* on inscriptions) from *ly* (*kallāṇa-* Skt. *kalyāṇa-*). Even Cretan Greek νν from ρν (ὄννιθα for ὄρνιθα, Buck, Greek Dialects, p. 69,

§ 86, 5) may be compared to a certain extent with Middle Indic *ṇṇ* from *rṇ*. These facts make it likely that at any rate certain typical Middle Indic assimilations of consonants are due to spontaneous change; and puts the burden of proof on those who maintain the changes are due directly to the influence of the non-Aryan languages. The same applies to the levellings in Middle Indic noted above.

The analogy of the English of the American Negro to Prākrit is not happy, except as a parallel in the indirect influence mentioned above: there is no proof that the peculiarities of his speech are due to his anatomy nor to the influence of his forgotten African language. Educated American negroes speak English faultlessly. The English of such negroes of Nassau (Bahama Islands), that I have heard, as far as pronunciation is concerned, is close to the British one. It is likely that the faulty English of the American negro is due to his wrong perception of the sounds[1] and his unfamiliarity with the English of cultivated society.[2] In the same way to the untrained ear of an American, there are sounds in the American Indian languages of the Northwest coast that are wrongly perceived, and hence wrongly imitated. (The sounds in question are various *l* sounds.) Similarly American Indian children at governmental schools at first mispronounce English and make havoc of English grammatical categories, but on becoming familiar with the spoken language they learn to speak English correctly. Again American Indian pupils after a more or less protracted stay at the schools lose the characteristic pronunciation of their own native languages owing to the fact that they hear English constantly spoken, and rarely (comparatively speaking) have occasion to use their

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[1] Cf. J. C. Tarver, London Journal of Education (new series) 9 (1887) p. 475; S. E. Wiltse, American Journal of Psychology, 1 (1887—8) p. 702 [both reported in The Pedagogical Seminary, 2 (1892) p. 426]; Rousselot, Les modifications phonétiques (1891) p. 39; Zünd-Burguet, La Parole, 1 (1899) p. 14; von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens (1894) p. 80; Oertel, Lectures on the study of language (1901), p. 237; 240; Boas, Handbook of American Indian Languages (Bulletin 40, B. A. E.), part 1, p. 16 ff.

[2] M. Fishberg, Die Rassenmerkmale der Juden, München, 1913, maintains (pp. 75—80) "daß die Aussprache in erster Linie von der sozialen Berührung abhängig ist", and instances Jewish and Negro pronunciation.

own languages. I admit I have never yet found a case where it can be proved that English has influenced the grammatical categories of the native languages of American Indian pupils. It may be noted, however, that in the drama of "The Little Clay Cart", ascribed to King Śūdraka, Candanaka tries to excuse his slip in Prākrit (which nearly cost Āryaka his life) by appealing to the grammatical categories of non-Aryan languages. As I am ignorant of these I cannot say whether his plea is well-founded.

In discussing the differences between the accentuation of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, it would have been well tol mention that certain Asokan dialec ts had a system identica with or very similar to the latter: see IF. 23, p. 231.

In conclusion the writer agrees with the thesis that Sanskrit, "though not in the very form in which it occurs in literature" was a truly spoken vernacular. Even the late Classical Sanskrit cannot have been wholly artificial; the existence of such an enormous literature necessarily presupposes a large audience who normally spoke a language that did not differ from the written one too violently. That the audience belonged to cultivated circles of society goes without saying. Petersen has done well to emphasize this aspect of the problem, as against Pischel, Gr. d. Pkt. Sprachen, § 6, note 2. But other phases such as the question as the genetic relationship of the Middle Indic dialects require more protracted and more intensive study before satisfactory answers can be given.

Notes on the Phonology of the Tirurai Language. — By Carlos Everett Conant, Ph. D., University of Chattanooga, Tennessee.

1. Tirurai (sometimes called Tedurai) is one of the numerous Indonesian languages of the Philippine Islands. It is spoken by about four thousand people in the mountains south of the town Kotabatu (Cotabato) on the southern coast of Mindanao. The chief town of the Tirurai is Tamontaka.

2. *Bibliography.*

Bennásar, Padre Guillermo, *Diccionario Tiruray-Español*, Manila 1892, and *Diccionario Español-Tiruray*, Manila 1893.

The author of the three items that follow is given anonymously as "un Padre Misionero", who, however, is known to have been Padre Bennásar.

Observaciones gramaticales sobre la lengua Tiruray, Manila 1892.

Catecismo Histórico por el Abate Claudio Fleury y traducido al Tiruray por un P. misionero de la Compañía de Jesús, Manila 1892.

Costumbres de los indios Tirurayes escritas por José Tenorio (a) Sigayán y traducidas al español y anotadas por un Padre misionero de la Compañía de Jesús, Manila 1892.

3. Chief Peculiarities.

Tirurai phonology presents several marked differences from that of other Philippine speech groups. Of these the more apparent are: (a) the rounding of Indonesian *a* to the *o* sound of Ger. *hoffen* or Fr. *école*, (b) diphthongization of final *i* and *u* to *ei* and *eu*, respectively, (c) *f* everywhere for *p*, (d) the frequent occurrence of a trilled *r* of varied origin, and (e) the change of Indonesian *k* to *g* under certain cirmcumstances.

These, and other peculiarities of less frequent occurrence, are so striking as to give a Tirurai text a very foreign appearance when compared with other Philippine languages.

4. Indonesian *a*.

Under certain conditions an original *a* may be rounded in Tirurai, becoming a sound very close to the *o* in Ger. *hoffen*, Fr. *école*, e. g., IN *lima* : Tir. *limó* "five"; IN *anak* : Tir. *onók* "offspring, son, daughter, child". This change occurs independently only in a final syllable, e. g., Tir. *limó*, *lifot* (Phil. *lipat* "to forget"). Where it occurs in the penult, as in Tir. *onók*, it is by assimilation to the *o* (<*a*) of the following (final) syllable.

Under other circumstances an IN penultimate *a* remains unchanged in Tirurai, as in the following examples:

Philippine	Tirurai	
bagá	*bará*	"embers, live coals"
layag	*layag*	"sail"
gapas	*gafas*	"cotton"
labi	*labi*	"more"
laki	*lágei*	"male"
batu	*batêu*	"stone"
kayu	*káyeu*	"tree, wood, firewood"

In the following examples IN *a* > Tir. *o* in final syllables and the *o* thus arising assimilates to itself an original *a* of the preceding (penultimate) syllable:

(a) IN *a* > Tir. *o* in final position:

	Non-Tirurai	Tirurai	
	na (enclitic)	*no*	"his, her, its"
	da, ra, la (encl.)	*ro*	"their"
	ka (encl.)	*go*	"thou"
	dua, rua, lua	*rúo*	"two"
	lima	*limó*	"five"
	tuka	*tukó*	"point, beak"
Iloko, Ibanak	*pia*	*fió*	"good"
Magindanau	*sedá*, Bis. *isdá*	*sedó*	"fish, meat"
Mgd.	*siká*	*sikó*	"cat"
Malay	*leṅa*	*leṅó*	"sesame"
	paa	*fóo*	"thigh"
	mata	*motó*	"eye"
	abaká	*wogó*	"hemp"
Bagobo	*mama* "man, male"	*momo*	"uncle"

(b) before a final surd stop (*k, t*):

	anak	*onók*	"son, daughter, young (of animals)"
Bagobo	*awak*	*owok*	"waist"
Bikol	*lipát*	*lifot*	"forget"
IN	*ĕpat*	*efót*	"four"
Bagobo	*alat*	*olot*	"basket"
Bisaya	*dágat*	*dogot*	"sea"

(c) before a final nasal (*n, ṅ, m*):

Bisaya	*man* intens. part.	*mon*	"also"
Bisaya	*buláwan*	*belowón*	"gold"
Bisaya	*dálan*	*dolón*	"road, way"
Tag. Bis.	*utaṅ*	*utoṅ*	"debt"
Ibanak	*ittam*	*tom*	"we" (inclusive)
Bisaya	*kamú*	*gom*	"you (pl.)"
Ibanak	*nanám*	*nonom*	"flavor"

5. But the change *a* > *o* is prevented by an adjacent *s* or *y*, and by an adjacent *r*, unless this *r* be preceded by *u* and the affected vowel be in final position.

(a) Change prevented by *s*:

	Non-Tirurai	Tirurai	
Tag.	*pisá*	*fisá*	"crack, break"
Tag.	*bísa*	*bisá*	"venom, poison"
Phil.	*basa*	*basa*	"word"
Phil.	*bĕgas*	*begás*	"rice"
Phil.	*tĕgas*	*tegás*	"hard"
Tag.	*táwas*	*tawás*	"alum"
Phil.	*gatas*	*ratas*	"milk"
Mgd.	*usaṅ*	*usaṅ*	"rice straw"

(b) Change prevented by *y*:

IN	*ayam* "bird, animal"	*ayam*	"animal"
Phil.	*layag*	*layag*	"sail"
Bis.	*sayap*	*sayaf*	"kind of hat"
Mgd.	*payák*	*fayag*	"clear, manifest"
Bgb.	*layaṅ*	*layaṅ*	"fly" vb.
Bis.	*duyan*	*duyan*	"hammock"

(c) Change prevented by *r*:

Mgd. *bilá*	*birá*	"cross-eyed"
Mal. *darah*, Ibanak *dága*, Pang. *dála*,	*dára*	"blood"
Bis. *búga*, Mal. Ilk. *bara*	*bará*	"embers"

Toba	*abara*, Ibanak *abagá*	*wará*	"shoulder"
Mal.	*barat* "west wind"	*barat*	"tempest"
Mgd.	*suag*	*suar*	"thorn"
Bagobo	*akar*	*akar*	"deceive"

(d) But final *a* > *o* after *ur:*

Tag. *bulá*, Pang. *burá*	*buroburó*	"foam"
Tag. *pulá*	*furó*	"red"
Tag. *sulá*, Ilk. *sugá* (RLD)	*suró*	"púas escondidas"

6. Indonesian *i* and *u*.

As a rule IN *i* and *u* remain unchanged in Tirurai everywhere except in final position, where, in a number of the most common words, they are diphthongized to *ei* and *eu*, respectively.

(a) Indonesian final *i* > *ei* in Tirurai:

Non-Tirurai		Tirurai	
Phil.	*tali*	*tálei*	"tie with cord"
Mal.	*diri*, Sangir *dihi*	*lilei*	"post"
Phil.	*tañi*	*tañei*	"to free, liberate"
Phil.	*laki*, *lalaki*	*lágei*	"male"
Bis. (Samar)	*siki*	*sekei*	"foot"
Pang.	*bii*	*bei*	"woman"

(b) Indonesian final *u* > *eu* in Tirurai

IN *tĕtĕlu*, Tag. *tatlú*	*tetléu*	"three"
IN *pitu*	*fitéu*	"seven"
IN *batu*	*batéu*	"stone"
IN *kutu*	*kuteu*	"louse"
IN *kayu*	*káyeu*	"tree, wod"
IN *ulu*	*uleu*	"head"
IN *siku*	*sigeu*	"elbow"
IN *abu*	*aweu*	"ashes"

7. The Indonesian obscure vowel (pepet).[1]

The pepet vowel remains uniformly an obscure, colorless, *ĕ* in Tirurai: Tir. *atef*, IN *atĕp* "roof"; Tir. *enem*, IN *ĕnĕm* "six".

8. Indonesian *p*.

Every *p*, whether originally IN or not, becomes *f* in Tirurai:[2] Tir. *fitéu*, IN *pitu* "seven"; Tir. *afei*, IN *apui*, *api* "fire"; Tir.

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[1] Cf. Conant, The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages, *Anthropos*, vol. VII (1912), pp. 920—947.

[2] Cf. Conant, F and V in Philippine Languages, *Division of Ethnology Publications*, vol. v, part. ii, Manila 1908.

atef, IN *atĕp* "roof". The Tir. pronunciation of the Spanish name *Policarpio* is *Fulicarfiu.*

9. Indonesian *b.*

IN *b* generally remains unchanged in Tirurai, as in Tir. *batéu*, IN *batu* "stone"; Tir. *labi*, Tag. *labi* "more"; Tir. *dob*, Tag. *loob* "in, within"; but it sometimes becomes *w* (*u̯*) when intervocalic, as in Tir. *tawen*, Bis. *tabon* "a kind of bird"; Tir. *rawen*, Bis. *gábon* "mist, fog"; Tir. *aweu*, IN *abu* "ashes"; Tir. *wará* <*ĕwará*, Phil. *abága* "shoulder"; Tir. *wogó* <*ĕwogó*, Phil. *abaká.*

10. Indonesian *k.*

An original *k* remains unchanged in Tirurai initially and finally in dissyllabic root words, e. g., Tir. *káyeu* "wood"; *ebúk*, IN *buĕk* "hair"; but an intervocalic *k* is retained only exceptionally, as in Tir. *sekei*, Bis. (Samar) *siki* "foot"; Tir. *sikó*, Mgd. *siká* "cat", and regularly becomes the corresponding sonant *g*, e. g., Tir. *sigeu*, IN *siku* "elbow"; Tir. *lágei*, Phil. *laki* "male"; Tir. *igor*, Phil. *ikug* (*g*=RGH cons.) "tail"; Tir. *digur*, Bis. *likud* "back, behind"; Tir. *(be)gom*, Bis. *kamú* "you".

IN *k* also regularly becomes *g* in accentless prefixes and pronominal suffixes (or enclitics) beginning with IN *k*, e. g., Tir. *i gelimó-nuë*, Bis. *ikalimá* "the fifth"; Tir. *úleu gu*, Bis. *úlu ko* "my head"; Tir. *úleu go*, Bis. *úlu ka* "your head". In the foregoing examples the original *k* is, of course, really in intervocalic position, and hence in the same category as the intervocalic *k* ot the foregoing paragraph, but by analogy this *g* (<*k*) has been extended so that it may follow any consonant, e. g., Tir. *i onok gu*, Bis. *aṅ anak ko* "my son"; Tir. *i safut gom* (*gom*=Bis. *kamú* with apocopation of *u*) "your cloth"; and the original *k* is retained in the enclitic pronouns only after *a'*, *e'*, *o'*, *u'* (<*an*, *en*, *on*, *un*) at the end of the foregoing word, e. g., Tir. *sebaa' ku sa* "I only"; Tir. *libu' ku* "my sister".

11. The RGH consonant.[1]

The RGH consonant appears regularly as *r*, exceptionally as *g*, e. g., Tir. *bara*, Bis. *baga* "embers"; Tir. *igor*, Phil. *ikug* "tail": but Tir. *gakit*, Ilk. *rákit*, Ibanak *gákit*, Mal. *rakit* "raft"; Tir. *rebá* beside *gebá*, Mal. *rebah* "fall to ruins". As Tirurai

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[1] Cf. Conant, The RGH Law in Philippine Languages, *JAOS*, vol. xxxi, (1910), pp. 70—85.

does not permit both *r* and *l* within the same root word, an *r* (<RGH) either assimilates to itself an *l* (of any origin), as in Tir. *rebur* (<*lebur*), Mal. *lebur*, Mgd. *lebug*, Bis. *lubúg*, or is (more rarely) itself assimilated to the neighboring *l*, as in Tir. *lilei* (<*lirei*), Mal. *diri*, Sang. *dihi*, Tag. Bis. *ha-lígi* "post", where the *r* (<RGH) is assimilated to the initial *l*.[1]

12. The RLD law.

The phenomena of the RLD interchange in Indonesian languages are so varied, and have in so many instances been influenced by the laws of assimilation, dissimilation, and analogy, that their classification in detail is rendered very difficult. As a general rule, the Philippine languages show *d* initially and finally, and *l* or *r* medially, in which latter case some languages, like Tagalog and the Bisaya of Cebú, Negros, Panay, and Mindanao, regularly have *l*, exceptionally *r* (more rarely *d*), while others, like Bikol and Samar Bisaya, do not admit *l*, and have only *r*, or, exceptionally, *d*.

The RLD consonant appears as *r* or *d* in Tirurai, apparently without regard to its position, but *r* predominates medially and always occurs initially in the accentless pronominal particles *re*, *ro* (Phil. *ra*, *la*, *da*) "of them, their". Initially and finally, *d* predominates, but even here *r* appears in some common words where other Philippine languages show only *d*, e. g., Tir. *rúo* : Mal., Sulu, Mgd., Bagobo, Bkl., Pang., Ilk., Ibanak, Tagbanwa *dua*, Bis. *duha*, Pamp. *adwá*, Tag. *dalawá* "two"; Tir. *etúr* : Phil. **tuĕd*, Ibk. *tuát* (written *tuád* in the Spanish sources), Pamp. *tud*, Tag., Bis., Bkl., Sulu *tuhud* "knee". (For the metathesis of Tir. *etúr* <**tuer*, cf. Tir. *ebuk* : Pang. *buĕk*, Pamp. *buák*, Ilk. *boók*, Tag., Bis., Bkl., Sulu *buhuk* "hair"). For final *r*, cf. Sund. *tuur* "knee".

Of the many examples of *r* (RLD) in medial position, the following three will suffice: Tir *iruṅ* (IN *iruṅ* : *iluṅ* : *iduṅ*) "nose"; Tir. *suró* (IN *sura* : *sula* : *suda*) "concealed barbs"; Tir. *árek* (Samar Bis. *harók*, Cebú Bis. *halók*, Tag. *halík*, Mgd. *alek*, Bkl., Bgb. *hadók*) "sniff, kiss".

Examples of initial *d:* Tir. *dalem* (Cebú Bis. *dálum*, *hi-lálum*, Ibanak *aralám*) "within, under"; Tir. *dolón* (IN *ralan* : *lalan* : *dalan*) "road, way".

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[1] Cf. RGH Law, p. 77.

[2] For the *g* of the RLD series in Ibanak, Pang., Ilk., Karo, Toba, and Mentawai, cf. my RGH Law, p. 83, and the literature there cited.

Examples of final *d:* Tir. *fused* (Phil. **pusĕd*, Jav., Dayak *puser*, Mal. *pusat*, Toba *pusot*, the final *t* of Toba and Mal. <*d* [RLD] by law of finals) "navel"; Tir. *seged* (Tag. *sigíd, sigír,* Bis., Bkl. *sugúd*, Pamp. *asyád*) "sting of insect".

Examples of medial *d*: Tir. *sedó* (Ibanak, Bkl. *sirá*, Itawi *ísira*, Tag., Bis. *isdá*) "fish, meat"; Tir. *fedéu* (Day. *pero*, Jav. *amperu*, Toba *pogu*, Ilk. *apró*, Tag., Bis., Bkl. *apdu*, Malg. *aferu*) "gall".

Rarely the RLD consonant appears as *l* in Tirurai, as in Tir. *lilei* (initially, cf. above, 11) and Tir. *kilai* (Mgd. Ibk. *kirái*, Tag. *kílai*, Ilk. *kídai*) "eyebrow", but this *l* is entirely exceptional and doubtless due to the influence of other words of similar meaning containing an original *l*.

13. Indonesian *s*.

An original *s* in most words remains unchanged, as in Tir. *sigéu* (IN *siku*) "elbow"; Tir. *fused* "navel"; *begás* "rice"; but it sometimes becomes *h* medially and finally, e. g., Tir. *rohok* (Mal. Ilk. *rusuk*, Bagobo, Bis. *gusuk*) "rib"; Tir. *liha* (Tag. *lisá*) "nit"; Tir. *lowoh* (Bis. *láwas*) "body"; Tir. *urah* (Toba *uras*, Ilk. *úgas*, Sulu *hugas*) "bathe, wash".

The change of IN *s* to *h* also occurs in a few other speech groups of the Philippine Islands, notably in Ifugao (mountains of N. Luzón) where IN *s* everywhere becomes *h*,[1] e. g., Ifg. *híku* (IN *siku*) "elbow", *púha* (Ilk., Pamp. *púsa*) "cat", *ahîn* (Tag. *asín*) "salt". Sambali (Zambales Province, NW. Luzón) also changes IN *s* to *h*, but apparently only in initial and final position, e. g., Sbl. *híko* (Ifg. *híku*, IN *siku*) "elbow"; Sbl. *hiá* (Ifg. *hía*, Tag., Bis. *sia*) "he, she, it"; Sbl. *bitíh* (Bkl., Pamp. *bitís*) "foot, lower leg"; but Sbl. *púsa'* (Ifg. *púha*, Tag. *púsa'*) "cat"; Sbl. *asin* (Ifg. *ahin*, IN *asin*) "salt".

In large portions of Samar and Leyte *s* has been weakened in pronunciation to *h*, initially, in the Bisaya "articles" and

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[1] See E. E. Schneider, Notes on the Mangyan Language, *Philippine Journal of Science*, vol. vii, no. 3, sec. D, Manila 1912, pp. 157—178. I am indebted to this work for the general statement: "Ifg. regularly has *h* for gen. Phil. s." (p. 165, no. 17), and for the Ifugao and Sambali examples. The Ifg. examples were furnished Mr. Schneider by Mr. H. Otley Beyer, of the division of ethnology, Bureau of Science, Manila, and the Sbl. words by Mr. Tranquilino Elicaño, a native Sambali from Masinlok, Zambales.

pronouns: *si, san, sa, siya, sira,* and *sin'o,*[1] but not elsewhere.

This change of *s* to the mere breathing *h* is the result of relaxing the occlusion necessary to produce the sibilant, and altho appearing only sporadically and with varying degrees of regularity within Philippine territory and in other IN languages, e. g., Sumbanese and Sawunese, it marks the beginning of a phonetic movement that has been completed in the Polynesian languages, where *s* has nearly everywhere weakened to *h*, which itself has in many languages disappeared entirely, e. g., IN *siu, siau, siwa* "nine" : Sumb. *siwa* or *hiwa* (*s* and *h* interchange in Sumb.), Sawu. *heo* (*h* always for IN *s*), Tonga *hiva*, Hawaii *iwa*, Tahiti, Marquesas *iva*. An Indo-European parallel to this change is found in Iranian, Armenian and Greek, e. g., I.-E. **septṃ*, Lat. *septem*, Skt. *saptá*, Avestan *hapta*, Gr. ἑπτά. Modern Gr., which still writes the spiritus asper tho it is never pronounced, has suffered the same loss of *h* as have many of the Polynesian languages, and in intervocalic position it was already lost in classical Attic.

In Armenian an initial I.-E. *s* sometimes becomes *h*, as in Arm. *hin* "old", Skt. *sána-s*, Lat. *senex*, Old Irish *sen*; and is sometimes lost, as in Arm. *evt'n*, Lat. *septem* etc.

14. Original *g, t, d, m, n, ṅ,* and *l* regularly remain unchanged in Tirurai. For the Tir. assimilation of *l* to an *r* of the same word, see above (11).

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[1] Cf. N. Romualdez, *A Bisayan Grammar*, Takloban (Leyte) 1908, p. 7 footnote 2: "The use of *s* instead of the *h* in these articles depends upon the place where Bisayan is spoken. In the towns of Burawen, Dúlag, and Abúyog, of the island of Leyte, and in some places in Sámar, the *h* is never used, but the *s* instead, for these articles. Generally it is considered more solemn to use the *s* instead of the *h* in speeches, letters and poetry. But many times it is considered as a ridiculous affectation in places where the *h* is used".

Pañcadivyādhivāsa or Choosing a King by Divine Will. — By Franklin Edgerton, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

1. In the Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for November 1891, p. 135ff., Tawney has called attention to an interesting custom of which he collected some half dozen instances in Hindu literature,[1] by which, it is alleged, a king was sometimes chosen by divine lot. The standard situation may be briefly described as follows: The king of a city dies without natural heirs. To choose a new king the emblems of royalty (viz. the state elephant, the horse, the pitcher with the consecrated water, and the chowries) are resorted to, and fate or divine will is supposed to give some sign through their instrumentality, by which someone is selected to rule the country.

The Kathākośa has three instances: Page 128 (Tawney's translation), "Then the barons had recourse to the five ordeals of the elephant, the horse, and so on. The elephant came into the city park trumpeting. There he sprinkled the prince with the water of inauguration, and taking him (the hero of the story) up in his trunk placed him on his forehead". The people then hailed the man as king. In this passage only three of the emblems of royalty are specifically mentioned, viz. the elephant, the horse, and the water of consecration. Another story (p. 155) names all five: "Then the ministers had recourse to the five ordeals. The mighty elephant came into the garden outside the city. There the elephant sprinkled Prince Amaradatta and put him on its back. Then the horse neighed. The two chowries fanned the prince. An umbrella was held (i. e. held itself) over his head. A divine voice was heard in the air: 'Long live King Amaradatta!'" The voice

[1] Additional instances are given by J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, 1909, p. 131 and in his translation of the Daśakumāracarita, 1902, p. 94.

in the air is an additional divine ratification of the choice which is not generally mentioned and was evidently not regarded as a necessary part of the election. In the third story (p. 4) we are simply told that an elephant was sent forth with a pitcher of water fastened to its head; it wanders for seven days and on the eighth finds the man of destiny asleep under a *pipal* tree and empties the pitcher on his head; this is symbolical of the coronation ceremony, and the man is made king.

In the KSS. 65 the elephant alone appears; even the pitcher of water is missing in this case; the elephant picks the man up and puts him on his shoulder, whereupon he is made king.

Two other parallels, referred to by Tawney, are found in Jacobi's Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī. On p. 37, a horse only is sent forth, the elephant as well as the other symbols being here omitted. The horse indicates the choice of fate by marching around the man to the right. The ceremony occurs again on p. 62, this time with the five regular emblems; upon seeing the fated man, the elephant trumpets, the horse neighs, the pitcher of water sprinkles him, the chowries fan him and the white parasol places itself above him.[1] The people then salute him with cries of hail, and a divine voice, as once in the Kathākośa, ratifies the choice, giving to the new king the grand name of Vikrama.

In the Vikramacarita (Story 14), a king is chosen in exactly this way for a city whose king has died leaving no heir. In the Jainistic recension it is told very briefly: "Then the king of that place died without leaving a son. Thereupon his ministers consecrated the five divine instruments (*pañcadivyāny adhivāsitāni*), and they gave the kingdom to him (the hero of the story) with great pomp." In the Southern and Metrical Recensions the five emblems are not alluded to, but a she-elephant is sent forth with a garland on her trunk; she places the garland on the new king's head, places him on her shoulder and takes him to the palace.

Again in Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭaparvan, VI. 231 ff. (ed.

[1] It should be remembered that a king in India is always distinguished by the chowries and the white parasol as his chief emblems of royalty, while both the elephant and the horse belong especially to the royal state.

Jacobi), upon the death of a king his ministers "sprinkle" (with the sacred water of coronation) the five "divine instruments" (*divyāni*), and send them forth. They are named here just as in the Māhārāṣṭrī story: the state elephant, the royal horse, the parasol, the pitcher of water, and the two chowries. When they find the man they seek (in this case a low-caste man, the son of a courtezan by a barber), the elephant trumpets and pours the water upon him and places him upon his own back, the horse neighs, the parasol opens up like a white lotus at dawn, and the two chowries wave and fan him as if dancing. He is then proclaimed king.

In the Daśakumāracarita (Meyer's transl., p. 94) the elephant alone appears and indicates the choice by lifting the man up and putting him on his back. In the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (Tawney's translation, p. 181) the elephant (again alone) "being duly inaugurated" sprinkles the chosen man (with the water of inauguration). The Paramatthadīpanī (p. 73 ff.) referred to by J. J. Meyer, is not accessible to me.

Four Jātakas introduce a similar ceremony. In these the chariot of state is used. The word *phussaratha* or *maṅgalaratha* does not mean "flower chariot" as the translator of Jāt. 378 wrongly states, but "auspicious, festive car" or, specifically, the royal chariot. In Jāt. 539 it is yoked to four lotus-colored horses (the lotus is an emblem of majesty) and upon it are placed the five "ensigns of royalty", *rājakakudhabhaṇḍāni.*[1] The chariot is attended by a complete fourfold army, and by musical instruments going *behind* it "because it contained no rider." The housepriest of the late king sprinkles it (as if in coronation) with water from a golden vessel, and sends it forth to find one who has sufficient virtue to be king. The car finds the Future Buddha asleep under a tree, and stops, as if to be ascended. The Future Buddha is seen to bear the marks of royalty upon his person, and since upon being awakened he conducts himself in a manner suitable to such a position, he is made king by the housepriest. The same ceremony is alluded to in Jātakas 378, 445, and 529.[2]

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[1] In Sanskrit these are generally referred to as (*rāja-*)*kakudāni;* they are not to be confused with the *pañcadivyāni;* they consist of sword, parasol, crown, shoes, and fan (chowrie).

[2] P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama* (1866) p. 416 (quoted by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XV. 360) has a similar Burmese tale: "The ruler

That the tradition of this ceremony has persisted in widely separated parts of India down to the present day is proved by a considerable number of instances of it which are recorded in the folklore of the modern Hindus. To be sure, the recognition of a definite group of five instruments of choice seems not to have come down to modern times; we never find more than two, and generally it is the elephant alone. Examples may be taken from places as remote from one another as possible in India: thus, from Kashmir, from Bengal, and from Ceylon.[1] In Day's Folktales of Bengal, p. 99, the choice is made by an elephant, who picks the man up gently, places him on the howdah upon his back, and takes him to the city where he is proclaimed king. In a Sinhalese tale recorded by Goontilleke, *Orientalist*, ii. 151, the elephant kneels before the destined man, in this case a peasant, who is thereupon crowned king. In Knowles' Folktales of Kashmir we have four instances: on pages 169 and 309, the elephant occurs alone, on pages 17 and 159 he is accompanied by a hawk, evidently as a bird belonging to royalty, who perches on the man's hand, while the elephant bows before him as in the Sinhalese tale. In F. A. Steel and R. C. Temple's Wide-awake Stories, p. 140 (and notes pp. 327, 426), the elephant kneels and salutes the man with his trunk; (cf. also Steel, Tales of the Punjab, p. 131). Damant (Indian Ant. iii. 11; iv. 261) reports two Bengalese stories. In one the elephant picks up a woman of low estate, who then marries a prince; in the other, the elephant takes on his back a boy who is made king. The Madanakamārājankadai ("Dravidian Nights", p. 126f.), referred to by Knowles, was not accessible to me.

2. Jacobi's eighth Māhārāṣṭrī story (*Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 62, 34) reads: *tattha ahiyāsiyāṇi pañcadivvāṇi.* Jacobi

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of Mitila had died leaving one daughter .... The ministers and Pounhas began to deliberate among themselves about the choice of a match worthy of the Princess .... At last, not knowing what to do, they resolved to leave to chance the solution of the difficulty. They sent out a charmed chariot, convinced that by the virtue inherent in it they would find out the fortunate man .... The chariot was sent out, attended by soldiers, musicians, Pounhas, and noblemen. It came straight forward to the mango trees garden and stopped by the side of the table-stone Phralaong was sleeping upon .... They awakened him at the sound of musical instruments, saluted him king" &c.

[1] Cf. the references in J. H. Knowles' Folktales of Kashmir[2], p. 159.

derives *ahiyāsiyāṇi* from Skt. *adhyāsaya* (Causative of √ *ās* with *adhi*) and renders it "als Symbol die Herrschaft führen" (p. 93, s. v. *ahiyāsei*); Tawney (*Proc. Royal As. Soc. of Bengal* 1891, November, p. 136) translates it by "had recourse to" without explaining what he takes to be the etymology of the word. The same rendering he uses in his translation of the Kathākośa, p. 128 and 155. Unfortunately I have no access to the original text of the Kathākośa and am thus unable to determine the Sanskrit word so translated. The Jainistic recension of the Vikramacarita, however, reads:[1] *tatas tanmantribhiḥ pañca divyāny adhivāsitāni, tāiś ca dattam tasya rājyam mahatā mahena:* This clearly shows that *adhivāsitāni,* not *adhyāsitāni* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Prakrit *ahiyāsiyāṇi.* The Pariśiṣṭaparvan (vi. 236, *pañcadivyāny abhiṣiktāni mantribhiḥ*) gives a further hint as to the meaning of the term by using √ *sic* with *abhi* in exactly the same connection, this being the technical term for the solemn rite of installing a king.[2] In the other Māhārāṣṭrī tale (Jacobi, p. 37, 12, *āso ahiyāsio*) the word is used with reference to the horse which there performs the function of the *pañca divvāṇi.*

3. As to the exact meaning of the Skt. past participle *adhivāsita* and the nominal derivatives *adhivāsa* and *adhivāsana* our Sanskrit Lexicons are divided in their opinions.[3] Goldstücker (1859) in his revision of Wilson's Dictionary gives under *adhivāsana* first (practically repeating Wilson) the two meanings: (1) "Perfuming or dressing the person . . ."; (2) "A religious ceremony, preliminary to any great Hindu festival: touching a vessel containing perfumes, flowers, and other things previously presented to the idol; or offering perfumes etc. to it". These two meanings he connects with *vāsa* "perfume". But then he adds a second group of meanings which he refers to the causative of √ *vas* "dwell" with *adhi.* These are (1) "A summoning and fixing of the presence of a divinity upon an image etc., when he is wanted for any solemnity"; (2) "The placing of a new image in water etc. the day before the divinity is to be summoned to inhabit it". Apte (The Practical

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[1] Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, XV. 359 f.

[2] The *abhiṣeka* was performed in India with water, instead of oil.

[3] As far as the formal side is concerned they may either be referred to √ *vas* (causative) "to dwell" with *adhi*, or to the noun *vāsa* "perfume" and its denominative *vāsay-* with *adhi.*

Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1890) gives for *adhivāsana* : 1. "Scenting with perfumes or odorous substances (*saṁskāro gandhamālyādyāiḥ*, Amarakoṣa";)[1] 2. "Preliminary consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of an image, its invocation and worship by suitable mantras etc., before the commencement of a sacrifice (*yajñārambhāt prāg devatādyāvāhanapūrvakaḥ pūjanādikarmabhedaḥ*); making a divinity assume its abode in an image". The second meaning he assigns to the causative of √ *vas*. Under √ *vas* with *adhi* he gives (1) "to cause to stay over night"; (2) "to consecrate, set up (as an image)". In the Verbesserungen und Nachträge the larger Petersburg Lexicon assigns *adhivāsana* "bestimmte mit Götterstatuen vorgenommene Ceremonien" to the causative of √ *vas* "dwell" with *adhi* and under 5 √ *vas* (causative) with *adhi* it gives besides (1) "über Nacht liegen lassen", (3) "heimsuchen", (4) "sich einverstanden erklären", also a meaning (2) "einweihen (ein neues Götterbild)" for which it quotes Vār. Bṛhatsaṁhitā, 60. 15. But in the same volume s. v. *vāsay* with *adhi*, "mit Wohlgeruch erfüllen", this statement is corrected and the passage is assigned to the second meaning of this denominative, "weihen". To this later view Böhtlingk adheres in the smaller Petersburg Lexicon. Under 5 √ *vas* (causat.) with *adhi* the meaning "einweihen" is omitted; on the other hand, for *vāsay-* with *adhi* the meanings (1) "mit Wohlgeruch erfüllen"; (2) "einweihen" are given, and under this second meaning *adhivāsita* "geweiht" of the Vikramacarita (*Ind. Stud.* XV. 359) is quoted. The meaning of the noun *adhivāsana* (cf. also *adhivāsanaka* and *adhivāsanīya* in the Nachträge 1) "Einweihen (einer Götterstatue)" is thus regarded as derived from the more original sense "Parfümiren". Monier-Williams' revised Dictionary (1899) distinguishes between (1) *adhivāsana* (from √ *vas*, causat., with *adhi*) "causing a divinity to dwell in an image", and (2) *adhivāsana* (from √ *vāsay-* with *adhi*) "application of perfumes"; "the ceremony of touching a vessel containing fragrant ob-

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[1] Of the native Hindu lexicographers, some define *adhivāsana* simply by *saṁskāra*, *saṁskriyā*, saying nothing about perfumes; others define it by *saṁskāra* or *saṁskriyā dhūpanādibhiḥ* or *gandhamālyādibhiḥ*. But if we remember that there was a fairly common noun *adhivāsa*, *adhivāsana* "perfume", one who has in mind the etymological weakness of Hindu lexicographers will readily admit the possibility of this second definition being influenced by this fact.

jects (that have been presented to an idol)"; "preliminary purification of an image".

Finally, Langlois in the note to his French translation of the Harivaṅśa 5994 (vol. I, p. 451) says: "Cette cérémonie s'appelle *Adhivāsa* ou *Adhivāsana.* Quand on consacre une idole, on pratique aussi l'Adhivāsa: on prend le riz, les fruits et les autres offrandes pour en toucher le vase d'eau sacrée, puis le front de l'idole en prononçant certains *mantras.* L'Adhivāsa est la cérémonie par laquelle on invite une divinité à venir habiter une idole."[1]

I believe the group of words under consideration has nothing whatever to do with *vāsa* "perfume"; on the contrary *adhivāsayati* is the causative of √ *vas* "dwell" with *adhi* and means "to cause to dwell in"; the *adhivāsa*[2] is a ceremony by which a deity or divine power is invoked to take its proper place in a sacred object, either in the image of a god or in some other thing which is to be consecrated to some divine purpose. In the Agnipurāṇa[3] (35. 1) the rite to be performed is in honor of Viṣṇu, and by the *adhivāsa* the god is invoked to take his place in the image before the ceremony. In another passage of the Agnipurāṇa (64. 18; Dutt's transl. i. 234) an image of the water-god Varuṇa is set up at the dedication of a water tank or reservoir, and the *adhivāsa* is performed, in order that Varuṇa may come and abide in the image, presiding over the reservoir and so causing it to stay full of water. The Mbh. V. 5135 (= v. 151. 38), *prayāsyāmo raṇājiram | adhivāsitaśastrāś ca kṛtakāutumaṅgalāḥ*, shows a compound *adhivāsitaśastra;* the warriors swords are consecrated for a solemn purpose and divine power is invoked to abide in them.[4] In Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṁhitā we have (60, 15):

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[1] Strangely enough, in spite of this he translates the *adhivāsya . . . ātmānam* of the text by "en parfumant ton corps".

[2] Or *adhivāsana*; the two forms are interchangeable.

[3] Dutt's translation, i. 137; Dutt, in the note, defines *adhivāsa* as a "consecration of an image, especially before the commencement of a sacrificial rite".

[4] Dutt translates: "we shall . . . march to the field of battle after having worshipped our weapons and duly performed all the auspicious ceremonies"; Pratāp Chandra Roy: "having . . . worshipped our weapons (with offerings of flowers and perfumes) we will . . . march to the field of battle"; Fauche: "nous marcherons vers le champ de bataille les armes parfumées *des senteurs du sacrifice* et toutes les choses de bon augure accomplies avec empressement."

suptām (viz. *pratimām*) *sunṛtyagītair jāgarakāiḥ samyag evam adhivāsya | dāivajñapradiṣṭe kāle saṁsthāpanaṁ kuryāt.* Here the image is regarded as "asleep" (*suptām*), until "by awakenning[1] dances and songs" the sacrificer has "made (the god) to dwell in it" (*adhivāsya*) or "completely imbued it (with the divine presence)", whereupon he is to set it up formally at a time prescribed by a soothsayer. A passage from Suśruta (xi. 3) seems to me to support particularly my view. I quote Hoernle's translation (*Bibl. Ind.*, new series, 911, p. 63 f.): "He who wishes to prepare a caustic should, on an auspicious day in the autumn, after purifying himself and fasting, (select) a large-sized, middle-aged, uninjured Muṣkaka tree, bearing dark flowers and growing in an auspicious spot on a (lonely) mountain, and perform the *adhivāsana* or 'preliminary ceremony', saying the following incantation: 'Oh thou tree of fiery power! Thou of great power! May thy power not be lost! Oh thou auspicious one, stay even here and accomplish my work! When once my work is done, then thou mayest go to heaven!'"; later the worshipper cuts off such pieces of the tree as he needs to prepare the caustic.[2] The mantra here quoted in connection with the *adhivāsana*-ceremony seems to me to make its nature and purpose clear. The magic or divine power which is supposed to reside in the tree is commanded to dwell and remain in it till the purpose of the performer is accomplished.[3]

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[1] *Jāgarakāiḥ* (var. lect. *jāgarikāiḥ* and *jāgaraṇāiḥ*) is an adjective. Kern wrongly translates it as noun (*Journal Royal As. Soc.*, new series, vi. 334): "after the sleeping idol has been consecrated with wakes, dancing, and song"; so also both Petersburg Lexicons: "das Wachen".

[2] In the foot-note Hoernle adds: "The *adhivāsana* is an oblation (*balikarman*) accompanied with an incantation (*mantra*). According to the commentaries, Bhōja gives the following directions and incantation: 'He should there, with his face to the east, offer an oblation and then, on all four sides, with joined palms, devoted mind, and pure body, addressing the tree, repeat (the following words): "Whatever spirits may inhabit this tree, let them depart hence; for to-morrow this tree is to be cut for a high object."'"

[3] It is noteworthy that in all the passages where the *adhivāsana* ceremony is mentioned, so far as I have discovered, no reference is made to perfumes, although the frequent use of fragrant substances at religious ceremonies in India would make such references not at all surprising. In any event the employment of perfumes at the *adhivāsana* would be a mere accident, without any bearing on the original meaning of this ceremony.

Harivaṅśa 5994 contains the gerund *adhivāsya*, and the noun *adhivāsana* occurs in the same text at vs. 6026 below. The text in the first passage is doubtful (see BR. s. v. *vāsay* + *adhi*), and neither passage is perfectly clear to me as to meaning. There is, however, certainly nothing in the context to uphold Langlois' translation "parfumant" for *adhivāsya* (vide supra). If the reading of the Calcutta edition of 1839 be kept in vs. 5994, I should interpret *adhivāsyā 'tmanā 'tmānam* as "imbuing yourself with (your divine) nature (essence or power)", "dedicating yourself". If we accept the reading of the "neuere Ausgabe"[1] quoted by the Petersburg Dictionary, *adhivāsyā 'dya cā 'tmānam*, it seems to mean simply "consecrating yourself"—the same thing in the ultimate outcome although the development of the idea does not show itself so clearly. The later verse, 6026, contributes nothing to an understanding of the problem.

The phrase *pañcadivyāny adhivāsitāni*, then, means "the five divine instruments were imbued (with the superhuman power they were expected to use)", "they were consecrated". This meaning accords well with the *pañcadivyāny abhiṣiktāni* of the Pariśiṣṭaparvan. The neuter noun *divya* is frequently found in the law-books in the sense of "ordeal". In our passages the word is used in a concrete instead of an abstract sense. Instead of "divine ordeal or test" it means "the instrument of divine test".[2]

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[1] I have no access to this later lithographed edition.

[2] Hence I prefer Tawney's "ordeal" to Jacobi's "die fünf königlichen Insignien".

Tablets from Dréhem in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio.—By Mary Inda Hussey, Cambridge, Mass.

From the large number of tablets that have come to light as the result of recent clandestine excavations by the Arabs, ten are to be found in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio, having been presented by Mr. John G. White of that city. They are said to have come from Dréhem[1], a ruin in the neighborhood of Nippur; but the name of the month *Šu-numun* follows the nomenclature used at Umma (Jocha) and at Lagash (Tello), and there is reason to suppose that number one of this collection came from Jocha.

The Dréhem tablets are acknowledged by all to be the accounts of the stock-pens at Dréhem which supplied some great sanctuary, in all probability the temple of Ellil at Nippur, with cattle for its sacrifices. Attention has also been called to the large number of Semitic names, and Genouillac has pointed out the conclusion, namely, that Dréhem was near cities with a Semitic population, who sent their offerings to the Sumerian sanctuary. The Semitic names in these tablets are: ^{d}*Dun-gi-ì-lí*, 5 Ob. 4 | ^{d}*Gimil-É-a*, 4 Ob. 2 | ^{d}*Gimil-*^{d}*Sin*, 9 Ob. 5, Rev. 6: 10 Rev. 9, both seal impressions Col. 1[1] | *I-din-*

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[1] Some 430 tablets from Dréhem have been published, as follows: "La Trouvaille de Dréhem", in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 7 (1909—10), pp. 186—191 (13 tablets). "L'Ordre des Noms de Mois sur les tablettes de Dréhem", *ibid.*, t. 8 (1911), pp. 84—88 (2 tablets), by Fr. Thureau-Dangin. *Tablettes de Dréhem*, 1911 (175 tablets); *La Trouvaille de Dréhem*, 1911 (91 tablets), by H. de Genouillac. *Tablets from the Archives of Dréhem*, 1911 (67 tablets), by S. Langdon. "Tablettes de Dréhem". by L. Delaporte in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 8 (1911), pp. 183—198 (22 tablets). *Cuneiform Texts*, Part XXXII, 1912 (31 tablets), copies by *L. W. King*. "Tablettes de Dréhem à Jerusalem", by P. Dhorme in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9 (1912), pp. 39—66 (42 tablets).

ᵈDa-gán, 5 Ob. 6 | *La-ma-za-tum*, 1 Rev. 2 | *Na-ra-am-É-a*, 5 Ob. 7 | *Nu-ùr-ᵈSin*, 6 Rev. 5: 7 Rev. 6: 8 Rev. 9, Seal, line 1: 10 Rev. 6, Seal on left edge of Rev., Col. 2[1] | *ᵈŠamaš-ba-ni*, 5 Ob. 8 | *Wa-da-ru-um*, 5 Ob. 11.

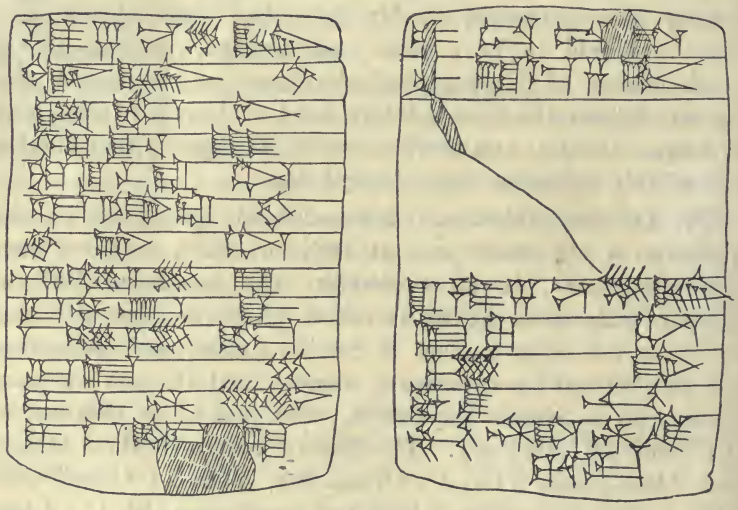
The tablets published here range in date from the year x + 32 of Dungi to the 9th year Gimil-Sin.

Description of Tablets.

1. Debit and credit account (*sag nig-gar-ra-kam šag-bi-ta* * * *zi(g)-ga*)[1] of the sheep fold (*é-udu*) concerning 165 *qa* of barley, in the month *Šu-numun*, the year *Anšan* was destroyed (Dungi x + 32).

No. 1.

OBVERSE. REVERSE.



2. Account of the delivery of a large number (600 + 600 + [ ]) of sheep and goats by *Nalul* during the last six months of the year *Urbillu* was destroyed (Dungi x + 43). *[Še]-kin-k[ud]* is the last month of the year Dungi x + 43, as has been noted by Thureau-Dangin[2] for the years x + 27, x + 30, x + 39, x + 40 of Dungi and the years 1 and 3 of Bûr-Sin.

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[1] Cf. *ZA.* XXV, p. 330; *BA* VI, 5, p. 71; *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello* I, p. 19, n. 1; *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, p. 200; Genouillac, *Tablettes de Drêhem*, no. 5544 sqq.; *Babyloniaca*, VI (1912), p. 43.

[2] Cf. *Rev. d'Assyr.* t. 8, p. 86.

No. 2.

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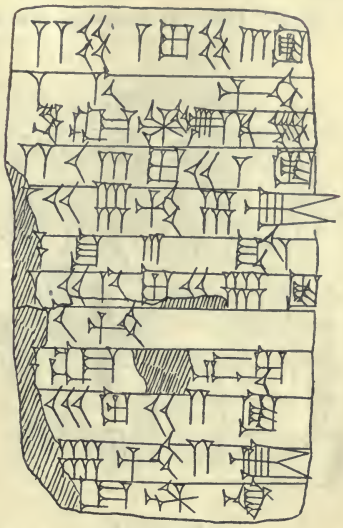

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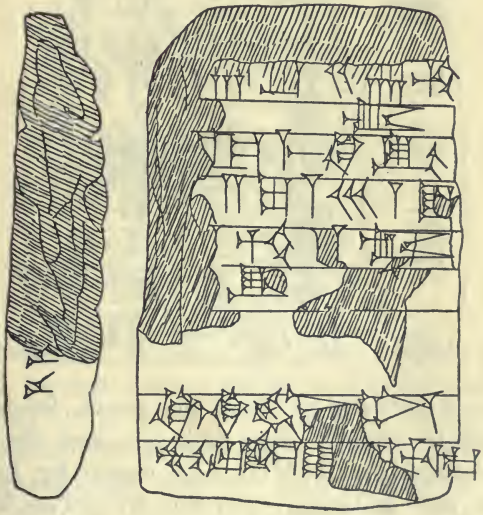


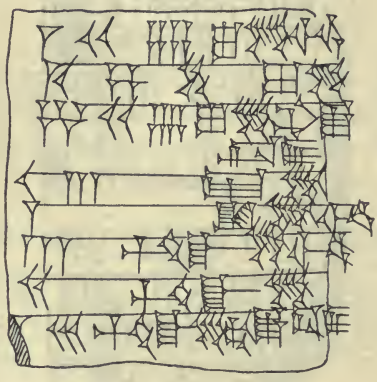
3. Account of the delivery of sheep and goats by *Ab-ba-šá(g)-ga*, which are taken in charge (*ni-KU*)[2] by *Na-lul* on the 13th day of the month *Ezen-an-na*, the year that the great

[1] Cf. *Inventaire*, 1, p. 6, n. 4.

high priest of *Anu* was invested high priest of *Nanna(r)* (Bûr-Sin 4). Note: *udu-še gu(d)-e uš-sa* Ob. 3, *maš-gal-še gu(d)-e uš-sa* Ob. 8, and *sîl-ga*, Rev. 2, sucking lamb.

No. 3.

OBVERSE.



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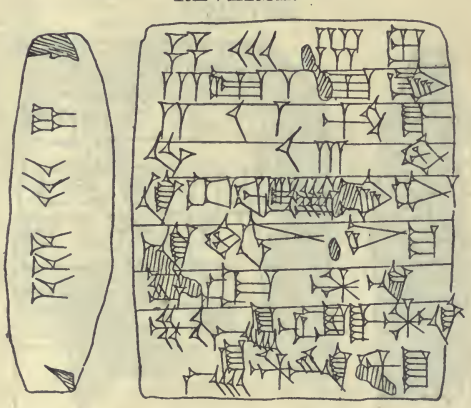

4. 4 cows, 2 *lal-lí rug-ga*[1] from the month *Šes-da-kú*, and 2 *šu-gid*[2] from the months *Ezen-^{d}Nin-a-zu* and *Šu-eš-ša*, delivered by *Ab-ba-šá(g)-ga* and taken in charge by *In-ta-è-a*, the year *Šašru* was destroyed (Bûr-Sin 6). The last sign in Ob. 5 (*ka* + *ša*) is unknown to me.

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[1] Huber in *Hilprecht Ann. Vol.*, p. 194 translates "mit Abzug der Gebühren"; *Genouillac, Inventaire*, 2, no. 629, "paiement de dettes", no. 789, "en paiement d'intérêt".

[2] For a discussion of this term see *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 42, n. 6.

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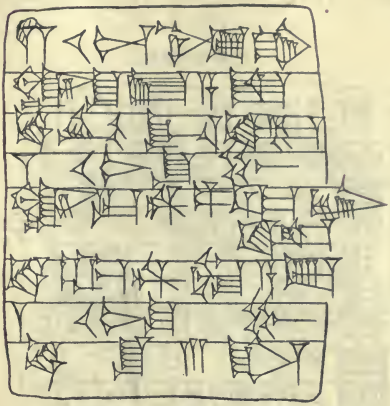

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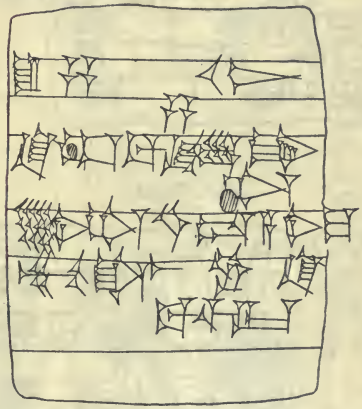

5. An account of 21 sheep and goats, supplied (*mu-túm*) by 16 different persons, among whom are *Ur-^{d}Nin-kur-ra pa-te-si* (of Šuruppak) Ob. 9, and *Gù-de-a pa-te-si*[1] (of Kutha) Rev. 6; taken in charge by *Ab-ba-šâ(g)-ga* on the 12th day of the month *Ezen-maḫ*, the year the high priest of *Eridu* was invested (Bûr-Sin 8). Note: *udu-a-lum*[2] Ob. 5, 12, 14, Rev. 4;

[1] They figure not infrequently in the Drêhem tablets. Cf. the name-lists in Genouillac's works.

[2] Cf. *ganam-a-lum*, in Genouillac. *Tab. de Drêhem*, 4683, Rev. 7 Dhorme in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 40, calls attention to the use of the vowel *a* to mark the species to which animals belong.

uz maš-nu-a še Ob. 7, a fat female goat that has not had a kid (?).

No. 5.

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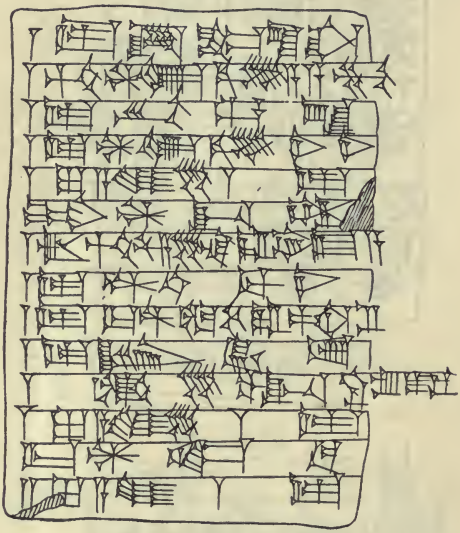

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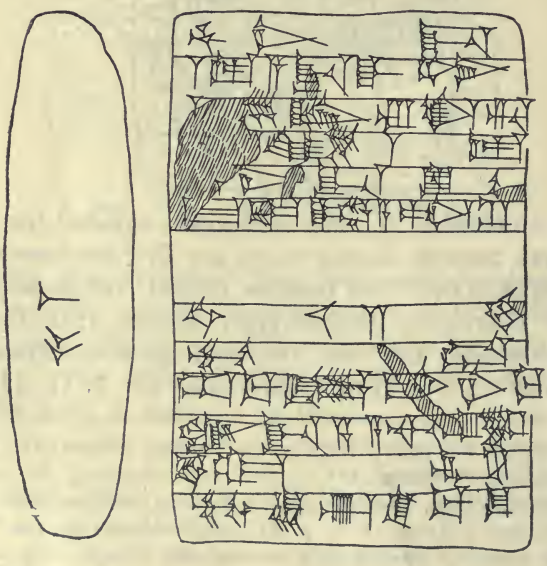

6. Account of the expenditure *(ba-zi)* by *Ab-ba-šá(g)-ga* of 12 sheep and goats, offerings (*? nig-dúr*) of *é-XV* from among the supplies (*ša(g) mu-túm-ra-ta*)[1], the 11th day of

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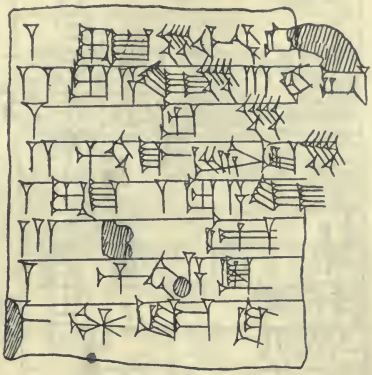

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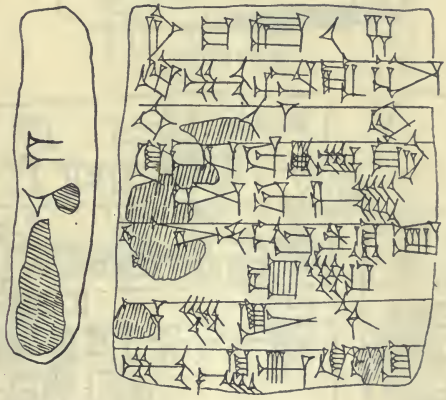

the month *Še-kin-kud*, the year the high priest of *Eridu* was invested (Bûr-Sin 8). Note: *udu-a-lum-še 3 kam-uš*, Ob. 2, fat *a-lum* sheep for the 3rd time[2]: *máš-gal lù-su še*, Ob. 4, fat goat-buck of the tanner[2]. Is *máš-a-sìg*, Ob. 7, interchange-

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[1] Ct. Genouillac, *Trouv. de Drêhem*, p. 20; Dhorme, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 53, SA 208.

[2] Cf. Dhorme, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 54, n. 3.

able with *sìg-máš*[1]? The sign *sìg* (*Recherches sur l'Écriture Cunéiforme*, 464) varies somewhat from its usual form.

No. 7.

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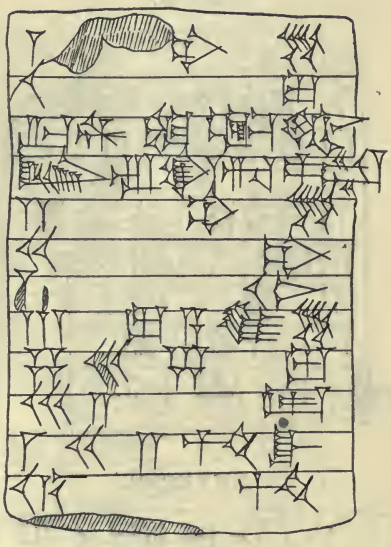

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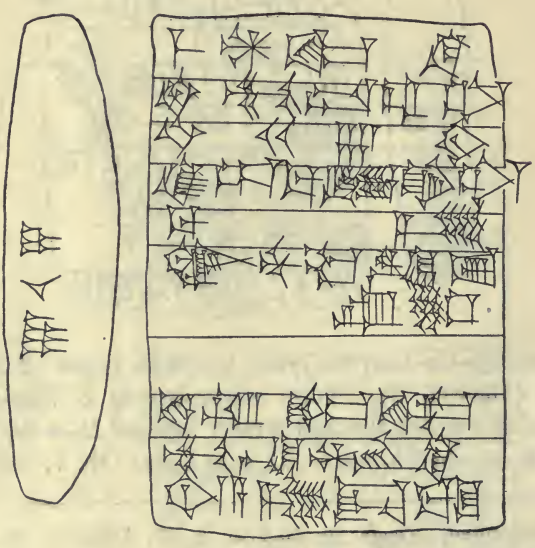


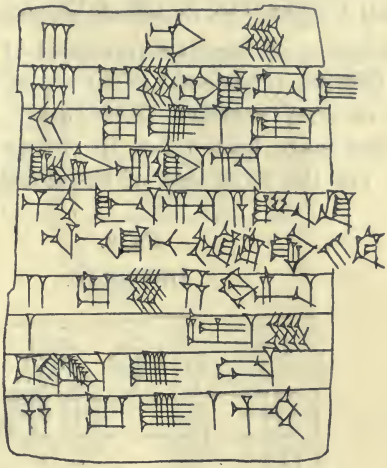
[1] Cf. Dhorme, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 45, n. 2.

7. Account of the expenditure (*ba-zi*) by *Ab-ba šá(g)-ga* of 435 sheep and goats from among the supplies, the 27th day of the month *Ū-ne-kú*, the year the high priest of *Nanna(r)* of *Kar-zi-da* was invested (Bûr-Sin 9). Note: *udu-a-lum-še*, Ob. 8; the name *Ur-*^{d}*Nin-ezen* + *la* (REC. 366), Ob. 3.

No. 8.

OBVERSE.

SEAL.



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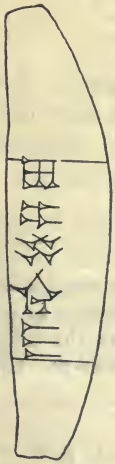

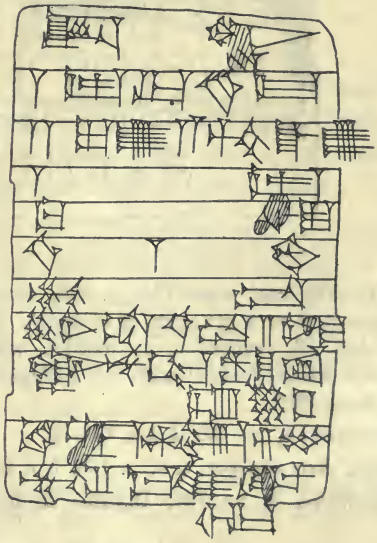

8. An account of supplies (*mu-túm*) of bullocks, sheep and goats, from *Lugal-má-gúr-ri*, dues from the *akîtu* festival of the month *Šu-numun* in *Gaeš* (*maš-da-ri-a á-ki-ti Šu-numun, ša(g) Ga-eš* ^{ki}), and from *Ku-ù*; taken in charge by *In-ta-è-a* the first day of the month *Ezen-*^{d}*Dun-gi*, the year *Simanu* was destroyed (Gimil-Sin 3). The seal of *Nu-ùr-*^{d}*S[in] dup-sar [du]mu I-ti-ìr-ra* has been run over the entire tablet, but the seal impression is in every case indistinct. Note: *udu-še gu(d)-e uš-sa*, Ob. 2; *udu-še 4-kam-uš*, Ob 6..

9. An account of supplies (*mu-túm*) of bullocks, sheep, and goats, the offering (*kaš-de-a*)[1] of *Ka-ma-ni-zi šabra*[2] of ^{d}*Gimil-*^{d}*Sin*, an evening sacrifice (*á-mi-ba-a*)[3]; for the temple of the gods they have been taken in charge (*é dingir-re-ne-ge-šu ab-KU*).[4] On the 28th day of the month *Ezen-*^{d}*Dun-gi* they

No. 9.

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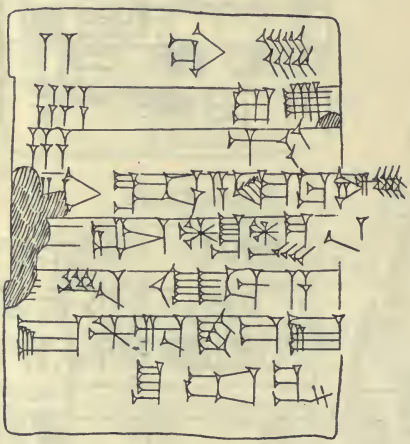

[1] Huber in *Hilprecht Ann. Vol.*, p. 213, where the "*bi-dê-a*" consists of grain, regards it as a synonym of *sá-dú(g)*. Dhorme in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 53, AM. 13, renders it by libation where the offering is also made by a high official (*sukkal-maḫ*) for *é-dingir-re-ne-ge*. Cf. Genouillac, *Tab. de Drêhem*, 4687.

[2] Cf. *Inventaire*, 2, no. 650, *šabra* ^{d}*En-lil*.

[3] Delaporte, *Rev. d'Assyr.* t. 8, p. 195. No. 18 ob. 8.

[4] See *Inventaire*, 2, no. 796, Dhorme in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 53, AM 13.

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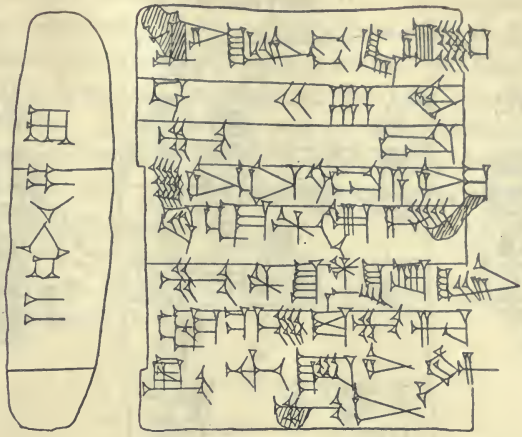

SEAL.

were taken in charge by *In-ta-è-a*, the year ^{d}*Gimil-*^{d}*Sin* the king built the wall of the west, (named) *Murîq-Tidnim* (Gimil-Sin 4). Stamped seven times, but always indistinctly, with the seal of *Lugal-amar-azag dupsar dumu Na-šág* X.[1]

10. Expended (*ba-zi*) by *Ur-azag-nun-na:* on behalf of the king 1 bullock, 10 sheep from the pasture (*udu-šam*) as *šu-gid é-mu* in the name of the commissaries (*mu lù-šuk(um)-ra-ge-ne-šú*)[2]; 10 dead sheep ^{d}*Dun-gi-uru-mu* has received (*šu-ba-an-ti*); the 25th day of the month *Ezen-*^{d}*Me-ki-gál*, the year

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[1] REC. no. 344.

[2] Cf. *šu-gid é-mu mu-bil-Bur-*^{d}*Sin-ge-ne-šú*, "reserve de cuisine pour les chauffeurs (?) de Bûr-Sin", *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 51, SA 172; *šu-gid é-mu mu-uku-uš-ge-ne-šú*, ibid., SA 159, 162, 188.

No. 10.

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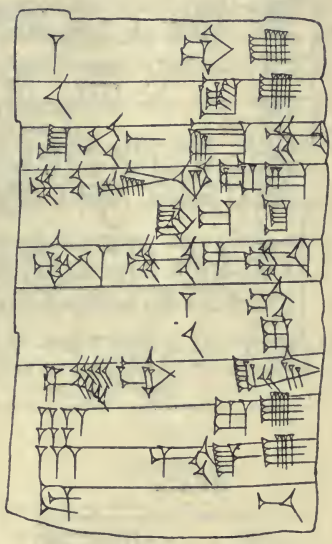

SEAL.

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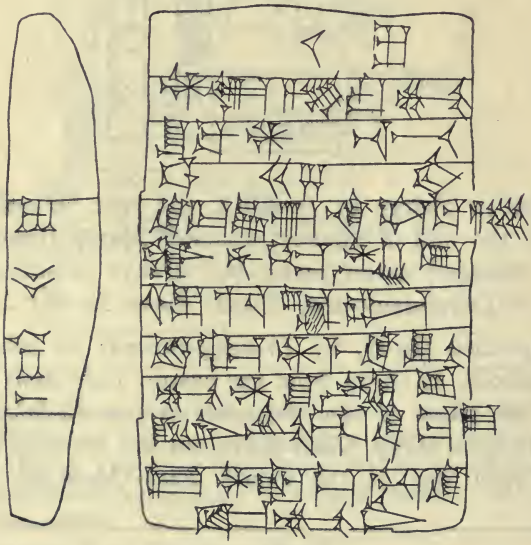

^{d}*Gimil-*^{d}*Sin* the king built the temple of the god X [1] of *Umma* (Gimil-Sin 9).

[1] REC. no. 458.

The obverse has been stamped nine times, and the reverse eight times, with a seal which reads: (Col. 1) *^{d}Gimil-^{d}Sin lugal ag-ga lugal urí-^{ki}ma lugal-an-ub-da tab-ba* (Col. 2) *Ḫu-u[n] dup-sar dumu Gimil-^{d}Adab saḫar arad-zu.* To Gimil-Sin, the mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters of the world, Hu-u[n.] the scribe, son of Gimil-Adab the *saḫar* thy servant. The left edge of the reverse bears two impressions of a seal likewise dedicated to Gimil-Sin[1] by *Nu-ùr-^{d}Si[n] dup-sar dumu I-ti.*

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[1] For other seals dedicated to the same ruler, see Janneau, *Une Dynastie Chaldéenne*, pp. 49, 53—54.

Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes. — By MORRIS JASTROW, JR., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

I.

There are two views taken of wine in the Old Testament, one a decidedly unfavorable view, and the other of a more favorable character. As an illustration of the unfavorable view, the account given in Genesis 9, 20—27 of the beginning of viniculture furnishes a characteristic illustration. In this little addition to the Jahwist's account of the Deluge,[1] the planting of the vine leading to Noah's fall from grace is clearly introduced as a protest against the use of wine. Similarly, in the folk-tale, Gen. 19, 31—38, of the origin of the tribes of Ammon and Moab, there is a very distinct antagonism against the use of wine. The drunken Lot because of the wine engages in shameful intercourse with his two daughters.[2] The assumption in the Noah and in the Lot incident is that he who drinks wine gets drunk and disgraces himself.

This opposition to viniculture is in keeping with a tendency in many parts of the Old Testament which looks with disfavor on the advance to a higher form of culture. Abel the shepherd is given the preference over Cain the tiller of the soil and the city builder. In the Pentateuchal Codes agri-

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[1] See Budde *Urgeschichte*, p. 313 seq. Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 71, and Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 182 seq., though it is not necessary to assume with Budde, Skinner, and others, that the section does not know anything of the Deluge. It is introduced as a *tendency*-tale.

[2] It matters little for our purposes what the purpose of the tale is, though I confess that Gunkel's explanation (p. 197 seq.) seems to me very artificial.

culture is preferred to commerce which is looked upon askance.[1] The simple tribal organization is preferred to a union into a Kingdom[2]—in short, simplicity over any advancing form of luxury which comes with the higher culture. The prophets are full of protests against what from the ordinary point of view would be regarded as material and political progress. The Rechabites,[3] surviving to the period of the Exile, represent this protest of the lower culture against the higher one, emphasized by their opposition to wine and by their dwelling in tents in preference to houses—the symbol of the higher culture, concomitant with city life.

The Book of Proverbs, despite the late date of its final form, maintains on the whole the antagonistic attitude towards wine. In such sayings as Pr. 23, 31, "Look not on wine when it is red, when it sparkles in the cup", etc.;[4] Pr. 20, 1, "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is a brawler", the assumption still is that he who drinks wine gets drunk and is led to other excesses. "He who loves wine and oil will not be rich", (Pr. 21, 17) where the juxtaposition with oil illustrates the protest against luxury. A somewhat cynical point of view is set forth in the later chapter 31, 4—7, where we read:[5]

"It is not for kings to drink wine,
Nor for rulers to mix strong drink;
Lest, drinking, they forget the law,
And disregard the rights of the suffering.
Give strong drink to him who is perishing,
Wine to him who is in bitter distress;

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[1] The prohibition against taking interest—aimed against Babylonian practices—and emphasized in three of the Codes (Ex. 22, 24; Lev. 25, 36—37; Deut. 23, 20—21) is virtually an enjoinder upon commerce which cannot be carried on without making loans on interest. The words "to the stranger thou mayst lend on interest" (Deut. 23, 21) are a later addition—a concession to actual conditions, but not in keeping with the spirit of the original provision.

[2] The institution of the kingdom is viewed as an act of disloyalty to Jahweh (I Sam. 12, 12). The view taken of the kingdom and what will happen through the institution is illustrated by Deut. 17, 14—17 and by the parable in Judges 9, 7—15.

[3] Jer. 35, 5—10.

[4] See also Pr. 23, 20—21; 29—30.

[5] Toy's rendering and reading (*Critical and Evangelical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*, p. 539).

That, drinking, he may forget his poverty,
And think of his misery no more."

Wine drinking had evidently become a common practice, but was still viewed with disfavor in certain circles whose contemptuous attitude is indicated in these words. Elsewhere, to be sure, e. g., Pr. 9, 2 and 5, "mixed wine" is introduced by the side of meat and bread without any implied opposition, though it is still a wide step to the praise of wine in the later Psalm 104, 15.

"And wine to cheer man's heart,
Oil to make his skin to shine,
And bread to strengthen man's heart."[1]

We may perhaps be permitted to conclude from such passages as I Sam. 10, 3; 16, 20; 25, 18; II Sam. 16, 1—2, that by the time of the establishment of the Kingdom, the use of wine had become common; and it is significant that according to the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 14, 26) both wine and strong drink may be indulged in on the occasion of the festivals, showing that by the end of the seventh century opposition to it had ceased even in religious circles.[2]

The later view of post-exilic Judaism is reflected in the juxtaposition of "bread and wine", as the accessory to the blessing formula in Gen. 14, 18.[3] Pre-exilic and post-exilic prophets still protest against excess in drinking and make use of the wine bibber as a picture of lewdness and disgrace. (Is. 5, 11. 22; 22, 13; 28, 7; Joel 1, 5; Zach. 9, 15) but it is no longer assumed that drinking necessarily leads to drunkenness.[4] A good wine crop is looked upon as a sign of divine favor and its failure as a sign of God's displeasure—on the same plane with a good or bad yield in corn or oil, e. g., Amos 5, 11; 9, 14; Is. 16, 10; 24, 11; Jer. 13, 12; 40, 10. 12; 48, 33; Zeph. 1, 13; Micha 6, 15; cf. Deut. 28, 39 and

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[1] Horace Howard Furness' translation in *Polychrome Bible*, ed. Haupt.

[2] See also Deut. 28, 39.

[3] Gunkel, *Genesis* p. 263, has happily and tersely described this chapter as a "legend of the time of Judaism", based on some historical reminiscences which are woven into the story, intended to bring Abraham into relationship with the great figures of Babylonian history.

[4] In Hosea, 4, 11, the words "Harlotry and wine and mead take away the understanding", represent an old proverb inserted as appropriate at this place by some redactor.

Lam. 2, 12. The metaphor introduced in the late passage Zach. 10, 7, "their heart rejoiceth as with wine" approaches the attitude expressed in the 104th Psalm as quoted above.

On the other hand when we are told, Gen. 27, 25, that Jacob brought his father, Isaac, wine, it is evident that the words "and he brought him wine and he drank" represent a later addition to the original Jahwist narrative[1] to make the story conform to later conditions. Throughout the narrative (v. 17 and she placed the "dainties and the food"; v. 19, "eat of my venison" cf. v. 31—33) food only is referred to, and the manner in which the words in question are attached betray the later gloss or comment.

A distinction between earlier and later social conditions is also revealed in the stereotyped phrase דָּגָן תִּירוֹשׁ וְיִצְהָר (*dāgān, tîrôš yiṣhār*) characteristic of Deuteronomy—[2] for summing up the products of the land, where *tirôš* takes the place of the later *yayin* and represents a preparation of the grape juice in a less advanced stage than the finished fermented product. It has, of course, been noted by commentators[3] that the other two terms *dagan* (corn) and *yiṣhār* (oil) are replaced in later usage by חִטִּים (*ḥiṭṭîm*)[4] and שֶׁמֶן (*šemen*) so that there are substantial grounds for believing that the Deuteronomic phrase belongs to an earlier stage in agricultural development[5] when so far as the grape was concerned the process of manufacturing a thoroughly fermented article had not yet been perfected. Without going into the vexed question of the etymology of

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[1] Recognized as such by Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 279.

[2] Deut. 7, 13; 11, 14; 12, 17; 14, 23; 18, 4; 28, 51. The occurrence of the phrase in such passages as Hos. 2, 10. 24, Haggai 1, 11, Joel 2, 19 and II Chron. 31, 5, and Neh. 5, 11; 10, 40; 13, 5. 12 is of course a reminiscence or direct quotation of the Deuteronomic usage, while חֵלֶב תִּירוֹשׁ וְדָגָן (*ḥeleb, tîrôš, dāgān*) in Num. 18, 12 is a variant phrase similarly dependent. The phrase דָּגָן וְתִירוֹשׁ (*dāgān* and *tîrôš*) e. g., Gen. 27, 28. 37 (Elohist); Deut. 33, 28; II Kgs. 18, 33; Hos. 7, 14; Zach. 9, 17; Ps. 4, 8; Is. 62, 8;—occurring chiefly in poetical passages—likewise represents a variant of the archaic formula.

[3] e. g. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 103.

[4] *Dāgān*, however, continues to be used in later poetical compositions, e. g. in Ezekiel 36, 29; Ps. 65, 10; 78, 24.

[5] Indicated also by the use of *tîrôš* and not *yayin* in the parable Jud. 9, 13 where the vine says "shall I abandon my *tîrôš* that rejoiceth god (Elohim) and men"?

yayin,[1] as a loan-word in Hebrew, it points to the foreign origin of the process involved and it would be natural that as an importation among the Hebrews, due to advancing luxury, it should meet with opposition on the part of those who clung tenaciously to older etablished and simpler customs.[2]

II.

The conservative character associated in all religions with practices of the cult should prepare us for finding traces of the earlier unfavorable view taken of wine and viniculture in the Pentateuchal regulations regarding the temple service. Such is indeed the case. In Lev. 10, 9 we encounter the prohibition emphasized as "an everlasting statute for all times" that the priests are not to drink wine (*yayin*) or strong drink (*šēḵār*) upon coming to the "tent of meeting". The little section (vv. 8—9) in which this prohibition is set forth is independent of the rest of the chapter and impresses one as an old ordinance which is carried over from earlier days. The mention of the "tent of meeting"—which whenever it occurs in the Pentateuchal Codes is, I think, an indication of an early practice, though modified and adapted to later conditions—points in the same direction. The decree finds its counterpart in Ezekiel 44, 21 where the priests are cautioned not to drink wine when they come to the "inner court"

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[1] See Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, s. v. There is no underlying verbal stem from which יַיִן might be derived in use in any of the Semitic Languages. The occurrence of a doubtful *inv* in a syllabary does not justify us in claiming the word as Babylonian. The late occurrence in Arabic and Ethiopic proves nothing as to its origin. Even if it should turn out to be a Semitic word, it is clearly a loan-word in Hebrew.

[2] The phrase "milk and honey" though characteristic of P (Ex. 3, 8; 13, 5; 33, 3. Num. 13, 27; 14, 5. 16. 13. 14) and of the additions to the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 6, 3; 11, 9; 26, 9. 15; 27, 3; 31, 20) reflects an even earlier social stage than *dāgān*, *tîrôš* and *yiṣhār* and is evidently retained with intent to reflect the conditions prevailing during the nomadic period of Hebrew history. Mohammed's prohibition of wine is a trace of the same opposition of the "nomadic" stage of culture against the innovations of higher civilization. See the incident referred to by Mittwoch, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Islamischen Gebets" (*Abh. d. Kgl. Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss., 1913, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* Nr. 2, p. 14).

—representing the adaptation of the earlier law to the temple as sketched by Ezekiel. Now, to be sure, both in Leviticus and in Ezekiel the prohibition is limited (according to the wording) to the time of the actual carrying out of priestly functions, but it looks very much as though this were a concession made to later practice and that originally the priests were not permitted to drink wine at all as in the case of the *nāzîr* who, as his name indicates, represents one "set aside" or dedicated to a deity. The indications are that the term *nāzîr* is merely an old designation of a priest.[1] Like the *kôhēn* he is not to come into contact with a dead body (Num. 6, 6—7; cf. Lev. 21, 1),[2] and it is therefore a fair inference that the prohibition against drinking wine (*yayin*) and strong drink (*šēḵār*) in Num. 6, 3,[3] was likewise a general ordinance for priests.

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[1] Amos 2, 11—12, who rebukes the people for giving the Nazirites wine and ordering the prophets not to prophesy, uses "nazirites and prophets" as elsewhere we find "prophets and priests" contrasted or placed in juxtaposition, e. g., Jer. 5, 31; 26, 11, 16; Zach. 7, 3. Neh. 9, 32; etc. The later view of the "nazirite" as one "set aside" without affiliation with any priesthood is illustrated in Luke 1, 15 foretelling the coming of John who "shall drink neither wine nor strong drink". The older attitude towards wine is well illustrated also by Jud. 13, 14 where wine and strong drink are put on the same level as "unclean" food—they defile and are therefore to be avoided by the wife of Manoah who is to keep herself free from contamination, as though she too were "set aside".

[2] The exceptions in v. 2—4 represent again a concession, due to the large body of priests assumed for the central sanctuary. From the fact that the exceptions do not apply to the high priest (v. 11), we may conclude that the law not to touch a dead body under any circumstances applied rigorously at one time to all priests.

[3] The law in its original form read "From wine and strong drink he shall separate himself". What follows (v. 3—4) is in the nature of a "Gemārā" to the law, specifying the answers to such questions, does wine and strong drink include vinegar of wine and of strong drink? Yes. How about grape juice? Yes—forbidden. How is it with fresh or dried grapes? They also are forbidden. In fact anything made of grapes is included in the prohibition (v. 4). Haggai 2, 11—17 furnishes an interesting example of such questions and priestly decisions (note the technical use of *tôrā* in the passage!) as constituting a regular practice. For further illustration of this method of superimposing layers embodying decisions in regard to the details involved in a law, see the writer's paper on "An Analysis of Leviticus 13 and 14" in a forthcoming number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. This 6th chapter of Numbers

At all events, if the priest is not to drink wine on entering the sanctuary, the assumption is as in the passages voicing the opposition to wine, that he who drinks wine becomes drunk and with such an attitude towards wine, is it likely that wine should have been included among the ingredients of a sacrifice in Jahweh's sanctuary?

III.

Taking up the passages in the Codes where wine is introduced, we find it in three sections which represent general summaries of priestly regulations and furnish clear indications of having been independent little groups. That at least, is certainly the case in Numbers, Chap. 15, 1—11[1] and Chap. 28—29[2]—both belonging to the so-called Priestly Code. Attached to the burnt-offering in all the cases instanced is a *minḫa* or meal offering consisting of fine flour with oil and wine. The amount of the wine is throughout regulated to correspond to the amount of the oil—[3] 1/4 of a Hîn of oil for a lamb and the same amount of wine, 1/3 of a Hîn of oil and the same amount of wine for a ram and 1/2 Hîn of oil and the same of wine for a young of cattle or bullock.[4] This in itself is an indication that the wine is dependent upon the oil—constituting an additional ingredient added to the conventional

represents the combination of two distinct themes (1) the *nāzîr* law and (2) the laws regarding the one who vows to "separate" himself for a limited period, i. e., to become a temporary nāzîr—a later practice. The detailed analysis of this chapter must be left for some other occasion.

[1] v. 1—16 is a little Tôrā—furnishing general regulations for sacrifices and has no connection with the following sections which deal with miscellaneous ordinances, put together without any apparent method. The chapter is sandwiched in between a narrative of the people's murmurings against Jahweh and the rebellion of Korah.

[2] These two chapters form a little *Tôrā* of sacrificial regulations for the daily offerings, for the Sabbath, for the new moon, for the Passover, for the "day of firstlings", for the first and tenth days of the seventh month and for the Ḫag or pilgrimage festival.

[3] Num. 15, 4—9; 28, 5—7. 14. In the latter passage "and their libations are 1/2 of a Hîn for a bullock, 1/3 of a Hîn for a ram and 1/2 of a Hîn for a bullock"—thus specified once for all, so that in the rest of the two chapters, the amount is briefly indicated by the phrase "their libations".

[4] Num. 15, 8 בֶּן־בָּקָר = פָּר Num. 29, 12. 14 etc. etc. The combination פָּר בֶּן־בָּקָר Ex. 29, 1. Lev. 4, 3. 14; 16, 3; 23, 18; Num. 8, 8; 15, 24; 29, 2; Ezek. 43, 19. 22. 23. 25 etc. (and פָּרִים בְּנֵי בָקָר Num. Chapt. 28, 11. 19; 29, 13. 17) is a later redundant designation.

minḫa of "flour mixed with oil". The manner in which the wine is always tacked on (Num. 15, 5. 7. 10; 28, 7—8, 14)[1] as is a further indication of the supplemental character of the libation. Similarly, in Lev. 23[2] (Holiness Code) detailing regulations for the three festivals (Passover, Shabuot, and Sukkot) and the first and tenth[3] days of the seventh month, the libation of wine for the *minḫa* introduced only in the case of the "wave" offering on the day after the first day of Passover (v. 13) is tacked on to "flour mixed with oil" in an unmistakable manner.[4]

In confirmation of the view here taken of the wine as a later addition to the flour and oil, we find in Lev. Chapter 2, where the *minḫā* offering is set forth in detail, that the wine is omitted. In its place, apparently, we find the frankincense which is attached to the flour and oil.[5] A handful of the flour and oil with all of the frankincense is placed as a "memorial"[6] (אַזְכָּרָה) on the altar, consisting of a "fragrant fire offering", while the rest (i. e., of the flour and oil) is given to the priest, forming as expressly stated "holy of holies of the fire offerings of Jahweh". Verses 4—9 represent again super-

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[1] Note how in Num. 28, 15. 24. 31; 29, 11. 16. 19. 22. 25. 28. 31. 34. 38. 39 "libation" or "libations" is added at the close of the verse.

[2] No sacrifices are prescribed in this chapter with the exception of the two "wave" offerings, one consisting of a oneyear old lamb with a *minḫa* for the day after the first day of Passover (v. 11—13) and one for the 50th day after the first day of Passover, consisting of a "new *minḫa* (v. 16—17) specified as two loaves of "bread of waving" (לֶחֶם תְּנוּפָה) with seven lambs, one bullock, two rams (v. 18)—representing an addition to the "grain" offering to which as a second supplement (v. 19) a goat as a sin-offering and two lambs as a "peace-offering" are attached.

[3] יום הַכִּפֻּרִים הוּא (v. 27. 28) as the designation of this 10th day is a later gloss. In v. 27, the Greek version omits these words.

[4] v. 13 "and its minḫa 2/20 of fine flour mixed with oil as a fire offering to Jahweh, a pleasant fragrance" clearly ends with רֵיחַ נִיחוֹחַ. To this there is added rather awkwardly "and its libation" to which furthermore on the basis of Num. 15 and 28—29 the gloss "1/4 of a Hîn" is added. The amount of oil, be it noted, is not stipulated here any more than it is in Lev. Chap. 2.

[5] Lev. 2, 1—3.

[6] I use the conventional renderings for the technical term אַזְכָּרָה, רֵיחַ, נִיחוֹחַ, שְׁלָמִים, חַטָּאת, אָשָׁם etc., though I am satisfied that all of them need investigation and that they embody much more primitive notions than are conveyed by the usual translations.

imposed layers upon the original *minḫā* ordinance, indicating the various forms in which the mixture of flour and oil may be brought as (1) cakes or wafers baked in an oven, (2) baked in a flat pan in small pieces with oil poured on them or, (3) in a cauldron (?) (מִנְחַת מַרְחֶשֶׁת). In all cases some of the *minḫā* is burnt on the altar and the rest given to the priests.[1] Wine, however, is not mentioned and since it is stipulated that the cakes are to be "unleavened" (מַצּוֹת v. 4—5) and it is further expressly stated that the *minḫā* is not to consist of any leaven, (v. 11) it is evident that the wine as a fermented product would by virtue of this be absolutely excluded.

Similarly, in the *minḫa* prescribed in the second purification ritual[2] for the one healed of the *ṣāra'aṯ* we have flour with oil[3] but no wine and so in the *minḫā* prescribed as a "guilt"

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[1] Lev. 7, 9 where these three forms of *minḫā* are again mentioned, but no reference is made to any *azkārā*.

[2] Lev. 14, 8[b]—20. See the study of this ritual in the writer's paper on Leviticus, 13 and 14—above referred to.

[3] The amount of oil is here specified in a gloss as "one log" (Lev. 14, 10. 12; also v. 24 in the "substitute" offering). Although the term *minḫā* is introduced (v. 10) and the amount of flour specified as 3/20, this is done in order to make the ritual conform to the later practice of attaching a *minḫā* to every animal sacrifice as set forth in Numbers 15 and 28—29. In the purification ritual the oil *alone* is utilized (Lev. 14, 15—18; 26—29) and instead of being partly offered with the flour on the altar and the rest given to the priest, it is used like the blood of the "guilt" offering (v. 14. 25) to touch the ear lobe, the right thumb, and the right large toe of the one to be purified and the rest to be poured over his head. This is certainly not a *minḫā*, but some primitive rite to make the one out of whom the demon of disease has been driven immune against a renewed invasion. In this case the animal sacrifices have been superimposed upon the "oil" rite; and here again two layers may be recognized (a) an earlier one represented by an ewe (v. 10 cf. Lev. 5, 6) as a guilt offering (v. 14) and (b) two lambs (v. 10) one as a sin offering, the other as a burnt offering (v. 19) in accordance with the conventional later practice. With the growth of the priestly organization—especially in the sanctuary at Jerusalem—necessitating the providing of an income for the priests, animal sacrifices became predominant and the *minḫā* became an adjunct to the various kinds of animal offerings —sin-offerings, burnt offerings and peace-offerings—with the natural tendency to increase these offerings steadily. A good illustration of this tendency is to be seen in a comparison of Ez. 46, 6—7 with Num. 28, 11—15, the sacrifices for the new moon, viz:

offering (אָשָׁם) (Lev. 5, 11—12) for the one who cannot afford even two turtle doves or two pigeons as a substitute for the ewe or kid (female), there is no wine, any more than in the *minḫā* which is to accompany the "peace offering" (Lev. 7, 12—13). Furthermore, in a comparison of the sacrificial regulations for the new moon as given in Ezekiel, 46, 6—7 with Num. 28, 11—15, we have the direct proof that the wine is a later addition, for Ezekiel *does not mention it,* while it is included, as above set forth, in the Priestly Code.[1]

The obvious conclusion therefore is that the wine represents a later addition to the ritual and the omission in Ezekiel forms a definite terminus for the introduction. It is clearly post-exilic and the manner in which the libation of wine has been tacked on to the *minḫā* in the three sections discussed furthermore shows that even in the post-exilic codes, the wine represents a later layer superimposed on earlier ones. The

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Ezekiel	Numbers
1 bullock	2 bullocks
6 lambs	7 lambs
1 ram	1 ram

On the other hand the *minḫā* is larger in Ezekiel.

Ezekiel	Numbers
1 Ephā (of flour) for the bullock	3/20 of an Ephā for each bullock
1 Ephā for the ram	2/20 for the ram
As much as one can afford for the lambs	1/10 for each lamb
One Hîn of oil for each Epha	

The amount of oil is not specified in Numbers but the assumption is (cf. Num. 28, 5; 15, 4. 5. 9) 1/2 Hîn for the bullock, 1/3 Hîn for the ram and 1/4 Hîn for each lamb as is shown by the amount of wine (*only* in Numbers!) in v. 14. See Carpenter and Battersby, *Hexateuch* I, p. 128. In Lev., chapters 1 and 3—5 specifying the regulations for the burnt offering (עֹלָה) peace offering (זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים) for the sin offering (חַטָּאת) and guilt offering (אָשָׁם) no *minḫā* is attached, but in Chap. 6, it is tacked on to the burnt-offering (v. 7—11) and in Chap. 7, 11—13, it is rather awkwardly dovetailed into the "peace" offering as a kind of supplemental "thanksgiving" offering (תּוֹדָה). Clearly then the practice as detailed in Num. 15 and 28—29 where the *minḫā* appears as the regular addition represents the later practice.

[1] The *āšām* is not to be distinguished in the Codes from the *ḫaṭṭâṭ,* as the statement, Lev. 7, 7 "There is one law for the *ḫaṭṭāṭ* as for the *āšām*" or Lev. 14, 13 "the *āšām* is like the *ḫāṭṭâṭ*" shows. Whether originally there was a distinction is another question which is probably to be answered in the affirmative.

innovation therefore belongs to a period when all opposition to the use of fermented wine had disappeared, when it had not only become a common article of daily life but when wine had become as in Psalm 104 and Zachariah 10, 7; (cf. also Eccles. 10, 19) a symbol of joy. A trace of the older attitude, however, remained in the prohibition that the priest was not to take wine on entering the sanctuary, because of the old feeling that wine drinking leads to drunkenness.[1] The subject is of interest because of the extensive use to which wine was put in the later Jewish ritual where, as is well-known, the wine becomes the symbol for the sanctification of the Sabbath and of the Jewish festivals[2] and which is reflected in the New Testament passages regarding wine.[3]

It is thus a far cry from the opposition to viniculture expressed in Genesis—maintained by the Rechabites down to the time of the Exile and implied in the Nazîr's abstention from wine—to the use of wine as indicated in the latest layers of the Pentateuchal Codes, and it is a still wider step to the blessings over the "fruit of the wine" which is such a significant feature of the official Jewish ritual[4] and to the use of four cups of wine as marking the divisions of the family service—the so-called *Seder*—on the eve of the Passover festival.

In view of the recent investigations of Professor Erdmanns,[5] which have again moved the question as to the composition of the Pentateuchal Codes into the foreground, it is, I think, of some importance to show through a specific example, as I

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[1] May we perhaps see in the Talmudic ordinance (*Berakot* 31 a) forbidding any one who has taken a certain quantity of wine from reciting the prescribed prayers, a further trace of this feeling? See Mittwoch, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Islamischen Gebets und Kultus" (*Abh. Kgl. Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss. 1913, Phil.-Hist. Klasse.* Nr. 2, p. 14).

[2] See the article *Kiddush* in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* VI, p. 483, and Talmud Babli *Berakôt* 35 a.

[3] Matthew 26, 27—29 = Mark 14, 23—25 = Luke 22, 17—18. Wine was considered the natural accompaniment to a marriage feast (John 2, 3—10). The passages in I Timothy 5, 23 where Timothy is urged not to drink water but to "use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine other infirmities" is significant, though naturally the warning against over-indulgence is still inculcated. e. g. I Timothy 3, 8; Titus 2, 3; Eph. 5, 18. The reference to the use of oil and wine for wounds in Luke 10, 34 is interesting.

[4] *Berākôt* (Mišnā) VI, 1.

[5] *Alttestamentliche Studien.* (4 Parts) See especially the 4th part giving the results of his study of Leviticus.

have endeavored here, the way in which the Codes reflect varying social conditions separated from one another by a span of several centuries. Prof. Erdmanns is no doubt right in many of his contentions as to the age of many of the provisions in the so-called Priestly Code and the Holiness Code. The criticism to be passed upon his analysis of Leviticus is that it does not go deep enough, whereas on the other hand his conclusions are too radical and not warranted by the evidence that he brings forward. Instead of maintaining that the entire legislation in the Pentateuch is pre-exilic, I venture to set up the thesis that *all* the Codes conventionally recognized by critics show evidence of having originated at a time when the religious organization at the sanctuaries scattered throughout Palestine was very simple, the religious practices still close to primitive phases of religious beliefs and the social conditions correspondingly simple. Over this basic stratum, a large number of layers have been superimposed, representing (a) more or less radical modifications of the original laws to adapt them to later conditions, and to make them conform to the needs of a large central sanctuary with an elaborately organized priesthood that had to be provided for; (b) priestly decisions in answer to questions regarding the scope and specific application of any given law; (c) comments of an explanatory character including glosses, definition of terms, variant expressions and the like. In other words we have in these Codes the same process that is to be seen in the superimposition of the Gemārā upon the Mišnā in the regulations of Rabbinical Judaism. The result is that the Pentateuchal Codes represent a *continuous* tradition and growing practice, extending from early days to the definite organization—though largely theoretical—of the post-exilic temple service. For the sake of convenience, such designations as the Priestly Code with its various subdivisions [1] may be retained, but it must be recognized that the terms do not convey any sense of organic unity, and that the subdivisions recognized have nothing more than a formal value. Each little section consisting frequently of a few verses only must be taken by itself and separated into its component parts—basic stratum and superimposed layers—and the attempt made to differentiate between the

[1] See Carpenter and Battersby, *Hexateuch* I, p. 155 seq.

social and religious conditions reflected in the original law and those indicated in the subsequent accretions.[1] Frequently, however, these little sections have been combined into a group where again the process corresponding to the growth of a Gemārā around a Mišnā may be followed in detail. Briefly put, the Pentateuchal Codes, properly interpreted, form the accompaniment to the social and religious evolution of Hebrew civilization from the beginnings of a confederation of the Hebrew tribes to the time of Ezra and perhaps even for some decades beyond Ezra.

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[1] I have endeavored to do this in the case of the *ṣāra'aṯ* legislation (Lev. 13—14) in the article several times referred to and I hope to follow this up by studies of such sections as the Atonement ritual (Lev. 16), the Nazirite Tôrā (Num. 6), the "red heifer" (Num. 19), the ordeal in the case of the woman suspected of adultery (Num. 5), etc., all of which will, I think, through the application of this method yield valuable results.

The Mystery of Fu-lin.—By FRIEDRICH HIRTH, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

II.

(Continued from Vol. xxx, 1909, p. 31.)

9. The Emperor Yang-ti's Fu-lin.

At the time to which this name Fu-lin, said to correspond to the Ta-ts'in of the later Han period, is first applied in Chinese literature China had no political relations with either Rome or Byzantium. We read in the *Kiu-t'ang-shu*[1] that "the Emperor Yang-ti of the Sui dynasty [A. D. 605—617] always wished to open intercourse with Fu-lin, but did not succeed." We do not read in the *Sui-shu* history of Yang-ti's reign of any attempt to communicate in a direct way with Fu-lin, whether this represents Syria or the great Roman empire of which it formed a part at times; but since the *T'ang-shu*[2] speaks of P'eï Kü, the Emperor's Commissioner in Central Asia, who "communicated with all countries except T'ién-chu (India) and Fu-lin," we may take it for granted that the attempt to realize the emperor's wish was made through P'eï Kü and his emissaries. Knowing from the passage referred to that P'eï Kü failed in this attempt "to his regret," as the text adds, we have in the first instance to look for the motive of the emperor's desire and the reason which may have interfered with the desired communication.

It has been suggested by Professor Chavannes that the first knowledge of Fu-lin may have reached China through the Turks, who cultivated friendly relations with the Romans under Justin in 568. But these relations must have lasted but a very short time, since the Roman ambassador Valentine, sent to the Turkish court by Tiberius Caesar in 576 to announce his

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[1] *R. O.*, K. 33.

[2] Chap. 221 A, p. 25 B, quoted *J. A. O. S.* xxx 8.

ascension to the Byzantine throne, met with a most ungracious reception, which put an end to all friendship between the Turks and Byzantium.[1] While that friendly intercourse between Western Turks and Romans lasted and afterwards during the Northern Ts'i and Chóu dynasties, and up to the ascent of Yang-ti of the Sui in 605, there are no passages on record showing that anyone in China took particular interest in either the old Ta-ts'in (Syria) or Fu-lin, said later on to be its equivalent. Had this been the case the Chinese would have had every opportunity to collect information through the Western Turks, and it appears that, after a long pause marked by indifference as regards the traditional Ta-ts'in accounts, the first mention in a Chinese record which points to renewed interest being taken in the country is the remark found in the *T'ang-shu* about Yang-ti's having in vain tried to communicate with Fu-lin. Who knows whether he did not even then call the country Ta-ts'in and whether the new name Fu-lin was not substituted for it by the *T'ang-shu* historian after it had become familiar through the Nestorians settled in China? We have to admit this possibility even for the occurrence of the name in the *Sui-shu*, in the description of Persia[2] and the biography of P'eï Kü,[3] because the final editing of this text fell in the year 636, that is the very time when it was likely to be affected by information brought to China by the Nestorians.

If we enquire into the possible motives which may have prompted Yang-ti's wish for intercourse with India and Fu-lin, we have to dismiss from the outset all political schemes. For during the greater part of his reign Yang-ti managed his Turkish neighbours well enough without any foreign allies. The only country which gave him serious trouble was Corea. But what help could he have expected from India or from distant Fu-lin in his campaigns in the extreme north-east of his empire? His wishes were dictated far more by a kind of personal vanity, which led him into a life of luxurious splendour. Not too long after his ascent to the

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[1] See Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue, -Turcs-occidentaux*, St. Petersburg, 1903, pp. 233—242, where Chinese and western sources are united into the best historical sketch we possess on these relations.

[2] Chap. 83. [3] Chap. 67.

throne his confidential adviser P'eï Kü had managed to kindle a certain ethnographical curiosity peculiar to the Emperor's character into a regular passion to see ambassadors from all possible foreign countries visit his court. His love of spectacular court festivities is one of the characteristics of his reign, and he may have felt flattered by the presence and admiration of so many foreigners at his gorgeous shows. Among these the strangers from the west seem to have monopolized his interest. P'eï Kü had acquainted him in his work, the *Si-yü-t'u-ki*,[1] with the result of his enquiries among the Central-Asiatic traders he had met during his residence in Chang-yé in Western Kan-su. Of this work we possess not much more than the preface, reproduced in P'eï Kü's biography.[2] Its description, accompanied by coloured illustrations and a map, of forty-four foreign countries has not been preserved to our days, but the subject matter of its text must have been absorbed in the ethnographical chapters of the *Sui-shu*. From the description of the three roads leading to the Far West from Tun-huang, the thorough-fare from China, in the present northwest Kan-su, we find in this preface the terminus of all of them to be "the Western Sea",[3] apparently corresponding to the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, reached by the way of Fu-lin, Persia and Northern Po-lo-mön or Beluchistan respectively. "The Western Sea", the account says, "produces so many precious and strange things",[4] and this was apparently the chief attraction in P'eï Kü's ethnographical speculations. Apart from what P'eï Kü and his emissaries had themselves seen, their knowledge of the more distant countries was based on former records, such as those of the Eastern Han dynasty, which were full of reports on the "precious and strange things" found in the countries of the Western Sea, especially in Ta-ts'in or Syria. The reputation of this country as a producer of all the mineral treasures and the manufactures in jewelry required to feed the market of a luxuriant race was not confined to the Roman

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[1] 西域圖記, regarding which see my paper "Über die chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntniss Zentralasiens unter der Herrschaft der Sassaniden," *W. Z. K. M.* x 228 seq.

[2] *Sui-shu*, chap. 67, p. 10 seqq.

[3] *Si-hai* 西海.

[4] 西海多產珍異.

empire, east or west; it was also the traditional El Dorado of the Chinese according to their literary tradition. We need not wonder, therefore, to see a sovereign of Yang-ti's well known extravagance long for an extension of his ethnographical horizon beyond Eastern Turkestan and Persia to the further west, where the very best jewels were found in the greatest quantities. The same motive that made him cultivate the friendship of nearer countries which sent to his court ambassadors with tribute in the shape of articles of intrinsic value made him regret his inability to communicate with that storehouse of jewels Fu-lin. For it was for the special purpose of ,'collecting the treasures of the western countries that he induced P'eï Kü to go to Chang-yé as superintendent of international trade. There the clever diplomat enticed traders by holding out advantages and so got them to visit the court. From this arose the traffic of the foreigners of the Western regions, which entailed expenses amounting to millions to the intermediate perfectures for the purpose of escorts and welcome."[1]

So much for the motive underlying Yang-ti's longing for Fu-lin. The reason why his emissaries could not reach that country can be guessed at from the political situation in Syria at that time. I have not been able to ascertain the exact year in which Yang-ti's ambassador Li Yü was sent to the Persian court. We merely learn in the account of Persia[2] that "Yang-ti sent Li Yü, a hereditary noble of the eighth class, to go to Po-ssï [Persia] in order to solicit the sending of ambassadors to follow Li Yü with products of that country as tribute".[3]

From the way the *Ts'ö-fu-yüan-kui* registers the fact it would appear that the mission may have been sent during any of the thirteen years of the Ta-yé period, i. e. 605 to 617. During all this time fighting took place somewhere in Western Asia between the Persians and the Romans. Hostilities had begun soon after the coronation of Phocas as emperor in 602, who had caused his predecessor Mauricius, the personal friend and

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[1] 以西域多諸寶物令裴矩往張掖監諸商胡互市啖之以利勸令入朝自是西域諸蕃往來相繼所經州郡疲於送迎糜費以萬萬計. *Sui-shu,* chap. 24, p. 18.

[2] *Sui-shu,* chap. 83, p. 16.

[3] 煬帝遣雲騎尉李昱使通波斯尋使隨昱貢方物.

benefactor of King Khosru of Persia, to be murdered, thus creating a casus belli for a bloody strife which outlasted the life of Yang-ti as well as that of Phocas, whose successor, Heraclius, saw most of his Asiatic possessions wrenched from him by Persian armies. It goes without saying that under the circumstances the Persians would not have allowed the Chinese ambassador to proceed to Fu-lin, whether we look for it in Syria or in Byzantium. For, neither could they guarantee him safe conduct nor was it in Khosru's interest to see him join the enemy.

On the other hand it is most likely that the ambassador's curiosity about Fu-lin was further stimulated by the existence of a Syrian colony in Madain, one of the cities where Persian rulers resided, formed of the union of the two cities Ctesiphon and Seleucia, for which reason we find either of these old names occassionally applied to it. It is generally held to have been the capital of Persia, but the kings, especially Khosru II, resided in several other places in turn.[1] There can be little doubt which of these places was held to be the capital by the Chinese mission under Yang-ti. It is clearly indicated by the mention of it in the account of Persia reproduced in the *Sui-shu*.[2] "The capital", it is stated there, "is at the city of Su-lin west of the river Ta-ho,[3] that is the site of ancient T'iau-chï [Chaldaea]. Their king's by-name is K'u-sat-ho [=Khosru]."[4] This city of Su-lin is clearly identical with Seleucia on the western shore of the Tigris. In another account the city is called Su-li and of it the text says: "the river passes through the middle of the city, flowing south", which again clearly refers to the cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon united to form

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[1] "The Sassanian court, though generally held at Ctesiphon, migrated to other cities, if the king so pleased, and is found established, at one time in the old Persian capital, Persepolis, at another in the comparatively modern city of Dastagherd. The monarchs maintained from first to last numerous palaces which they visited at their pleasure and made their residence for a longer or a shorter period." "Chosroes II built one nearer Takht-i-Bostan." Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 642 seq.

[2] Chap. 83, p. 15.

[3] Old sound Tat-hot or Tat-got, standing for Talgat or Taglat, i. e. Diglat, the Tigris.

[4] 波斯國都達曷水之西蘇薗城即條支之故地也其王字庫薩和.

the one city of Madain, the Tigris flowing south between the two cities.[1] It is scarcely possible that the Chinese visitors could have spent some time at King Khosru II's court without coming into contact with the Nestorians living under their patriarch on the other side of the river in Ctesiphon. It is a remarkable coincidence that the Nestorians, though persecuted and martyrized under Persian and Khalif rule before and after this time, happened to be in high favour just with Khosru II, who according to Assemani patronized them, in order to spite the emperor Heraclius, also a Christian, it is true, but strongly opposed to Nestorian heretics, the adversaries of the orthodox Roman church and friends of the Persians. He had for this reason taken the church of Edessa from the orthodox clergy and handed it over to the Nestorians and forced all the other Christians under his jurisdiction to embrace the Nestorian "heresy".[2]

The patriarch of the Nestorians, we may conclude from all this, was under Khosru II a much more important personage than we might expect him to be as a mere clergyman. We learn from Assemani's further remarks that Nestorian patriarchs were sent by Khosru as ambassadors to Byzantium, and it appears that, in those all important relations with the Roman empire, they were the confidential advisers of the King, whose favour raised them to a quasi-political position as heads of the entire Christian population.

10. Fu-lin confounded with Persia.

When the first Nestorians came to the capital of China, in 635, they were allowed to build a church and, since they came from Persia, that church was called "the Persian Church",[3] and O-lo-pön, the leader of that first western expedition, was called "a Persian Priest".[4] As such he is described in the Imperial edict authorizing the practice of Nestorian rites, dat-

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[1] *Weï-shu*, chap. 102, p. 12: 宿利城***河經其城中南流.

[2] "Omnium Persarum regum maxime Nestorianis favit Chosroes Abruizus, qui ut Heraclio Imperatori aegre faceret, Edessenam Ecclesiam Orthodoxis ereptam, Nestorianis tradidit, et reliquos suae ditionis Christianos ad amplexandam Nestorii haeresim adegit". Assemani, IV p. 94.

[3] *Po-ssï-shï* 波斯寺.

[4] *Po-ssï-söng* 波斯僧.

ed 638 and preserved in the *T'ang-hui-yau.*[1] The Nestorians, however, did not look upon themselves as Persians. They were merely the guests of Persia; exiles, prisoners, treated as slaves at times and as friends and a most useful element of the population at others. Their real home, at least that of their leaders, was in Syria.[2] It probably took the Chinese over a hundred years to realize this. For it appears that the Christian churches continued to be called "Persian" until the year 745, when another edict was issued saying that "since the Persian religion came from Ta-ts'in [i. e. Syria], the names of the Persian churches in the two capitals would have to be changed into Ta-ts'in [i. e. Syrian] churches."[3] If we take into consideration the simple fact that in all Chinese passages bearing on this point the two names Ta-ts'in and Fu-lin are declared to apply to one and the same country, we are led most naturally to think of the inmates of the first Nestorian church, or monastery, established in China as the foreigners who introduced the name Fu-lin as a substitute for Ta-ts'in. Since the Buddhists, whose leaders had come from India, called their country after Buddha's home "Magadha", they followed this precedent and called their country, Syria, after Christ's home "Bethlehem", of which "Fu-lin" in its old pronunciation *but-lim* is the transcription.[4]

II. The name Fu-lin applied to the Patriarchal court.

The outcome of my enquiries into the meaning in Chinese literature of this term Fu-lin is this: we must be prepared, according to time and circumstances, to interpret it in three different senses, viz.

1. The court of the Nestorian patriarch in Madain or Ctesiphon together with the Christian population of Persia, which had come from Syria;
2. Syria itself;
3. the Roman empire with Byzantium as its capital.

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[1] Reprinted in Havret, *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, p. 376.

[2] J. A. O. S. xxx 6 seqq.

[3] 波斯經教出自大秦傳習而來久行中國＊＊＊其兩京波斯寺宜改爲大秦寺. Havret, l. c.

[4] J. A. O. S. xxx 3—4.

As an example of the first-named among these three interpretations, I wish to refer to a passage in the *T'ang-shu,*[1] treating, in an account of Persia, on an episode in the history of that country regarding which we happen to possess some information in western authors. "After the murder of Khosru II," the text says, "his son Shï-li [Sheroe] ascended the throne. Yabgu Kagan sent governors to watch and direct him. After the death of Shï-li [Sheroe] Persia would no longer be subject [to the Turks] and made Khosru's daughter Queen. The Turks killed her, too. *Sheroe's son Tan-kié then took refuge in Fu-lin* and the people acknowledged him as heir to the throne. This was I-ta-chï [Ardeshir III]."[2]

I quite agree with Chavannes in the identification of the name I-ta-chï with that of Ardeshir III. But if Ardeshir III, a minor, is said to have taken refuge in Fu-lin, the political situation forbids the assumption of his having gone to either Constantinople or any other place held by the Romans at the time. For the young Prince had a dangerous opponent to his accession to the throne in the person of a close friend of the Romans, Shahr-Barz, who, "before committing himself to the perils of rebellion, negotiated with Heraclius and secured his alliance and support by the promise of certain advantages". The Roman emperor is even said to have supplied Shahr-Barz with troops to assist him in his struggle against Ardeshir and his guardian Mihr-Hasis.[3] To flee to Byzantium or to the Romans anywhere would have amounted to a surrender of his cause. Fu-lin has, therefore, to be looked for in some other region. The place of refuge was in reality not Constantinople, but according to Tabari the city of Ctesiphon, which had been fortified for the purposes of defence against Shahr-Barz and to which Ardeshir *had been brought* [sic] with his royal household.[4] Ctesiphon, it is true, was one of the places of residence of the Persian kings; but at the time there was no king besides Ardeshir, and since Tabari says distinctly that *he was*

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[1] Chap. 221 B., p. 15.

[2] 殺王庫薩和其子施利立葉護使部帥監統施利死遂不肯臣立庫薩和女爲王突厥又殺之施利之子單羯方奔拂菻國人迎立之是爲伊怛支. Cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, etc., p. 171.

[3] Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, p. 541 seq.

[4] Noeldeke, *Tabari*, p. 387.

brought there, he must have previously resided at some other capital and Ctesiphon must be looked upon as a place of refuge *ad hoc*. As far as western authors go, we certainly know of no other place to which Ardeshir III can be said to have fled than Ctesiphon. Why then does the Chinese historian, whom we may suspect of having received his information through the Nestorians residing in China, then the only foreigners hailing from Persia, call Ctesiphon Fu-lin? I am inclined to think that the protection the prince expected to find there was of a moral kind in the first instance. For the only man in the country who might have been able to smooth over the difficulties in which Persia found herself at the time was the head of the Nestorian Christians, Yeshu'yabh, who held the patriarchal throne from 628 to 682 A. D. This view may be supported by the following facts, placed on record by Mar Amr.[1] "During the reign of Yeshu'yabh, Sheroe[2] had died and Artaxerxes [Ardeshir] had succeeded him, after whose death by murder Sheroe's sister Bôrân [Baurâna] took charge of the kingdom. Further, since the kingdom of the Persians had been in trouble through the action of its kings at the time of Sheroe and Ardeshir, the queen was afraid to enter [the government of] the kingdom falling to her, and thus she sent this father [Yeshu'yabh] on an honourable mission to Heraclius, the Roman emperor, for the purpose of renewing the treaty of peace, and she sent with him bishops and metropolitans," etc. According to Bar Hebraeus the Patriarch had been ordained in 626 A. D., and from the manner in which he represents the situation[3] it appears that he had been sent to Heraclius by Sheroe, that in the replies he gave the Emperor about his religious views he had utterly disavowed his Nestorian principles, that some of his own people would have liked to see him deposed on account of this betrayal, but that the Persian king supported him against his adversaries.[4] Whichever of the two versions may be correct, it appears that Yeshu'yabh held a confidential position with either Ardeshir's father, or his aunt Bôrân, or both, and that young Ardeshir's flight to Ctesiphon, called Fu-lin by the Chinese historian, was

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[1] Vol. II p. 31. [2] Or Kobad II, Ardeshir's father.
[3] Abbeloos and Lamy, Vol. III pp. 114—116.
[4] Cf. Assemani, III p. 105.

dictated by the wish to benefit by the advice and moral protection of the patriarch, the shrewd diplomat and former ambassador to the emperor Heraclius, whose residence was in the Syrian settlement on the Ctesiphon side of the city of Madain.[1]

12. Greater Fu-lin.

I have enumerated a number of arguments speaking in favour of the name Fu-lin standing for Syria, or let us say the Roman Orient generally, the identification I had proposed for the name Ta-ts'in. I have, however, always been of the opinion that, according to the knowledge of the Chinese, there was also a "Greater Fu-lin", just as modern developments have shown a Greater Britain grown out of little England. We are now at last in the position to prove that, whatever the vagueness in the Chinese mediaeval accounts of this country may have been, there was at least one traveller as early as the beginning of the eighth century who wrote Chinese and who knew that, besides the Fu-lin of the early Nestorians, there was a Greater Fu-lin to the North-west of it. This knowledge, which might have changed materially the accounts of Fu-lin in the two *T'ang-shu* had their authors known of the existence of the little work recently recovered from the rubbish of an abandoned Buddhist library, has been placed on record by a travelling priest making his way from India to China through Western and Central Asia. This little work, which had been lost to later generations and which possibly had never been circulated to any extent among readers in China, is the *Hui-ch'au-wang-wu-t'ién-chu-kuo-chuan*,[2] i. e., "Account of Hui-ch'au's travels to the countries of the Five Indies." What we have now is merely a fragment the beginning and end of which are lost; but, such as it is, the fragment is a most valuable contribution towards our knowledge of Western Asiatic countries as represented in Chinese literature. It is certainly not the least important among that stupendous mass of old manuscripts recovered by Professor Paul Pelliot from a rock chamber at Tun-huang during his great expedition in 1907—08. The first report on these dis-

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[1] J. A. O. S. xxx 7.

[2] 慧超往五天竺國傳.

coveries will be found in a letter addressed by Pelliot to Professor Sénart, dated Tun-huang, March 26, 1908, and reproduced in B.E.F.E.-O., Tome VIII, Nos. 3-4, 1908 (p. 11 seq. of the Reprint). On his way from Tun-huang to Paris, where the originals are now preserved, Professor Pelliot paid a visit to Peking. Some learned Chinese of the then Imperial capital were most enthusiastic about these unexpected additions to their native literature and some of them asked permission, before they were taken away to France, to photograph some of the texts discovered in Tun-huang. These texts were transcribed, edited and published by a well known Chinese scholar, Mr. Lo Chön-yü[1] of Peking, under the title *Tun-huang-shï-shï-i-shu*[2] in four fascicules. The book was laid before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres by Professor Chavannes and reported on in the *Comptes rendus* of June 1910, p. 245 seq. Messrs. Chavannes and Pelliot have already turned to account another important fragment published in this valuable collection[3] in their learned paper "Un traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine" in the *Journ. Asiatique*, X. Sér. 18, on p. 500 of which some further notes on Lo Chön-yü's publication will be found. That part of it which interests us on account of the Fu-lin question is Hui-ch'au's report referred to above.

A work of the same title is referred to in the Buddhist thesaurus *I-ts'ié-king-yin-i*, chap. 100. But here the first character, *Hui*, in the traveller's name in the title, as given in the body of the book, is 惠 instead of 慧, which character appears in the Index, though. This need not make us feel suspicious, because the two characters are often confounded in the names of Buddhist monks.[4] The book on which the *I-ts'ié-king-yin-i* is supposed to give a commentary must have been differently arranged, since on the one hand many of the names occurring in the fragment are not explained, and on the other it contains names not found in the fragment. In the text itself (p. 14) the traveller says that he came to An-si,[5] the seat of a Chinese

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[1] 羅振玉. [2] 敦煌石室遺書.

[3] For its loan I am indebted to Mr. K. Asakawa. Professor and Curator of Japanese and Chinese collections at Yale University, who was also the first to draw my attention to the occurrence in it of the names Little and Greater Fu-lin.

[4] Chavannes and Pelliot, op. cit. p. 504, n. 2.

[5] 安西.

resident, at the beginning of the eleventh moon of the 15th year of K'ai-yüan, which date corresponds to the year 727 A. D. The few years preceding this date must, therefore, be regarded as the time to which the traveller's account applies. This fragment, as far as it goes, covers the same ground as Hüan-tsang's *Ta-t'ang-si-yü-ki*, which is nearly a century older, and it repeats, or confirms, many of the facts we may gather from the older books. Yet it is full of interest on account of the clear idea it gives us of the political relations during one of the most interesting periods of Islamic rule in Western Asia. It also throws many valuable sidelights on questions not sufficiently clear in the accounts of previous and later authors. If, for instance, anyone were to doubt with the late Mr. Kingsmill[1] the identity of Su-lö[2] with Kashgar, the starting point of so many of his errors, a passage in Hui-ch'au's fragment saying that "the people of foreign countries themselves call it K'ié-shï-k'i-li,"[3] which name by all the rules of transcription represents the sound "Kashgir", is apt to remove every shadow of uncertainty. I subjoin the translation with the corresponding Chinese texts of a few pages which are apt to throw light on our subject. The headings (Persia, etc.) have been added by me.

Translation, pp. 10—11.

[Persia.]

From T'u-huo-lo [Tokharestan] you go one month and come to the country of Po-ssï [Persia]. The ancestors of these kings had held sway over the Ta-shï [Arabs]. The Ta-shï [Arabs] had been camel drivers to the kings of Po-ssï [Persia]. Afterwards they had rebelled and then killed the other kings and set themselves up as masters of the country. So it happened that now this country has been by force swallowed up by the Ta-shï [Arabs]. Their dress is the old one, namely a wide cotton shirt. They cut beard and hair. As regards food they indulge only in pastry and meat, but they have rice which is also ground into pastry and eaten. The country produces camels,

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[1] See my paper "Mr. Kingsmill and the Hiung-nu", *J. A. O. S.* xxx 35.

[2] 疎勒.

[3] 外國人呼伽師祇離國.

mules, sheep, horses of extraordinary height and donkeys, cotton cloth and precious stones. The dialects spoken in the country differ from each other and from those of the remaining countries. The inhabitants being by nature bent on commerce, they are in the habit of sailing in big craft on the western sea, and they enter the southern sea to the Country of Lions [Ceylon], where they get precious stones, for which reason it is said of the country that it produces precious stones. They also go to the K'un-lun country[1] to fetch gold. They also sail in big craft to the country of Han [China] straight to Canton for silk piece goods and the like ware. The country produces good fine cotton. The inhabitants enjoy the killing of living creatures [cattle]; they serve Heaven [Allah] and do not know the law of Buddha.

[The Ta-shï,-Arabs.]

From the country of Po-ssï [Persia][2] you go north ten days into the hills [the continent?] and reach the country of the Ta-shï [Arabs]. Their kings do not live in their native country,[3] but they saw their residence (moved) into the country of Siau-fu-lin.[4] On account of their having gained possession of that country by overcoming it, that country has retreated to places in the hills [on the continent?] and on islands but rarely visited.[5] That country produces camels, mules, sheep, horses, cotton cloth and wollen rugs. They have also precious stones. Their dress consists of a wide shirt of fine cotton and they throw over it a cotton cloth to serve as an upper garment.[6] The king and the people wear garments of the same kind and there is no distinction between them. The women also wear

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[1] Coast of Africa? Cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, etc., p. 149.

[2] Probably the western part of it, because Po-ssï was said in the preceding paragraph to be a month's journey west of Tokhara.

[3] Arabia with Medina as the capital of former caliphs.

[4] Little Fu-lin, Syria, with Damascus as the residence of Ommeyad caliphs ever since Muawyia transferred his capital from Medina to Syria and still so in 727, when the information laid down in this text had just been collected. Possibly 見＝現, "now" instead of "they saw."

[5] Possibly an allusion to the Byzantine Romans having been compelled to retreat from their Asiatic possessions in Syria to Asia Minor and Europe.

[6] Caftan.

wide shirts. Men cut the hair of their heads, but grow beards; women keep their hair growing. As to food, high and low without distinction eat from the same bowl, seizing food with their hands, but they also help themselves with spoons. In selecting [food] they look for the most unsavoury.[1] To eat what one has killed with one's own hands brings wealth without measure. The inhabitants love killing [living creatures, cattle]. They serve Heaven [Allah] and do not know the law of Buddha. The laws of the country do not contain the law of kneeling down.[2]

[Ta-Fu-lin.]

The country of Little Fu-lin[3] is near the sea. North-west of it there is the country of Greater Fu-lin. The army of this king is strong and numerous and [his kingdom] is not connected with [or subject to] the remaining countries. The Ta-shï have several times attacked it without effect.[4] And the T'u-küé[5] had encroached on its territory likewise without effect. The country has enough of precious stones and more than enough of camels, sheep, horses, cotton cloth and the like produce. The mode of dress resembles that of Po-ssï [Persia] and the Ta-shï [Arabs], but the language is different from either of these countries.

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[1] T. B. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam,* p. 104, quotes the following from Fagir Muhammad As'ad's directions for eating: "Let him not look from dish to dish, nor smell the food, nor pick and choose it. If there should be one dish better than the rest, let him not be greedy on his own account, but let him offer it to others."

[2] Before the king, — apparently referring to the first Arab embassy to the court of China, when the ambassadors refused to perform the prostration before the Emperor, because with their people "one knelt only before Heaven and not before the King."

[3] The characters 拂臨 here used answer in every respect to the usual way of writing the name, viz., 拂菻, and their ancient sound, *fat-lam* or *pat-lam,* is the same.

[4] The great final defeat of the Arabs in 718 must have been fresh in the traveller's memory when he wrote this paragraph.

[5] Turks, first mentioned in connection with Byzantium towards the end of the sixth century; here probably the Bulgars, a quasi-Turkish race, which in 679 had enforced the cession of the Roman province of Moesia and the payment of an annual tribute before the very gates of Constantinople.

Chinese Text, pp. 10—11.

從吐火羅國西行一月至波斯國此王先管大寔大寔是波斯王放駞戶於後叛便煞彼王自立爲主然今此國却被大寔所呑衣舊著寬氎布衫剪鬚髮食唯餅肉縱然有米亦磨作餅喫也土地出駞騾羊馬出高大驢氎布寶物言音各別不同餘國土地人性受與易常於西海汎舶入南海向師子國取諸寶物所以彼國云出寶物亦向崑崙國取金亦汎舶漢地直至廣州取綾絹絲綿之類土地出好細疊國人愛煞生事天不識佛法　又從波斯國北行十日入山至大寔國彼王住不本國見向小拂臨國住也爲打得彼國彼國復居山島處所極罕爲此就彼土地出駞騾羊馬疊布毛氎亦有寶物衣著細疊寬衫衫上又披一疊布以爲上服王及百姓衣服一種無別女人亦著寬衫男人剪髮在鬚女人在髮喫食無問貴賤共同一盆而食手把亦匙箸取見極惡云自手煞而食得富無量國人愛煞事天不識佛法國法無有跪拜法也　又小拂臨國傍海西北即是大拂臨國此王兵馬强多不屬餘國大寔數迴討擊不得突厥侵亦不得土地足寶物甚足駞騾羊馬疊布等物衣著與波斯大寔相似言音各別不同

Although a few details in these accounts of Persia, the Ommeyad country and Greater Fu-lin are not quite clear, there can be no doubt about the meaning of the terms Little and Greater Fu-lin (Ta-Fu-lin). This term Ta-Fu-lin can, of course, only refer to the Roman empire with its military power as opposed to "the remaining countries", i. e. Persia, the Arabs, etc. If the ambassadors of Nicephorus Melissenus were accepted by the Chinese court in 1081 as representing the country of Fu-lin (*J. A. O. S.* xxx 24 *seqq.*), it is probably owing to the fact that the existence of a Greater Fu-lin had been known for the preceding three or four hundred years. But this need not affect the question of the meaning of the term when it became first known in China and as it appeared to the historians of the two *T'ang-shu* accounts. I look upon the remark made

with regard to the shifting of the capital of the Ta-shï or Arabs,[1] — as one of the most incontestable proofs for the identity of Fu-lin, here called Siau-Fu-lin, with Syria.

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[1] For the Ta-shï 大寔 of this text is merely another way of writing the name Ta-shï 大食 of the *T'ang-shu*, Chau Ju-kua and other books.

Tamil Political Divisions in the First Two Centuries of the Christian Era. — By WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

The early history of the Tamil kingdoms in southern India is very obscure. From the 9th century onward there is almost a superfluity of epigraphic material. Prior to that time, inscriptions and coins as yet discovered are very few, and almost the only available references to South Indian political conditions are found in stray passages in Hindu and Tamil literature or in occasional references of trade with Greece and Rome.

It may be gathered that before the time of Alexander, the Tamil states, comprising some of the earliest racial elements in India, had been organized under a dynasty that had originated in northern, that is Aryan, India, and that in all probability established itself in Southern India as the result of a naval attack and invasion. This dynasty had first borne the name of Pāndya, and it claimed descent from Pāndu, the father of the Pāndava brothers, the heroes of the war recounted in the Mahābhārata. Several references in Greek literature speak in this connection. Arrian (*Indika*, VIII) derives the dynasty from Pandæa, "only daughter of Heracles among many sons. The land where she was born and over which she ruled was named Pandæa after her".

Whatever this dynastic connection may have been, it is certain that its power in South India began at the southern extremity of the peninsula, and that its first capital was at Korkai, the Colchi (Κόλχοι) of the Greek and Roman writers, and that it spread steadily northward until it embraced most of the Tamil elements as far as the border of the Andhra dominions, the modern Mysore. Subsequently the Pāndyan kingdom was separated into three independent states, Chēra,

Chōla and Pāndya (respectively Malabar, Coromandel, and Tinnevelly-Madura-S. Travancore). As such they are recorded in the second Rock Edict of Asoka. It seems evident that the boundaries of these three states varied greatly, and that while Chēra, the western kingdom, the modern Malabar, remained relatively quiet, the other two, Chōla and Pāndya, always the wealthiest and most powerful of the trio, were constant rivals and often open enemies.

From the 9th century onward the Chōla state was by far the most powerful of the three, and indeed conquered Pāndya and ruled it through a Viceroy who bore the official title of Chōla-Pāndya. But for many centuries before this extension of its power, it seems clear that the Chōla dynasty passed through a long period of relative weakness and almost extinction. One of the features of South Indian history is the incursion of the Pallavas, who established themselves over a great part of western and southern India, not as a colonizing people, but rather as a ruling caste maintaining itself by military power and commanding in that way the subjugation of the native peoples. This dynasty, whose capital was at Kanchī, is known to have flourished between the 4th and 9th centuries A.D., finally succumbing to the combined attacks of the Chalukya dynasty on its northern boundary, and the reviving Chōla power on the south. How long before the 4th century it may have asserted itself, is unknown. But certain indications regarding the political allegiance of the Chōla capital during the first two centuries of the Christian Era suggest that the Pallavas may even have been an important element at that time. It is known that a heterogenous assortment of foreign clans swept over western and southern India as early as the 1st century, that they set up a powerful state in the Cambay region under the Satrap Nahapāna, (78 A.D.) and that they carried on extensive raids farther to the south. In the following century when the Andhras succeeded in overthrowing Nahapāna's dynasty, they set up a memorial to record their victory over the combined Sakas, Yavanas and Pallavas, whom they despised as outcasts and sacrilegious innovators in settled Hindu customs. It is therefore not impossible that the Pallavas as the southern extension of this foreign incursion may have been making themselves felt as early as the 1st century of the Christian Era.

As already stated the earliest capital of the Tamil power was at Korkai. Before the Christian Era the capitals of the three states had been fixed at Karūr in Malabar, Madura and Uraiyūr, the modern Trichinopoly. Of these, the last seems to have been by far the richest, most populous and most active, industrially and commercially, of the three. This much may be gathered from the Tamil poems; but the Tamil literature, while it gives a vivid picture of the prosperity of the Chōla capital, does not refer clearly to its political allegiance. It seems to have been singularly subject to attack and control by widely differing political elements. And as early as the 1st century of the Christian Era, the dominant powers in Southern India seem to have been the Pāndyan kingdom and the invading Pallavas; the Chōla state being ground, as it were, between two mill-stones.

Strabo (XV, iv, 73) mentions an embassy from "King Pandion" to the Emperor Augustus in 20 B.C. Pliny (VI, 23), the Periplus (§ 54) and Ptolemy (VII) all agree in their accounts of the prosperous trade at the seaports on either side of Cape Comorin. It was a trade largely in the products of the Chōla textile industries and pearl fisheries, in the gems and spices of the Chēra and Pāndya hills, and in the gems and pearl fisheries of Ceylon, then controlled by the Pāndyan kings. From the Tamil poems we learn that the Chōla state maintained a considerable navy which was used for commercial purposes, trading across the Bay of Bengal and as far as the Straits of Malacca, and we know from the Periplus that the products of this far eastern trade were transshipped in the south Indian ports for delivery to the Roman world. It seems clear that the intermediate position of Pāndya enabled it, during the period from 50 B.C. to 150 A.D., approximately, to dominate all Tamil India, and that such parts of the Chōla state as had not fallen under Pallava dominion, were, if not subject to, at least dependent upon Pāndya. We may infer also that this supremacy of Pāndya was disputed, unsuccessfully, by Chēra.

The main highway across Southern India over which goods for the western trade were brought, is the Achenkōil Pass, and the terminus of this trade route was the port of Bacarē, mentioned by most of the Greek writers, and which I have identified as Porakād, the landing place of Kottayam. This

port, according to Pliny (VI, 23), had formerly been Pāndyan, but in his time, that is 70 A.D., approximately, belonged to Chēra. The Periplus, on the other hand, written some ten years later, makes Bacarē again Pāndyan (§ 54). Pliny mentions the Pāndyan capital, Madura, but knows nothing of the Chōla capital. The Periplus, on the other hand, after describing the Pāndyan dominions, speaks of another district beyond Colchi called the "Coast Country, which lies on a bay and has a region inland called Argaru", from which were exported muslins, "those called Argaritic" (§ 59).

In this passage we may discern a hazy and yet correct reference to the Chōla state, and to its capital Uraiyūr, the modern Trichinopoly, which, as I have pointed out in a recent paper (JRAS. Jan. 1913), may be identified with this Argaru of the Periplus. Uraiyūr is merely the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Uragapura, "town of the serpent", and the Greek transcription is very nearly correct.

Now Ptolemy, writing about 140 A.D., speaks of this place as "Argeirou in the land of Pandion" (VII) and Kalidāsa in the Raghuvāṁsa (dating from about 400 A.D.) refers to Uragapura as the capital of Pāndya (VI. 59—60).

How may we reconcile these later references that make Uraiyūr subject to, or dependent on, Pāndya with those earlier ones that clearly make it independent? The explanation seems to be found in this passage of the Periplus.

The language used by the author of the Periplus is very fixed in its reference to foreign states or districts. An independent kingdom is referred to as βασιλεία and a subject state or district as τόπος, or χώρα. Now while the author of the Periplus speaks of the "kingdom of Cerobothra" and the "Pandian Kingdom", he refers to Chōla only as a "district" called the "coast country"; and yet he knows enough about it to have mentioned its king, if there had been an independent king in his time, who levied tribute on foreign merchants. It seems fair to infer that even in the time of the Periplus, say 80 A.D., the Chōla state, while not conquered and incorporated into the Pāndyan Kingdom, had been reduced to a condition of helplessness between Pāndya and the Pallava country, so that for commercial purposes it was practically controlled by Pāndya.

That its commercial and industrial activity was not inter-

fered with is amply shown by Tamil poems that tell of the active trade of the capital and of its eastern seaport, Kāviripaddinam, which appears in the Periplus as Camara. It was evidently dependent upon the Pāndyan kings to such extent as its own rulers, the Chōla dynasty, had proven themselves unable to resist the Pallava incursions, and we may possibly read in the ship designs in the Pallava coinage of the 2nd century, some note of triumph in their ultimate invasion and control of that rich district. (Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, plates I. 38, and II. 45).

This fall of the Chōla power may be placed toward the end of the 2nd century; but it seems clear that it did not come about without a considerable revival of that power at some time during that century, when one of its kings named Karikāla, according to a Tamil poem, invaded Ceylon and carried of thousands of coolies to work on the embankment along the Kāviri River, 100 miles in length, which he is said to have constructed. (Pillai, *The Tamils 1800 years ago*, pp. 64–78; Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 416.)

The Chinese traveler Yuan-Chwang, who visited the Pallava capital Kanchī in 640 A.D., speaks of Chōla as in that time a very restricted territory, sparsely populated by fierce brigands. The location of this remnant of the once powerful Chōla dynasty may be placed in the Cuddapah district, considerably north of its earlier dominions. (Beal, II. 227—230; Vincent Smith, *Early History*, 409, 417, 421.)

The subsequent extension of its power during the middle ages was due to the economic advantages of its position when not outweighed by superior force.

It is a notable fact that Yuan-Chwang refers to the "country of Chōla" without naming a king, in exactly the same way as the Periplus 560 years before, indicating at both these periods that the district was under a local rājah, not exercising kingly power.[1]

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[1] For fuller references to these questions the reader is referred to the following titles: Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, and Mookerji, *A History of Indian Shipping*, both pub. by Longmans, 1912.

Classical Parallels to a Sanskrit Proverb. — By Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

In the story of the Blue Jackal the Hitopadeśa version has the following couplet: *yaḥ svabhāvo hi yasya syāt tasyā 'sāu duratikramaḥ | śvā yadi kriyate bhogī tat kiṁ nā 'śnāty upānaham,*[1] "Indeed the real nature which may belong to anyone, that is hard to overcome; even if a dog is well fed, doth he not nibble at a shoe?" The corresponding story in the Pañcatantra[2] does not contain this *śloka;* indeed I have not been able to trace the proverb farther in Indian literature.[3] But this fondness of the dog for leather is proverbially referred to in classical writers. We find the proverb[4] χαλεπὸν χορίῳ κύνα γεῦσαι[5] "'Tis dangerous to let a dog taste leather" first in Theocritus (x. 11), where the connection makes it clear that it applies to the acquisition of a bad habit which, once established, cannot be resisted. In a different wording the proverb

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[1] So in Schlegel and Lassen's edition (p. 92; iii. 58); Petersen's edition (*Bombay Sanskrit Series*, no. 33) reads (p. 105; iii. 56): *śvā yadi kriyate rājā tat kiṁ nā 'śnāty upānaham.*

[2] Hertel's edition (*Harvard Oriental Series* xi), p. 68; i. 11; Bühler's edition (*Bombay Sanskrit Series*, no. 3), p. 66; i. 10.

[3] Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche* (second edition), who cites the *śloka* as no. 5433 (vol. iii, p. 160), refers only to the Kavitāmṛtakūpa. — The Vṛddhacāṇakya (*Ind. Sprüche*[2], no. 2087) mentions "bits of a calf's tail and of an ass' skin" (*vatsapucchakharacarmakhaṇḍam*) as characteristic of a dog's abode; the Cāṇakya reads here *asthikhurapucchasaṁcayaḥ.*

[4] C. S. Köhler, *Das Tierleben im Sprichwort der Griechen und Römer*, 1881, p. 82 ff., nos. 57—61.

[5] In the Greek collections of proverbs χαλεπόν χορίου κύνα γεύειν appears repeatedly; cf. Leutsch, *Corpus Paroemiogr. Graec.* i. 376 (Gregorius Cyprius); ii. 51 (Diogenianus); ii. 226 (Macarius); ii. 719 (Apostolius); also Suidas ed. Gaisford-Bernhardy, ii, 2, col. 1585 = ed. Bekker, p. 1116. However, they take χορίον in another sense; the interpretation of Apostolius, to which that of the others is very similar, is as follows: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μικρῶν κακῶν χορούντων εἰς μεγάλα. τὸ ἔλυτρον τοῦ ἐμβρίου χόριον καλεῖται· οἱ δὲ κύνες γευσάμενοι τούτου καὶ τοῖς ἐμβρίοις διὰ τὸ λιχνὸν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν.

appears in Lucian, *advers. indoct.* 25, οὐδὲ γὰρ κύων ἅπαξ παύσαιτ' ἂν σκυτοτραγεῖν μαθοῦσα[1] ("for a bitch will never stop eating leather, if once she has learned to do so"), and in Alciphron, *Epist. paras.* 11, 5 (p. 72, 4 ed. Schepers = iii. 47), οὐδὲ γὰρ κύων σκυτοτραγεῖν μαθοῦσα τῆς τέχνης ἐπιλήσεται ("for a bitch that has learned to eat leather will ne'er forget the trick"). In meaning the Greek proverb differs from the Sanskrit. The latter refers to the fact that innate traits cannot be eradicated, the former inculcates the lesson of *Principiis obsta* (Ovid, *Rem. Amor.*, 92)[2]. Rather closer in sense to the Sanskrit proverb is the Latin, alluded to by Horace (Serm. ii. 5. 83): *Sic tibi Penelope frugist; quae si semel uno | De sene gustarit tecum partita lucellum, | Ut canis a corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto.*[3] In the form *Non leviter corio canis absträhetur ab uncto*[4] it occurs in Alanus de Insulis' *Doctrinale Minus s. Liber Parabolarum* (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 210, col. 581 c). A Bâle manuscript of the fifteenth century has *Non canis a corio subito depellitur uncto* (J. Werner, *Latein. Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters*, 1912, = *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, herausgegeben von A. Hilka, vol. iii, p. 56, no. 119).[5]

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[1] Gregorius Cyp. (Leutsch, ii. 126) cites this proverb in the form οὐδὲ κύων παύσαιτ' ἂν ἅπαξ σκυτοτραγεῖν μαθοῦσα; Apostolius (Leutsch. ii. 587) ends with μαθών, and explains the application: ὅτι τὸ ἔθος σχεδὸν ἀμετάβλητον. Cf. also Apostolius (Leutsch ii. 643) σκύτους ἕνεκα δέρεται κύων, κεῖνος δὲ σκυτοτραγεῖ· ἐπὶ τῶν γευσαμένων κακίας τινὸς καὶ οὕτω μὴ ἀποπαυομένων ἐκείνης.

[2] Cf. the fragment ascribed to Antiphanes (Meineke, *Com. Graec. Frag.*, iii. 160 = Kock, *Com. Attic. Frag.*, ii. 134, from Maximus, *Conf.* 41, p. 64) κύων μελετήσας σαρκῶν ἀπογεύεσθαι φυλάττειν οὐκέτι δύναται τὴν ἀγέλην, with which Haupt (*Opusc.* iii. 380) compares Demosthenes, XXV. 40, τοὺς γευομένους κύνας τῶν προβάτων κατακόπτειν φασὶ δεῖν.

[3] Peter of Blois cites this verse, *Epist.* XV (Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* vol. 207, col. 55 B; *Petri Blesensis Opera omnia*, ed. I. A. Giles, i. 57). — In spite of the scholiast and modern editors I am inclined to construe *uncto* not with *corio*, but with an implied *sene*.

[4] With the *var. lect.* "extorrebitur uncto". (Both passages are cited by Sutphen, *American Journal of Philology*, xxii. 22).

[5] In general, the fondness of dogs for a hide is referred to in Aesop's fable (218 Halm = 134 Schneider) Κύνες λιμώττουσαι (κύνες λιμώττουσαι ὡς ἐθεάσαντο ἔν τινι ποταμῷ βύρσας βρεχομένας etc.), quoted by Plutarch, περὶ κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν § 19, p. 1067 F (οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντας τῶν κυνῶν ἃς φησιν Αἴσωπος δερμάτων τινῶν ἐμπλεόντων etc.), and translated by Phaedrus 1. 20 (3, *corium*

The German proverb "An Riemen lernt der Hund Leder kauen" (Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon*, 1873, iii, col. 1683, *s. v.* "Riemen") resembles the Greek proverbs in meaning; its oldest occurrence is in a codex Sangallensis saec. XI: "Fone demo limble so beginnit ter hunt leder ezzen" (Müllenhoff und Scherer, *Denkmäler*[3], vol. I, no. xxvii, 1; further references in the notes, vol. II, p. 134).

What the relation of these proverbs to one another is, if indeed there be any connection, would require a full collection of such material, which might throw an interesting light on the connection of Hindu and European proverbs, and perhaps also on the relation of the fable literature of the Hindus and that of the Occident.

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depressum in fluvio viderunt canes). Martial (vi. 93. 4) mentions among malodorous objects a hide snatched away from a dog of the Fullers' Quarter, *detracta cani transtiberina cutis*.

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Atharvaprāyaścittāni. Text mit Anmerkungen von Prof. JULIUS VON NEGELEIN, University of Kœnigsberg, Germany.

Sachindex

(Die einzelnen Stellen sind von einander stets durch Semicola getrennt; die Anmerkungen, weil im Text mit fortlaufenden Ziffern versehen, hier nur durch diese, nicht zugleich durch die Angabe der entsprechenden Seite bezeichnet. Deshalb verweist z. B. unter Agnihotra die Zahl: "5. 3" auf den Text; das folgende: "Anm. 743" auf die S. 117 unter 743 stehende Notiz.)

Agnihotra cf. Āhavanīya; Gārhapatya. Seine Vollziehung unterbleibt Anm. 632; (cf. verstreichen lassen); es wird unrechtzeitig vollzogen 1. 2; 4. 4; 5. 1; cf. 5. 3; Anm. 743, 746, 760, 772, 778; seine Opferspeise — fällt herab 4. 3; kocht über 4. 3; Anm. 707; gelangt dabei ins Feuer Anm. 711; geht infolge des Aufplatzens der sthālī (oder ihres Umkippens 6. 3) verloren Anm. 714; geht teilweise oder ganz verloren 1. 3, 5; Anm. 49, 93; (cf. verschütten); — es wird durch Unreinigkeit besudelt 1. 3; (cf. Unreinigkeit); erleidet Unterbrechungen 2. 1 (s. eindringen); die zum A° gemolkene Milch wird geraubt 2. 1; das aufgesetzte (adhiśrita resp. anabhyuddhṛta) A° knistert(?) 4. 3; Anm. 701; das Agnihotra des Verreisten 1. 1; des von tötlicher Krankheit Betroffenen Anm. 318; auf der Reise Verstorbenen 2. 8; Anm. 308. — Der Adhvaryu-Priester darf sich während der Vollziehung des A° nicht umwenden 1. 3; Anm. 49; — die Kuh, welche die zum A°-Opfer nötige Milch gibt, brüllt 2. 4; zuckt Anm. 727; setzt sich nieder 2. 4; Anm. 186, 189, 754; ist trächtig 2. 5; Anm. 203.

Āhavanīya s. Agnihotra; Gārhapatya. Die Sonne geht über dem herausgenommenen Ā° auf resp. unter 1. 2; wann soll es dem Gārha°-Feuer entnommen werden? 1. 1; es erwacht, während das Gārha°-Feuer erlischt 1. 5; Anm. 79; greift um sich Anm. 826, 836; erlischt Anm. 296, 297, 949; wird in erloschenem Zustande übertragen 2. 7; 5. 4. — Zwischen

das Gārha°- und Ā°-Feuer drängen sich störende Elemente (s. eindringen). Beide Feuer erlöschen Anm. 772.

Asche. Das verunreinigte Agnihotra wird auf Asche geopfert 1. 3; ein Streif von Asche stellt den durch das Eindringen profaner oder unreiner Tiere oder Gegenstände unterbrochenen Zusammenhang beim Opfer her Anm. 63—64, 143; die störende Spur eines durch den Opferbezirk gelaufenen Hundes wird mit Asche bestreut Anm. 143, 818 (cf. Tiere); heiße Asche dient an Stelle eines Brandscheites zur Feuererzeugung Anm. 79; wird zur Wiedererzeugung eines heiligen Feuers berührt 2. 5; Anm. 772, 784; cf. 5. 1; die verunreinigte Opferspeise wird in Asche (oder Wasser) geworfen 2. 6; wenn die Asche von Opferfeuern sich vermischt, bedarf dieses der Sühne Anm. 870.

eindringen von Menschen, Tieren (s. d.) und leblosen Dingen (z. B. Kriegs- oder Lastwagen 1. 3; 5. 2) in den Opferbezirk (cf. Āhavanīya) Anm. 63, 143; von Raubvögeln oder Hunden 5. 2; von Menschen, Wagen, schwarzen Vögeln und anderen Lebewesen in diesen Anm. 818; — das Eindringen in den Opferbezirk wird entsühnt, indem man eine Kuh herüberführt Anm. 143; die störende Hundespur wird durch Bestreuen mit Asche unschädlich gemacht ibid.; Anm. 818 (s. Asche); durch Wasserguß getilgt ibid. (s. Wasser); der Prastotar oder Udgātar erleidet eine Unterbrechung 6. 5; — Störung bei den rātriparyāyās 6. 9; cf. Agnihotra.

fasten, Sühne dafür, daß der Opferveranstalter Speise genießt oder aufs Feuer gelangen läßt, bevor die heiligen Feuer Opferspenden erfahren haben 2. 4; Anm. 170; Speiseenthaltung beim Opfer Anm. 257; die Milch beim Agnihotraopfer wird nicht genossen, wenn der Opferveranstalter auf einer Reise zugrunde gegangen ist Anm. 318; dieser muß sich der Speise enthalten, wenn das ganze Opfermaterial verloren gegangen ist Anm. 723; vgl. 4. 3; muß samt seiner Gattin schweigend fasten, wenn er das Agnihotra nicht rechtzeitig begonnen hat 4. 4; cf. Anm. 760; darf von einer Ziege nicht genießen, wenn dieser in Ermangelung eines geweihten Feuers ein Opfer zugekommen ist 5. 2; Anm. 801; — nach dem anvādhāna ist der Genuß von Honig, Fleisch usw. verboten Anm. 863; Genuß von Soma, in den Regen gefallen, erst nach erfolgter Sühne möglich 6. 3; der Bruch der Gelübde-Vorschriften erfordert Sühne 5. 4; Anm. 863; die Feinde

genießen von der Opferspeise des Āhitāgni Anm. 846. Brahmanen dürfen unreine Speisen nicht genießen 4. 1.

Frau s. Unreinigkeit. Die Gattin des Opferveranstalters beteiligt sich am Agnihotra-Opfer 4. 4; ist unrein, wenn sie Zwillinge gebärt 5. 5; Anm. 875—6; menstruiert ist 4. 2; Anm. 684; unrein ist die Wöchnerin Anm. 684; beide verunreinigen deshalb nicht minder als ein Śūdra das Opfermaterial Anm. 257, 327.

Gārhapatya vgl. Āhavanīya. Wann soll das Āhavanīya-Feuer dem G.-Feuer entnommen werden? 1. 1; in welcher Weise? 1. 2; wenn der Gārhapatya- oder der Dakṣiṇā-'gni von seinem Platz herunterfällt (und übergreift), so soll man ihn (während bei dem gleichen, indes vom Āhavanīya-Feuer ausgehenden, Omen ein Mantra zu sprechen ist) schweigend zurücklegen Anm. 836 (vgl. das Herabfallen der Opferkohle s. Opferfeuer); Sühne nach dem Erlöschen des G.-Feuers oder des Dakṣiṇāgni Anm. 949; das G°-Feuer erlischt 6. 1; Anm. 927. — Gegenseitige Vermischung: des G.- und des Āhavanīya-Feuers Anm. 852; des G., des Dakṣiṇāgni und anderer Opferfeuer Anm. 854; von Opferfeuern überhaupt (s. d. und: vertauschen); von Soma 6. 6; Anm. 1049.

Gold, Verwendung des G. beim nicht rechtzeitigen Entzünden oder Erlöschen des Āhavanīya-Feuers 1. 2; 5. 1; Anm. 778, 800; beim Herabfallen des pṛṣadājya Anm. 877; bei der Schwangerschaft der Opferkuh 2. 5; — von Gold und Silber beim Erlöschen des Āhavanīya-Feuers Anm. 42, 296; beim Fehlen von Soma im Droṇa-Becher Anm. 1019.

Hund (cf. Tiere), dringt in den Opferbezirk ein 1. 3; 5. 2; Anm. 63, 818; raubt Opferteile 2. 5; frißt, beschnuppert oder berührt den Opferkuchen oder andere Opferteile Anm. 257; leckt, beschnuppert oder verunreinigt Opferschalen; er frißt aus ihnen Anm. 657, 661; seine das Opfer störende Spur muß entsühnt werden (s. Asche; Wasser).

Neu- und Vollmondopfer, ihr unrechtzeitiger Vollzug 2. 2; Anm. 142—3; verunglückter Vollzug 3. 10; Anm. 142; Verspätung beim Beginn 2. 2—3; 5. 3; Anm. 826, 847.

Opfer. In welcher Weise kann es mißglücken? Anm. 2; welche Substanzen sind opferbar? Anm. 614, 618.

Opferbutter, Schmelzbutter als Sühnemittel 1. 5; als solches bei der Verunreinigung des Opferkuchens angewendet 2. 1;

beim Verderben der Opferspeise gebraucht 2. 1; das niedergefallene Opfertier damit besprengt 2. 9; über die, aus Palāśa-Blättern gebildete, Figur eines Vermißten gegossen 3. 8; als Substitut für das avadāna angewendet 5. 5; Anm. 888. Dem Vollzug einer gewissen Sühnehandlung muß das Anblicken von Opferbutter vorausgehen Anm. 646; die Verunreinigung der Opferbutter verlangt Sühne Anm. 625; das pṛṣadājya fällt herab 5. 5; Anm. 877.

Opferfeuer cf. Āhavanīya; Gārhapatya; Substitution. Es gibt keinen Ersatz für das O. Anm. 614; die magische Bedeutung der O. 1. 1; Behandlung der O. bei, vor und nach einer Reise 1. 1; Sühne bei ihrem Erlöschen 2. 4, 5; 5. 1; 6. 1; Anm. 784, 927, 943, 949; der rituellen Verwendung vorzeitig erloschenen Feuers 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 297; der versehentlichen Wiederholung ihrer rituellen Anzündung Anm. 297; ihrer gegenseitigen Vermischung 2. 7; 5. 4; 6. 1; Anm. 279, 863, 870; Vermischung mit einem weltlichen Feuer 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 279, 863; mit einem Leichenfeuer 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 855; mit einem Waldfeuer 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 279; mit Wasser Anm. 284, 327 s. Wasser; einem himmlischen Feuer 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 290, 294; Sühne für den Fall, daß der Opferveranstalter in die Feuer eines anderen oder ein Fremder in dessen (des Opferveranstalters) Feuer den Opferguß tat; daß ein fremdes Feuer des letzteren Feuer kreuzte 5. 5; Anm. 143, 826, 874; daß (infolge Herabfallens der Kohle Anm. 836) die O. übergreifen oder ausgehen 5. 3; cf. Anm. 826, 836; Häuser in Brand setzen 5. 4; Anm. 863; — Verunreinigung des O. durch unreine Substanzen s. Unreinigkeit; Wasser; — seine Entzündung (auf rituellem Wege) will nicht gelingen 5. 2; Anm. 801, 836; es entzündet sich selbst Anm. 327. — Die Opferkohle erlischt vorzeitig Anm. 657; fällt aus der Umzäunung heraus Anm. 667; fällt herab 2. 6; fällt auf die Opferstreu 4. 1. — Die Reibhölzer werden unbrauchbar 2. 8; Anm. 327. — Unter den Opferfeuern werden genannt: āgnīdhrīya, āhavanīya, ukhya, auttaravedika, gārhapatya, dakṣiṇāgni, paśuśrapana, pītrya, śālāmukhīya.

Opfergefäß. Zerplatzen alles festen, Überströmen alles flüssigen Materials Anm. 1146; Zerbrechen, Spalten, Aufplatzen, Verbrennen der ukhā (cf. 6. 2; Anm. 1147), des somakalaśa, mahāvīra und der übrigen Opfergefäße 6. 9; Anm. 1147; — wenn ein O. bricht, soll man in einem anderen,

festeren, kochen 5. 5; das Platzen eines irdenen oder hölzernen O. 6. 5; des Opferbechers 6. 4, 6; Anm. 1028; eines Kochtopfes 4. 3; Anm. 713—4, 724; — die nārāśaṃsa erschöpfen sich 6. 5; Anm. 1046. Der Adhvaryu verrichtet das Upākaraṇa zum Stotra über einem Becher, der, mit Soma gefüllt, sich noch im Sadas befindet 6. 3; Anm. 980. Die sthālī kippt um 6. 3. Behandlung der O. eines Toten: die irdenen O. werden ins Wasser geworfen, die steinernen und ehernen aber an Brahmanen weggeschenkt 3. 7; Anm. 657, 661; verunreinigte hölzerne gegen gleichartige reine ausgetauscht Anm. 657; ihre Reinigung je nach ihrem Material vorgenommen Anm. 614. — Die Opferschale zerbricht und wird für das Opfer unbrauchbar 4. 1; Anm. 656—7, 661. Hunde oder ähnliche unreine Tiere beschnuppern sie; sie platzt; Opferschalen werden verwechselt; ihre Größe oder Zahl ist nicht die richtige; deren zwei oder mehrere gehen zugrunde Anm. 657, 661.

Opferkuchen, für Mitra als Sühneopfer 1. 2; für Varuṇa als Sühneopfer 1. 2; wird verunreinigt 2. 1; misrät, was Sühne verlangt 4. 1; Anm. 648; brennt an 2. 1; 4. 1; springt oder schnellt in die Höhe 4. 2; Anm. 694; kippt um Anm. 694; fällt um oder platzt Anm. 695 s. verschütten; schwindet dahin Anm. 652; wird durch Würmer usw. besudelt s. Unreinigkeit.

Opferpfosten. Der O. schlägt während der heiligen Handlung aus 2. 6; 5. 6; Anm. 247; wankt oder entwurzelt Anm. 248; fällt nieder 2. 6; eine Krähe läßt sich auf ihm nieder 2. 6.

Opferspende vgl. Opfertrank. Einzelne oder alle O. verunglücken 2. 1; 4. 1; werden vertauscht (s. d.); sind ungar (vgl. Anm. 652) angebrannt oder völlig verbrannt Anm. 126; werden von Tieren (s. d.) geraubt; werden genossen, bevor dem Opferfeuer die übliche Spende dargebracht ist s. fasten; fallen aus der Umzäunung des Opferplatzes heraus 4. 2; werden auf die Opferstreu verschüttet oder gelangen doch jedenfalls nicht ins Feuer Anm. 691; werden auf andere Weise verunreinigt (s. d.); in diesem Falle müssen sie durch ein opferreines Material substituiert (s. d.) werden; cf. Anm. 614. — Das pṛṣadājya fällt herab 5. 5; Anm. 877; der āgrāyaṇa wird von einem anderen benutzt 6. 3; er fällt herab oder geht aus Anm. 987; andere Libationen fallen herab ibid.; — Mißgriff bei der Vollziehung des Pravargya 6. 8.

— Das sānnāyya verunglückt 2. 1; wird durch Haare oder Würmer verunstaltet Anm. 119; cf. 4. 1; (andere Libationen fallen herab ibid.;) wird im Falle des vollständigen Verlustes durch den Opferkuchen ersetzt 2. 1; cf. Substitution; wird, wenn verdorben, über einen Ameisenhügel ausgeschüttet 4. 3; Anm. 664, 707, 741—2; läuft über Anm. 665; geht völlig verloren Anm. 665; die Kühe, welche die Milch dazu hergeben, dürfen nicht ihre Kälber getränkt haben 4. 1.

Opferspruch. Die Auslassung, Vertauschung, das Zuviel oder Zuwenig von Opfersprüchen erheischt Sühne 4. 1; Anm. 632, 646.

Opferstreu. Die O. respektive andere brennbare Bestandteile der Opferausrüstung geraten in Flammen 2. 5; Anm. 646; fallen herab 4. 1; ein Zuviel oder Zuwenig bei ihnen Anm. 646. Die O. wird durch die herabgefallene āhuti verunreinigt Anm. 691.

Opfertier. Das beim Opfer verwandte Tier (s. Agnihotra, die Kuh desselben) brüllt vor Hunger oder setzt sich nieder 2. 4; — das Opfertier entflieht Anm. 332, 1110; cf. Pferd; fällt nieder 5. 5; bricht zusammen, wird krank oder stirbt 2. 9; Anm. 332; darf bei der Opferung nicht brüllen Anm. 178.

Opfertrank. Geopferter und nicht geopferter, genossener und nicht genossener Soma vermischen sich mit einander 6. 6; Anm. 1049. Der Soma brennt an 6. 4; Anm. 1001; wird geraubt 6. 4; Anm. 1016; geht zugrunde, wird verschüttet 3. 4, 5; 6. 4; fließt über 2. 5; bleibt vom Prātaḥsavana übrig 6. 6; Somalibationen mißlingen 6. 3; Zufälligkeiten und Mißgriffe bei den drei täglichen Pressungen 6. 9; Anm. 1055. — Konkurrierende Somaopfer unter Landsleuten und Feinden 6. 6. Der zur Auspressung des Somatrankes verwandte Preßstein platzt 6. 3; Anm. 1028.

Opferveranstalter. Der O. ist in keinem Falle durch einen Stellvertreter ersetzbar Anm. 614; die heiligen Feuer werden magisch als sein Lebensodem aufgefaßt 1. 1; er darf nicht Speise genießen, bevor die heiligen Feuer Opferspenden empfangen haben Anm. 170; erfährt Schädigung durch Zauber (?) 6. 6; wird krank 2. 9;[1] 3. 9; cf. Anm. 1071; treibt die Priester (?) schlecht herbei 6. 9; stirbt — nach Anlegung des Agnihotra 2. 9; auf der Reise in einem Dorfe Anm. 143;

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[1] Unklare Stelle. Lies vielleicht: ya upatāpinaṃ (erg.: paśuṃ) yojayet ...

cf. 3. 6; am Upavasatha-Tage 2. 9; nach Vollendung der Opfer 2. 9; Anm. 561; nach der Weihe 2. 9; cf. 6. 7; ist verschollen 3. 6; erscheint wieder 3. 6; erscheint nicht 3. 6.

Opferwagen. Der O. fällt um 6. 1.

Pferd s. Opfertier; Tier. Das Pferd entweicht beim Roßopfer 6. 7; begattet sich während des Opfers 6. 7; ein Schimmel vertritt die Sonne und wird als das Symbol dieser in östlicher Richtung hingestellt, wenn man sie nicht aufgehen sieht, während die Verse des Frühgebets rezitiert werden 6. 7; — das Pferd entsühnt das herabgefallene pṛṣadājya durch Beschnuppern Anm. 877.

reisen cf. Opferveranstalter. Unterschied zwischen vorübergehendem Ortswechsel und dauernder Übersiedelung Anm. 16; Verhalten vor und nach einer Reise 1. 1; sterben auf der Reise 2. 8; Anm. 143; nach dem anvādhāna ist es dem Haushalter verboten, zu verreisen 4. 3; 5. 3; Anm. 863.

sānnāyya s. Opferspende.

Silber cf. Gold. Verwendung des S. beim nicht rechtzeitigen Entzünden des Āhavanīya-Feuers 1. 2; cf. Anm. 42.

Substitution. S.-Materialien beim Sühneopfer Anm. 6; cf. Opferspende; für das Opferfeuer und den Opferherrn gibt es keinen Ersatz Anm. 614; doch können Opferfeuer im Noṭfall durch weltliche Feuer ersetzt werden 5. 2; Anm. 801; an Stelle des weltlichen Feuers kann die rechte Hand des Brahmanen treten; an seiner Statt das rechte Ohr einer Ziege stehen; dieses durch darbha-Grasbüschel; die letzteren durch Wasser; dieses durch Gold substituiert werden. Diese sämtlichen Dinge gelten dann als zum profanen Gebrauch ungeeignet: den Brahmanen soll man nicht ansehen; die Ziege nicht genießen; auf dem darbha-Grase nicht sitzen; mit dem Wasser nicht die Füße waschen; das Gold nicht tragen 5. 2. Opferbutter als Substitut eines avadāna 5. 5; Anm. 888. Substitute für den Soma 6. 4; Anm. 1016—7, 1019. Beim Zugrundegehen der Opferspende muß ein opferreines Substitutionsmaterial herangeschafft werden Anm. 614. — An Stelle komplizierter Opferriten können im Notfalle einfache Handgriffe treten Anm. 863, 836; die Sattra in Ekāha verwandelt werden 3. 9.

Tiere s. Agnihotra; Opfertiere; Pferd; verunreinigen. Hund oder Raubvogel dringen in den Opferbezirk ein 5. 2; Anm. 808; rauben Opferteile 2. 5; Hund, Wildschaf, Katze

und Wildschwein (Anm. 63), Löwe, Hyäne, Schakal, Krähe usw. stören das Opfer Anm. 818; deshalb muß ihre Spur entsühnt werden (s. Asche; Wasser); Eber, Katze, Büffel oder Raubvogel sind nach Opferfleisch begierig 3. 10; Hunde usw. belecken, beschnuppern und verunreinigen die Opferschalen; cf. Opfergefäß; Hund, Raubvogel, Krähe, Maulwurf, Katze, Ichneumon usw. fressen, beschnuppern oder berühren Opferkuchen Anm. 257; die Krähe genießt vom Opferkuchen Anm. 197; setzt sich auf den Opferpfosten 2. 6; dringt in den Kreis des Agnihotra ein Anm. 818; Insekten besudeln die Opferspeise Anm. 257; Würmer suchen sie heim 2. 6; verderben sie Anm. 119; verunreinigen das Agnihotra 4. 3. Ein weißes Pferd wird angewendet, wenn die Rezitation der Frühgebete nicht mit dem Sonnenaufgang zusammenfällt 6. 7; Anm. 1104; das Pferd entsühnt das herabgefallene pṛṣadājya durch Beschnuppern Anm. 877; Sühne ist erforderlich, wenn beim Pferdeopfer der Hengst nicht zurückkehrt oder wenn er die Stute beschält 6. 7; — das Rind entsühnt den störenden Einbruch in den Opferbezirk Anm. 63, 143; cf. Asche; — die Ziege kann als Substitut für ein Opferfeuer Spenden empfangen 5. 2; Anm. 801; ein weißer Ziegenbock wird der Sonne als Sühne dargebracht 6. 7; Anm. 1105.

Unreinigkeit cf. Asche; Tiere; Wasser. Drei Klassen von unreinen Dingen gibt es: das durch a) Geburt, b) Kontakt und c) Vermischung Unreine z. B. a) eine Zwiebel, b) den Śūdra und c) einen an sich reinen, aber mit rituell unreinen Dingen wie Kot usw. in Berührung gekommenen Gegenstand; man kann also: 1. von Hause aus unrein sein, 2. durch Berührung mit befleckten Mitmenschen oder verderbten Dingen und 3. durch das Eindringen von Unreinem unrein werden Anm. 614; — über unreine Tiere (s. d.) spricht der Text häufig; auch redet er von verbotenen Menschen: die Gattin des Opferveranstalters ist unrein, wenn sie menstruiert ist 4. 2; Anm. 684; desgl. die Wöchnerin ibid.; beide müssen deshalb dem Opfer fern gehalten werden s. Frau. Sühne ist notwendig, wenn ein menstruierendes Weib, eine Wöchnerin oder ein Śūdra die Opferspeise berühren Anm. 257; wenn unreine Weiber, niedere Menschen oder unreine Tiere (Esel, Schwein, Krähe; — ferner der Hund 1. 3) sie verderben Anm. 327; oder wenn die gleichen Wesen resp. Dinge, wie Kot, Urin, Same, Eiter, Tränen, Knochen, Abfälle usw.,

desgl. ein Wassertropfen, das Opferfeuer verunreinigen Anm. 327; cf. Anm. 859; wenn dieses sich mit einem Leichenfeuer mischt 5. 4; Anm. 855. Als besonders unrein und deshalb dem Opfer gefährlich gelten Haare usw. Anm. 126; Haare, Nägel, Würmer und andere ekelhafte Dinge Anm. 257; besonders Würmer 2. 6; Ausscheidungen des menschlichen Körpers, zu denen auch Blut und Träne gehören, wenn die letztere eine Schmerzensträne ist (vgl. die Entheiligung des Soṁa durch einen Wasser- oder Regentropfen s. Wasser;) Anm. 257, 616, 864; ferner Abfälle aller Art, sowie Leichen und Leichenteile Anm. 327; — als verunreinigend gilt die Erde, wenn (infolge Überlaufenlassens kochender Flüssigkeiten oder fahrlässiger Handlungen anderer Art) dieselbe mit dem Opfermaterial in Berührung kommt Anm. 711, 1146; ja unter den gleichen Umständen selbst das Feuer Anm. 711; — das Verunreinigte vernichtet man, indem man es in Asche (s. d.), Wasser (s. d.) oder vermittelst eines Palāśa-Blattes auf einen Ameisenhaufen schüttet s. Opferspende. — Die Verunreinigung mag besonders häufig die flüssige Opferspeise (sānnāyya s. Opferspende), sowie den festen Opferkuchen (2. 1) und überhaupt das Material des überaus oft vollzogenen und häufigen Störungen ausgesetzten Agnihotra betroffen haben 1. 3. Unter den ihr ausgesetzten Opfergeräten spielten die carusthālī (Topf zum Kochen des Opfermuses) eine Rolle 1. 3; aber auch die übrige Opferausrüstung (Streu usw.) kann durch Kot, Urin oder ähnliches verunreinigt werden Anm. 646. — Wenn die ganze Opferspende verunreinigt ist, muß das Opfer von neuem begonnen werden 4. 1.

verschütten cf. Agnihotra; Gārhapatya. Das Verschütten der beim Agnihotra gebrauchten Milch 1. 3, 5; 4. 3; Anm. 49, 93, 186, 707, 711, 714, 718, 723, 727; des Opfermaterials Anm. 126, 621, 727; des Inhalts des Somabechers 2. 5; des Somatrankes 3. 4; des Opfermuses Anm. 621; der Opferbutter 4. 1; der vasatīvarī 6. 2; der zu religiösen Zwecken gebrauchten Wasser Anm. 962; der āhuti 4. 2; des pṛṣadājya 5. 5; Anm. 877; des āgrayaṇa 6. 3; der Opferkohle 2. 6; 4. 1; cf. Opferfeuer, sein Übergreifen. — Entsühnung: s. Pferd; Tiere.

Verstreichen-lassen (cf. Agnihotra). Das V.-l. des zum Neu- und Vollmondopfer vorgeschriebenen Termins 2. 2—3; Anm. 826; des allmorgendlichen und allabendlichen Agni-

hotra (s. d.); die Sonne geht über dem nachmittäglichen Pravargya unter 6. 8; über einer der drei täglichen Somapressungen unter 6. 9. — V.-l. des Manenopfers Anm. 760; irgendeines Opfers oder Opfergliedes ibid.; cf. Anm. 844; Versäumnis einer Observanz Anm. 760. Wenn man beim Rezitieren des Frühgebetes die Sonne nicht im Osten sieht, soll man ihr einen weißen Ziegenbock opfern 6. 7; Anm. 1104; beim Versäumen eines Zeitpunktes soll man die pāthīkṛtī-Sühne ausführen Anm. 825.

Vertauschen der heiligen Handlung 3. 4; Anm. 633; der heiligen Sprüche 4. 1; Anm. 637; der Gottheiten, denen die einzelnen Opfer gelten 4. 1; Anm. 633, 637, 642; (ihre verspätete Erwähnung 4. 1; Anm. 642); der Opferbutter, des Opfermaterials Anm. 637; der heiligen Feuer s. Opferfeuer.

Wasser s. Asche. Verunreinigtes Wasser wird fortgegossen Anm. 614. Merkwürdigerweise gilt Wasser als unrein, selbst wenn es nur tropfenweise ins Opferfeuer fällt Anm. 327; deshalb macht der Regentropfen, welcher das Agnihotra-Material benetzt, dessen Wiederholung nötig 4. 3; Anm. 736, 742; wenn in den Soma Regen fällt, muß Sühne erfolgen 6. 3; ja selbst die Träne entweiht 5. 4; Anm. 257, 616, 863. — Das Wasser wirkt im Ritual bisweilen entsühnend; cf. Anm. 614. Das zum Reinigen der Füße benutzte Wasser darf nicht ausgehen 6. 5. Ein Wasserstrahl stellt die durch einen Einbruch zwischen zwei Opferfeuern unter diesen verlorengegangene magische Verbindung wieder her 1. 3; Anm. 63, 64, 143. Mit Wasser werden die Spuren ominöser, das Opfer störender Wesen verwischt Anm. 818; cf. eindringen; mit ihm findet die Reinigung goldner und silberner Opfergeräte statt Anm. 614. — Vorzugsweise aber dient das Wasser dazu, alles Unreine aufzunehmen und zu vernichten: unreine Dinge überhaupt 4. 1; Anm. 614, 616, 724; namentlich wird grundsätzlich und stets alle verdorbene oder durch Würmer verunreinigte (s. Unreinigkeit) Opferspeise ins Wasser geworfen Anm. 742; cf. 2. 6; Anm. 257, 617, 621; desgleichen jedes angebrannte (Anm. 126) oder infolge Überkochens herabgeflossene Opfergut Anm. 714; aber auch die unbrauchbar gewordene Opferausrüstung: vom Feuer angegriffene Reibhölzer Anm. 327; geplatzte oder verunreinigte irdene oder hölzerne Gefäße 6. 5; Anm. 657, 661; die irdenen Gefäße eines Toten 3. 7; cf. Opfergefäß.

Register der Vers- und Yajus-Anfänge.

agna āyāhi vītaye 2. 7.
agnaye 'nnādāyā 'nnapataye svāhā 1. 1.
agnaye 'bhyujjuṣasva svāhā 4. 4.
agnaye yaviṣṭhāyā 'ṣṭākapālaṃ 6. 6.
agnaye rathaṃtarāya svāho 'ṣase svāhā paṅktaye svāhā 'śvibhyāṃ svāhā 6. 9.
agnaye suśīryatamo juṣasva svāhā 4. 4.
agnaye somāya viṣṇava indrāgnibhyāṃ prajāpataye 3. 9.
agnaye svāhā yajñāya svāhā brahmaṇe svāhā viṣṇave svāhā prajāpataye svāhā 'numataye svāhā 'gnaye sviṣṭakṛte svāhā 6. 9.
agnaye svāhā vasubhyaḥ svāhā gāyatryai svāhā 6. 9.
agniṃ vayaṃ trātāraṃ havāmahe 2. 2.
agnijihvā manavaḥ sūracakṣasaḥ 6. 1.
agninā 'gniḥ samidhyate 2. 7.
agninā 'gniḥ saṃsṛjyate 6. 1.
agninā tapo 'nvabhavat 5. 6.
agniṃ naro dīdhitibhir araṇyoḥ 6. 1.
agniḥ pravidvān iha tat karotu 6. 2.
agnim īḷe purohitaṃ 2. 7.
agniṃ pṛthivyā adityā upasthe 1. 3.
agniṃ pṛthivyām amṛtasya jityai 1. 2.
agnir jyotir jyotir agniḥ 1. 2.
agnir nas tena nayatu prajānan 2. 3.
agnir bhūmyāṃ 1. 3.
agnir mā pātu vasubhiḥ purastāt 2. 9; 6. 9.
agniś ca deva savitaḥ 2. 4.
agniḥ śucivratatamaḥ 2. 7.
agne vgl. ā 'gne.
agne kāmāya yemire 5. 3.
agne prāśnāhi prathamaḥ 2. 4.
agneṣ ṭe vācaṃ spṛṇomi svāhā 2. 9.
aghoro yajñiyo bhūtvā 4. 2.
aṅgāni . . . ta ukthyaḥ pātu 6. 6.
achinnaṃ tantuṃ pṛthivyā anu geṣaṃ 6. 2.
ajasrayā sūrmyā yaviṣṭha 6. 1.
ajasro vakṣi devatātim acha 6. 1.
atha dṛṣṭam adṛṣṭaṃ no duṣkṛtaṃ karat 2. 3.
atharvabhiḥ śāntaḥ sukṛtām etu lokaṃ 2. 6.
adābhyaṃ bṛhaspatiṃ vareṇyaṃ 4. 1.
aditiḥ sindhuḥ pṛthivī uta dyauḥ 6. 1.
adbhutāni vācako japaṃ 3. 6, 7.
adbhyas te rasaṃ spṛṇomi svāhā 2. 9.
adhā devaiḥ sadhamādaṃ madema 1. 3.
anaṃgandhĭ (?) 2. 5.
anupūrvaṃ vṛṣaṇā codayaṃtā 6. 9.
anulbaṇaṃ vayata joguvām apaḥ 1. 3.
anuṣṭubhaṃ chaṃdaso yaṃ 3. 4.
anūnaṃ hitvā ātmānaṃ 3. 4.
antarikṣāt ta ākāśaṃ spṛṇomi svāhā 2. 9.
aṃtarikṣe turīyaṃ 1. 5.
anv agniḥ 5. 3.
apaścādaghvānnasya bhūyāsaṃ 2. 7.
apām agnis tanūbhiḥ 2. 7.
apām ūrmiḥ 6. 2.
ape 'maṃ jīvā arudhan gṛhebhyaḥ 2. 9.
apsu turīyaṃ 1. 5.
apsv antaḥ 2. 1.
abhayaṃ vo 'bhayaṃ me 'stu 1. 1.
amitrāṇāṃ śriyaṃ bhūtiṃ 2. 5.
amuṃ samūha 4. 3.

amṛtaṃ devatāmayaṃ 6. 1.
amṛtāhutim amṛtāyāṃ juhomi 1. 2.
amo 'ham asmi sā tvaṃ 4. 2.
ayaṃ devo bṛhaspatiḥ 6. 1.
ayaṃ no agnir adhyakṣaḥ 1. 5.
ayaṃ no 'gniḥ 6. 5.
ariṣṭebhir aśvinā saubhagebhiḥ 6. 1.
arkaś ca tvā 'śvamedhaś ca śṛṇītāṃ 6. 3.
avadagdhaṃ duḥsvapnyam avadagdhā arātayaḥ sarvāś ca yātudhānyaḥ 2. 5.
ava yakṣva no varuṇaṃ rarāṇaḥ 4. 1.
avādhamāni bādhata 4. 1.
aśvaṃ na gūḍham aśvinā durevaiḥ 6. 9.
aśvasā vājasā uta 6. 3.
aśvāvat soma vīravat 2. 6.
asapatnaṃ purastāt 1. 5.
asau ya udayāt paścād vasāno nīlalohitaḥ 2. 3.
astam ive 'j jarimāṇaṃ jagamyāṃ 6. 9.
asthibhyas te majjānaṃ spṛṇomi svāhā 2. 9.
asmān indrāgnī avataṃ śacībhiḥ 6. 9.
asminn āsīda barhiḥ 4. 2.
asya patiḥ syāṃ sugavaḥ suvīraḥ 6. 9.
ahaś ca tvā rātrīś ca śṛṇītāṃ 6. 3.
ahnā yad enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpaṃ 1. 2.

ā 'gne pāvaka dīdyat 5. 1.
ā 'gne pāvako arciṣā 5. 1.
ā ca dyotate 2. 7.
ājyena tejasā "jyasva 4. 2.
ātmāṅgair yajñaṃ pṛthivī śarīraiḥ (?) 3. 10.
ātmānaṃ ta āgrāyaṇaḥ pātu 6. 6.
ātmā yajñasya raṃhyā 6. 3.
ādityānāṃ tvā devānāṃ vyātte 'pi dadhāmi 2. 9.
ādityās tvā tarpayantu 6. 3.
ānuṣṭubhīṃ parṣām adhaḥśirā 'vapadyasva 2. 9.
ā no yāhi tapasā janeṣu 5. 1.
ā no rayiṃ vahatām ota vīrān 6. 1.
āpattau somaṃ ca 3. 5.
ā pavasva hiraṇyavat 2. 6.
ā bharataṃ śikṣataṃ vajrabāhū 6. 9.
ābhyo yonibhyo adhi jātavedāḥ 5. 1.
āyāhi tapasā janiṣu 5. 1.
āyurdā asi dhruva āyur me dāḥ svāhā 6. 3.
āyuś ca tasya bhūtiṃ ca 2. 4.
āyuṣ te dhruvaḥ pātu 6. 6.
ā viśvāny amṛtā saubhagāni 6. 1.
āsīda sadanaṃ svaṃ 4. 2.
ā 'haṃ yajñaṃ dadhe nirṛter upasthāt 4. 1.

ita eva prathamaṃ jajñe agniḥ 5. 1.
idaṃ viṣṇur vicakrame 5. 2.
idaṃ ta ekaṃ 5. 3.
idaṃ barhir amṛtene 'ha siktaṃ 2. 5
idāvatsarāya 2. 4.
indur indum avāgāt 6. 3.
indor indro 'pāt 6. 3.
indrapītasyo 'pahūtasyo 'pahūto bhakṣayāmi 6. 3.
indrasya kukṣir asi 2. 5.
indrāgnibhyāṃ svāhe 'ndrāviṣṇubhyāṃ svāhā 6. 9.
indrāt te balaṃ spṛṇomi svāhā 2. 9.
indrāya kṛṇvatī bhāgaṃ 2. 4.
indrāya svāhe 'ndrāṇyai svāhā chandobhyaḥ svāhā 6. 9.
indrāya harivate 6. 8.
indriyavān madintamaḥ 6. 2.
indreṇa devān 5. 6.
imaṃ yajñaṃ mimikṣatāṃ 4. 1.
ime nu te raśmayaḥ sūryasya 6. 9.
imo agne vītatamāni havyā 6. 1.
iṣā yātaṃ nāsatyo 'pa vājaiḥ 6. 9.
iṣe rāye ramasva 5. 1.
iha gāvaḥ prajāyadhvaṃ 5. 5.
iha no devā mahi śarma yachata 4. 1.
iha prajāṃ dīrgham āyuś ca dhehi 2. 5.
ihānvīcamatibhiḥ (?) 6. 8.
ihai 'va kṣemya edhi 4. 4.

ukhāṃ svasāram adhi vedim asthāt 6. 2.
uta paśyann aśnuvan dīrgham āyuḥ 6. 9.
uttiṣṭha devy adite 2. 4.
utpruṣo vipruṣaḥ saṃjuhomi 1. 3.

ud agne śucayas tava 2. 7.
udasthād devy adite 2. 4.
ud uttamaṃ varuṇa 4. 1, 3.
ud uttamaṃ mumugdhi naḥ 4. 1, 3.
uddharā "havanīyaṃ 1. 1.
uddhriyamāṇa uddhara pāpmano mā yād avidvān yac ca vidvāṃś cakāra 1. 2.
undatīḥ suphenāḥ jyotiṣmatīs tamasvatīḥ 6. 2.
upajīvā nāma sthā tā imaṃ jīveta 6. 6.
upahūto 'haṃ sumedhā varcasvī 1. 4.
upāṃśusavanas te vyānaṃ pātu 6. 6.
upāṃśv-antaryāmau ... te prāṇāpānau pātāṃ 6. 6.
upe 'māṃ suṣṭutiṃ mama 5. 1.
uru viṣṇo vikramasva 2. 2.

ūrg asy ūrjaṃ mayi dhehi 6. 1.

ṛtave tvā 2. 9.
ṛdhyāsma putraiḥ paśubhiḥ 6. 5.
ṛbīṣād atriṃ muṃcatho gaṇena 6. 9.
ṛṣiṃ narāv aṃhasaḥ pāñcajanyaṃ 6. 9.
ṛṣiṃ narā vṛṣaṇā rebham apsu 6. 9.

eṣā te agne 3. 7.

oṃ svar janat (cf. svar janat) 3. 4; 4. 1.
oṃ bhuvo janat (cf. bhuvo janat) 3. 4; 4. 1.
oṃ bhūr janat (cf. bhūr janat) 4. 1.
oṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ svar janat 3. 4; 4. 4.
oṣadhībhyas te lomāni spṛṇomi svahā 2. 9.

kakṣīvantaṃ ya auśijaḥ 4. 1.
kavir gṛhapatir yuvā 2. 7.
kasmai devāya haviṣā paridadema 3. 10.
kāyamāno vanā tvaṃ 6. 2.
kim utpatasi kim utproṣṭhāḥ 4. 2.
kṛṇuhi brahmaṇaspate 4. 1.

gaccha tvam ādāya parāvato 'nyān 2. 5.
garbho na mṛtaḥ 6. 3.
gavīṃdrāgnī kalpatā yuvaṃ 6. 6.
gāyatrīṃ parṣām adhaḥśirā 'vapadyasva 2. 9.
gāyatryā tvā śatākṣarayā saṃdadhāmi 4. 1.
gāyatryai chandase'bhibhūtyai svāhā 6. 6.
gṛṇāno havyadātaye 2. 7.
goṣā indo nṛṣā asi 6. 3.

gharmo viśvāyuḥ 4. 1.

candrāt te mana[ḥ] spṛṇomi svāhā 2. 9.
cālyakaṃ ca(?) 6. 2.

chidrayā vācā chidrayā jihvā(?) 3. 10.

janitā vayaṃ mā loko 'nusaṃtanutāṃ 1. 5.
jāgatīṃ parṣām adhaḥśirā 'vapadyasva 2. 9.
jīvalā nāma stha tā imaṃ jīveta saṃjīveta 6. 6.
jīvā nāma sthā tā imaṃ jīveta 6. 6.
jīvikā nāma sthā tā imaṃ jīveta saṃjīveta 6. 6.
juṣṭo hotā vareṇyaḥ 2. 1.
jyotir bhūtvā devān apy etu(?) 1. 5.
jyotiṣmataḥ patho rakṣa dhiyā kṛtān 1. 3.

taṃ vo mā 'va kramiṣaṃ 6. 2.
tato no abhayaṃ kṛdhi 2. 4.
tato no vṛṣṭyā 'vata 6. 2.
tato mā draviṇam āṣṭa 1. 5.
tatra rayiṣṭhām anusaṃbharai 'tāṃ 5. 2.
tatre 'maṃ yajñaṃ yajamānaṃ ca dhehi 2. 6.
tad it padaṃ na viciketa vidvān 6. 3.
tad vai purāṇam abhinavaṃ stṛṇīṣva 2. 5.
tantuṃ tanvan rajaso bhānum anvihi 1. 3; cf. 6. 5.
tan no astu viśāmpate 2. 5.
tan no mitro varuṇo māmahantāṃ 6. 1.

taṃ deveṣu paridadāmi vidvān 4. 1.
taṃ nirjagāmo haviṣā ghṛtena 2. 6.
taṃnvaṃs tantur upa sedur agne 1. 3.
tapa śaṃsam araruṣaḥ parasya 5. 6.
tapā tapiṣṭha tapasā tapasvān 5. 6.
tapo vaso cikitāno acittān 5. 6.
tapo hy agne aṃtarām amitrāṃ 5. 6.
tam ajarebhir vṛṣabhis tava svaiḥ 5. 6.
tam abhyukta etena saṃdadhāmi 3. 4.
tayā 'nantaṃ kāmam ahaṃ jayāmi 1. 2.
tayā me hy āroha 3. 7.
tayā me hy āviśa 3. 7.
tava jyotīṃṣy arcayaḥ 2. 7.
tābhiṣ ṭvam ubhayībhiḥ saṃvidānaḥ 6. 2.
tām eṣāṃ pariṇirjahi 2. 5.
tubhyaṃ tā aṅgirastama 5. 3.
tṛtīyaṃ tṛtīyena jyotiṣā 5. 3.
tejodā asi dhruvas tejo me dāḥ svāhā 6. 3.
tena narā vartir asmabhyaṃ yātaṃ 6. 9.
te no rakṣantu sarvataḥ 2. 5.
tya tha dṛṣṭam adṛṣṭaṃ no duṣkṛtaṃ karat 2. 3.
trātāram indraṃ 1. 5; 2. 1, 2; 6. 9.
trāyatām asmāt (?) 2. 2.
trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt 6. 3.
tredhā nidadhe padaṃ 5. 2.
traiṣṭubhīṃ parṣām adhaḥśirā 'vapadyasva 2. 9.
tvaṃ hi vettha yathā haviḥ 2. 4.
tvaṃ hy agne agninā vipraḥ 2. 7.
tvam agne vratapā asi 2. 4, 8.
tvam agne saprathā asi 2. 1, 3, 8.
tvaṃ tantur uta setur agne 1. 3.
tvaṃ no agne 4. 1; 6. 1.
tvaṃ no agne varuṇasya vidvān 4. 1.
tvam eva no jātavedaḥ 2. 5.
tvaṃ pathā rajasi devayānaḥ 1. 3.
tvayā 'gne pṛṣṭhaṃ vayam āruhema 1. 3.
tvayā yajñaṃ vitanvate 2. 1.
tvaṣṭā me daivyaṃ vacaḥ 2. 6.
tvaṣṭre svāhā 2. 6.
tvāṃ yajño viṣṇuḥ 3. 4.
tvāṃ śasvanta upa yanti vājāḥ 6. 1.

dakṣakratū te mitrāvaruṇau pātāṃ 6. 6.
dakṣaś ca tvā mānasaś ca śṛṇītāṃ 6. 3.
darbho rājā samudriyaḥ 2. 5.
darśaś ca tvā paurṇamāsaś ca śṛṇītāṃ 6. 3.
digbhyas te jyoti[ḥ] spṛṇomi svāhā 2. 9.
divaṃ stabdhvā 'ntarikṣaṃ ca 6. 1.
divaṃ pṛthivīṃ 2. 5.
divas parjanyād antarikṣāt samudrāt 6. 2.
divā vṛdham (?) 3. 10.
divi turīyaṃ 1. 5.
divi hotrām airayat svāhā (?) 3. 10.
divo 'chata (?) 6. 8.
duritāt pāhi tasmāt 2. 5.
dūredṛśaṃ gṛhapatim atharyuṃ 6. 1.
devasya heḍo 'vayāsiṣṭhāḥ 4. 1.
devā udno datto 'dadhiṃ bhintta 6. 2.
devāñ janam agan 4. 1.
devān apy etu (?) 1. 5.
devānāṃ devaḥ 6. 3.
devān yajñena bodhaya 2. 4.
devān yajño 'gāt 1. 5.
devā yujo mitrāvaruṇā 'ryamā yuktaṃ 6. 2.
devā vasav[y]ā agne indra sūrya 6. 2.
devāḥ sapītayo apāṃ napāt tanūnapāt 6. 2.
devo devebhyo havyaṃ vahatu prajānan 5. 1.
doṣā vastoḥ svāhā 4. 4.
dyubhir aktubhiḥ paripātam asmān 6. 1.
dyauś ca tvā pṛthivī ca 6. 3.
dyauś ca ma indraś ca me 6. 5.
drapsaś caskanda 2. 5.
dvitīyaṃ dvitīyena 5. 3.
dviṣantam agne dviṣatāṃ ca vittaṃ 2. 5.

dhartri dharitri janitri yamitri 6. 1.
dhātā dadātu pituḥ pitānaṣṭaḥ 4. 1.
dhānā dadhātu naḥ pūrṇā darve 2. 4.

dhruvaṃ dhruveṇa 6. 3.
dhruvā dyauḥ 6. 3.

naktaṃ cid dūra ā sate 5. 6.
na tat te agne pramṛṣe nivartanaṃ 6. 2.
namas te astv āyate 4. 1.
namas te pathyā revatī (?) 1. 4.
namas te bhuvaḥ 6. 2.
na me yajño yajamānaś ca riṣyāt 2. 6.
namo astu parāyate 4. 1.
namo yatra niṣīdasi 4. 1.
namo rudrāya mīḍhuṣe 2. 4.
narāśaṃsa udno datto 'dadhiṃ bhintta 6. 2.
na vāṃ jūryaṃti pūrvyā kṛtāni 6. 9.
nā 'ntarāgamanaṃ teṣāṃ sādhu vichedanād bhayaṃ 1. 3.
nirdagdhā no amitrāḥ 2. 5.
ni hotā satsi barhiṣi 2. 7.
nediṣṭho asyā uṣaso vyuṣṭau 4. 1.

para ū ta ekaṃ 5. 3.
pari naḥ pātu viśvataḥ 2. 5.
paśūn naḥ sarvān gopāya 2. 4.
pāpmānam agne tam ito nudasva 2. 5.
pāvako yad vanaspatīn 5. 6.
pitrye praṇīta upaśāmyamānaḥ 2. 5.
pipṛtāṃ no bharīmabhiḥ 4. 1.
pibata ghṛtam imāṃ ghṛtaṃ 6. 6.
putrāso yatra pitaro bhavanti 6. 1.
punar mai 'tv indriyaṃ 1. 4; 6. 5, 9.
punas tvā "dityā rudrā vasavaḥ 2. 5.
punas tvā prāṇaḥ 2. 4.
punas tvo 'ddīpayāmasi 2. 5.
puṣṭinā puṣṭiṃ prāṇena prāṇaṃ tejasā tejaś cakṣuṣā cakṣuḥ śrotreṇa śrotram āyuṣā "yuḥ punar dehi 6. 6.
pṛtanājitaṃ sahamānaṃ 2. 1.
pṛthivīṃ turīyaṃ manuṣyān yajño 'gāt 1. 5.
pṛthivī vibhūvarī (?) 6. 2.
pṛthivyāṃ ca dṛḍhā bhava 6. 1.
pṛthivyās te śarīraṃ spṛṇomi svāhā 2. 9.
pṛthivyai śrotrāyā 'ntarikṣāya prāṇāya vayobhyo dive cakṣuṣe nakṣatrebhyaḥ sūryāyā 'dhipataye svāhā 6. 10.
pṛṣadaśvā marutaḥ pṛśnimātaraḥ 6. 1.
prajāṃ dviṣadbhyo naya dakṣiṇena 2. 5.
prajāpataye svāhā dhātre svāhā pūṣṇe svāhā 6. 8.
prajāpatir yaṃ prathamo jigāya 1. 2.
prajāpatiḥ sarvam eve 'dam utsṛjet 3. 10.
prajāpater viśvabhṛtaḥ skannāhutam asi svāhā 4. 3.
pra ṇa āyūṃṣi tāriṣat 2. 7.
praṇīta upaśāmyasi 2. 5.
pra tad viṣṇuḥ 5. 2.
prati na īṃ surabhīṇi vyantu 6. 1.
pratnāni pāti kāvyaḥ 6. 3.
pratno hotā vivāsate vāṃ 6. 9.
pra vāṃ daṃsāṃsy aśvināv avocaṃ 6. 8, 9.
praśastā kratunā 'jani 6. 2.
prā skannāt prāyatāṃ haviḥ 5. 5.
preddho agne dīdihi puro naḥ 6. 1.

barhiṣmatī rātrir viśritā gīḥ 6. 9.
brahmaṇas tvā saṃtatyā saṃtanomi 1. 3.

bhadraṃ karṇebhiḥ śṛṇuyāma devāḥ 6. 1.
bhadraṃ paśyemā 'kṣabhir yajatrāḥ 6. 1.
bhadrād abhi śreyaḥ prehi 1. 5.
bhadrād adhi śreyaḥ prehi 2. 4.
bhuvāya svāhā bhuvanāya svāhā bhuvanapataye svāhā bhuvāmpataye svāhā viṣṇave svāhā 2. 6.
bhuvo janat cf. oṃ bhuvo janat.
bhūpataye svāhā 4. 1.
bhūmir bhūmim agāt 6. 5.
bhūr janat cf. oṃ bhūr janat; 4. 1.
bhūs 5. 3.

maṇinā rūpāṇi 5. 6.
madhvaḥ somasyāśvinā madāya 6. 9.
manase cetase dhiye 2. 5.

manur bhava janayā daivyaṃ janaṃ 1. 3.
mantravanti ca kāryāṇi sarvāṇy adhyayanaṃ ca yat 1. 3.
mamā 'gne varcaḥ 2. 5; 6. 1.
mayobhuvā supraṇītī gamema 6. 1.
mahato mahimā asya 3. 10.
mahī dyauḥ pṛthivī ca naḥ 4. 1; cf. 4. 3.
mātā mātaram apy agāt 6. 5.
mā tvā dabh(y)an yātudhānāḥ 2. 5.
mā na āpo medhāṃ 1. 4.
mā naḥ kiṃcana rīriṣaḥ 4. 2.
mā naḥ piparid (l. pīparad?) aśvinā 6. 9.
mā naḥ prāpad uchunā kācid anyā 3. 10.
mānuṣāt ta ākāśād divyam ākāśaṃ spṛṇomi svāhā 2. 9.
mā no asya jagataḥ pārthivasya 3. 10.
mā no madhyā rīriṣatāyur gantoḥ 6. 1.
mā no mahāntaṃ 4. 1.
mā no medhāṃ mā no dīkṣāṃ 1. 4.
mā no vidan 2. 4; 6. 9.
mā no hiṃsiṣṭa(ṃ) yat tapaḥ 1. 4.
māndā vāśāḥ śundhyūr ajirāḥ 6. 2.
mā pragāma patho vayaṃ 6. 5.
mā prahāsīḥ 4. 4.
mā bradhnaḥ śarmabhiḥ ṣṭuhi (?) 2. 5.
mā brahma pramathiṣṭana 1. 4.
mām amum āmuṣyāyaṇaṃ 4. 4.
mā hiṃsīr deva preṣitaḥ 4. 2.
mitraḥ kṛṣṭīr animiṣā 'bhicaṣṭe 4. 3.
mitraḥ pṛthivyā adhyakṣaḥ (?) 1. 2.
mitrabhṛtaḥ kṣatrabhṛtaḥ svarāṣṭrā iha mā 'vata 6. 2.
mitrāya varuṇāya ca 2. 4.
mitrāya havyaṃ ghṛtavaj juhota 4. 3.
mitro janān yātayati 4. 3.
mitro dādhāra pṛthivīm 4. 3.
minaṃtā dasyor aśivasya māyāḥ 6. 9.

ya indreṇa sṛṣṭo yadi vā marudbhiḥ 2. 6.
ya imaṃ 2. 2.
ya ṛte cid abhiśriṣaḥ 6. 5.
yakṣmād asmād āmayataḥ 2. 2.
yajamānaṃ ca varddhaya 2. 4.
yajiṣṭho vahnitamaḥ śośucānaḥ 4. 1.
yajña eti vitataḥ kalpamānaḥ 2. 9.
yajñaś ca tvā dakṣiṇā ca śṛṇītāṃ 6. 3.
yajñaś ca tvā vāyuś ca śṛṇītāṃ 6. 3.
yajñasya tvā pramayo-'nmayā-'bhimayā pratimayā paridadema svāhā 4. 1.
yajñasya saṃtatir asi yajñasya tvā saṃtatyā saṃtanomi 1. 3.
yajñasya hi stha ṛtvijā 6. 6.
yato jātas tato 'py avāṃ (?) 4. 1.
yatkāmās te juhumaḥ 2. 5.
yat kiṃ ce 'daṃ varuṇa 1. 2.
yat tvam agne 2. 5.
yatra devaiḥ sadhamādaṃ madema 1. 3.
yatra naś cakrā jarasaṃ tanūnāṃ 6. 1.
yathe 'daṃ barhis tathā 2. 5.
yad agnir barhir adahat (?) 2. 5.
yad agne pūrvaṃ nihitaṃ padaṃ hi te 5. 2.
yad asmṛti 3. 4.
yad udagān mahato mahimā asya 3. 10.
yad dūre sann ihā 'bhavaḥ 6. 2.
yad vā gṛhān ghoram utā "jagāma 2. 6.
yad vāco yac ca me hṛdaḥ 6. 1.
yad vā yajñaṃ no 'dbhutam ājagāma 2. 6.
yad vā 'skandad dhaviṣo yatra-yatra 1. 3.
yaṃ tvam agne 2. 5.
yan mātṛr ajagann apaḥ 6. 1.
yan mṛtaḥ punar apy eti jīvān 6. 3.
yan me chidraṃ manaso yac ca vācaḥ 1. 3.
yan me manasaś chidraṃ 6. 1.
yan me skannaṃ 3. 4.
yan me skannaṃ manaso jātavedaḥ 1. 3.
yamo rājā no yayau (?) 2. 3.
yayor ojasā 1. 5; 6. 9.
yayoḥ sarvaṃ 2. 9.
yas tvam agne pramattānāṃ 2. 5.
yasmāt kṛṇoti ketum ā 5. 6.

yasmād bhītā niṣīdasi 2. 4.
yasmān minoty ajaraḥ 5. 6.
yās te agna ārdrā yonayo yāḥ kulāyinīḥ 6. 2.
yās te agne tanva ūrjo nāma 6. 2.
yūpaḥ papāta dviṣatāṃ vadhāya 2. 6.
yūpo virohañ chataśākho adhvaraḥ 2. 6.
yūpo hy arukṣad dviṣatāṃ vadhāya 2. 6.
ye te agna indavo yā u nābhayaḥ 6. 2.
ye devā yajñam āyānti 2. 5.
yena gachathaḥ sukṛto duroṇaṃ 6. 9.
yena pathā vaivasvataḥ 2. 3, 8.
yebhiḥ sapitvaṃ pitaro na āsan 6. 9.
yo agniḥ 3. 7.
yo aṃtaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt 5. 6.
yogakṣemasya śāntyā 4. 2.
yo naḥ sanutyo abhidāsad agne 5. 6.
yo no dveṣṭi sa bhidyatāṃ 6. 5.
yo vanaspatīnām upatāpo na āgat 2. 6.
yo vanaspatīnām upatāpo babhūva 2. 6.
yo vām aśvinā manaso javīyān 6. 9.

rakṣobhyas tvā 2. 9.
rathaḥ svaśvo viśa ājigāti 6. 9.
rātryā yad enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpaṃ 1. 2.
rudrāṇāṃ tvā devānāṃ vyātte 'pi dadhāmi 2. 9.
rudrās tvā tarpayantu 6. 3.

vatsaro 'si parivatsaro 'si saṃvatsaro 'si 2. 9.
vanaspate 'ṃtataḥ sya 3. 4.
vanvan havir yathā devebhyaḥ 2. 4.
vayā ivā 'nu rohate 6. 2.
varuṇāya svāhā "dityebhyaḥ svāhā jagatyai svāhā 6. 9.
varuṇo mā "dityaiḥ sūryo mā dyāvāpṛthivībhyāṃ pratīcyā diśaḥ pātu 6. 9.
varcodā asi dhruvo varco me dāḥ svāhā 6. 3.
vasavas tvā "dīs tarpayantu 6. 3.
vasūnāṃ rudrāṇām ādityānāṃ marutām ṛṣīṇāṃ bhṛgūṇām aṃgirasām atharvaṇāṃ brahmaṇaḥ saṃtatir asi 1. 3.
vasūnāṃ tvā devānāṃ vyātte 'pi dadhāmi 2. 9.
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kḷpti 3. 8.
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kratu s. sarva°; 6. 4.
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krī 3. 1; 6. 4.
+ pari s. parikrīta.
krīta 3. 1; 6. 4.
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kṣal + pra 2. 5; 5. 2.
kṣāma s. vi°; sarva°; 2. 1.
kṣāmavatī 5. 5.
kṣāmavant 2. 1; 5. 4.
kṣīraśrī 3. 3.
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khyā + vi + ā s. vyākhyāta; 1. 1; 2. 9; 3. 1, 6; 6. 1.
khyā + pari 3. 1.
+ pra 2. 4.
+ sam + pra 2. 4.
+ pra + sam 3. 6.
+ prati s. pratikhyāta.

gaṇa s. ahar° 3. 3.
gam 6. 5.
+ adhi 2. 4, 9.
+ anu s. anugata; 1. 5; 3. 9 4. 3; 5. 1, 3; 6. 1.
+ ā s. āgata.
+ ā 2. 4; 3. 5, 6, 8; 6. 7.
+ apa + ā 6. 8.
3 gar 1. 5.

garbha s. hiraṇya°; 2. 5.
2 gā 3. 8.
+ ud 3. 10.
gāyatrī 5. 6; 6. 6.
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go 2. 8; 5. 5, 6.
gotrin 3. 7.
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gaurīvita 6. 6.
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grah s. gṛhīta; caturgṛhīta; saṃkrahiṣyām; 3. 9; 6. 2, 3, 7, 10.
+ ud 3. 2; 6. 1.
+ pari 4. 1; 6. 6.
graha 6. 3, 7.
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grāmya 2. 7; 5. 4.
grāvan 6. 3.

ghar + abhi 2. 1, 9.
gharmadugha 2. 4.
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cakṣ + ā 2. 2, 3.
+ pari 5. 2.
cakṣus 1. 2.
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catuḥśarāva 4. 1.
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cam + ā 2. 9.
camasa 3. 5; 6. 3, 7.
car + abhi 2. 9.
+ pari 2. 9.
+ pra 3. 6, 9; 4. 1.
+ anu + pra 4. 1.
caru 1. 2; 4. 4; 5. 1, 3.
carusthālī 1. 3.
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cārin 3. 7.
ci + vi 3. 1.
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cittavyāpattyus (?) 3. 5.
cintā 3. 8.
1 cyu 1. 5.

chad + anu (?) 3. 7.
chandas 3. 1, 2; 5. 6; 6. 6.
chāyā 1. 1.
chid + pra 6. 1.
+ vi s. vichinna; 2. 1, 10; 5. 1; 6. 5.
+ abhi + vi 6. 9.
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jan 2. 9; 5. 2, 5.
janapada s. samāna°; 6. 1, 4.
japa s. bhakṣa°; 2. 9; 6. 9.
jarāmarya 3. 6.
jāgata 2. 9.
jāṅgala 3. 10.
jānu 1. 3.
jāmiṃ (?) 6. 8.
ji s. aparājita.
jīv 3. 6, 9.
+ ati 2. 9.
jñā 3. 8.
+ anu 6. 6.
+ ā s. anājñāta.
+ pra s. prajñāta.
+ vi 3. 8; 6. 6.
+ sam 3. 2.
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taddevatya 3. 3.
taddaivatya 6. 8.
tadrūpa 2. 9; 5. 5.
tadvarṇa 2. 9; 5. 5.
tan 1. 5.
+ sam s. saṃtata; 1. 3.
tanū s. soma°; 6. 8.
tantu s. uda°.

tantumant 2. 1, 8; 5. 1, 4.
tantra s. eka°; nānā°; 2. 8; 3. 9, 10; 6. 7.
tap + sam 2. 9.
tapas 3. 1; 5. 6.
tapasvatī 5. 1.
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tāvant 2. 8; 3. 6.
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dakṣiṇā s. pañcadakṣiṇa; sarvavedasa°; 3. 3; 5. 3, 5; 6, 1.
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dakṣiṇāgra 4. 4.
dadhi 5. 3.
1 dar + ā 4. 1.
+ vi 6. 4, 6.
darbha s. sa°; 1. 2; 2. 5; 3. 8; 5. 3.
darbhastamba 5. 2.
darś 2. 2, 3; 6. 10.
darś + abhi + ud s. abhyuddṛṣṭa; dṛṣṭābhyuddṛṣṭa.
darśapūrṇamāsa 5. 3.
daśarātra 3. 7.
daśahaviṣka (?) 6. 7.
das + upa 6. 3, 5.
dah 2. 9; 3. 8.
+ api s. apidagdha.
+ ava 5. 1.
+ sam 2. 9.
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1 dā + ā 6. 5, 9.
+ vi + ā s. vyātta; 2. 9
3 dā + ava 2. 9; 5. 5.
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dārumaya 6. 5.
dāva 2. 7; 5. 4.
dāsya (?) 6. 4.
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diś s. pratidiśam.
+ anu 2. 9.
+ pra 2. 9.
dīkṣ + upa s. upadīkṣā; 6. 7.
+ sam s. saṃdīkṣita.
dīkṣā s. avāntara°; 3. 1; 6. 8.
dīkṣāvāṃtva (?) 6. 4.
dīkṣita 2. 9; 6. 1, 7.
dīp 5. 2.
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durita 6. 8, 9.
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1 duṣ 4. 1.
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devatā s. taddevatya; taddaivatya; yaddevatya; viṣṇuvaruṇadevatya; 3. 2, 4; 6. 6.
devatāntara 4. 1.
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daivata 2. 2, 3; 3. 4.
daivatya s. tad°.
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dyo 3. 1, 4; 5. 6.
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dvādaśakapāla 2. 3; 4. 4; 5. 3.
dvādaśarātra 4. 4.
dvādaśī (?) 6. 4.
dvi 2. 4.
dvikapāla 4. 1.
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dviṣ + vi 6. 6.
dveṣyāyata (?) 4. 1.
dvaidha 2. 1; 4. 1.
dvaipāyana 2. 2, 3.

dhana s. adattapūrva°.
dhar cf. har; 1. 2.
+ ud 5. 1; 6. 7.
dhavanīya 3. 3.
dhā + abhi s. abhihita.
+ ava 5. 1; 6. 1.
+ vi + ava s. avyavahita.
+ ā 5. 2; 6. 2.
+ anu + ā s. anvādhāna.
+ abhi + ā 2. 5, 9; 4. 3; 6. 6.
+ pari + ā 2. 9.
+ pra + ā 2. 9.
+ vi + ā 2. 9.
+ upa + sam + ā 2. 5; 4. 4.
+ ni 1. 1; 3. 3, 5, 8; 6. 7.
+ upa + ni 6. 7.
+ pra 6. 1.
+ prati s. rukmapratihita.
+ vi s. vihita.
+ sam 3. 1, 4; 4. 1; 6. 8.
dhāv + abhi 1. 3.
dhiṣṇya 3. 2.
1 dhū 2. 9.
dhenu 3. 2; 5. 5; 6. 2.
dhruva 6. 3.
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nakṣatra 5. 6.
nakha s. loma°.
namas 2. 9.
nava 2. 4.
navakapāla 2. 8.
naś s. naṣṭa.
naṣṭa 2. 8; 4. 1; 6. 4, 5, 9.
nah + sam s. saṃnaddhedhmābarhis.
+ upa + sam s. upasaṃnaddha.
nādeya 5. 6.
nānātantra 3. 9.
nārāśaṃsa 3. 3; 6. 5.
nigama s. brāhmaṇa°.
nitya 1. 2; 2. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8; 6. 4.
nityakalpā (?) 6. 8.
nityahomakāla 2. 1; 5. 1.
nidhana s. vaṣaṭkāra°; 6. 4.
nibhūyapūr (?) 3. 3.
niyatavrata 3. 7.
niyutvant 2. 9.
nirmathya 3. 7; 5. 1.
nirvapaṇaprabhṛti 4. 1.
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niśā 4. 4.
nī + api 4. 3; 6. 3.
+ ud s. unnīta; 3. 2, 3; 4. 3; 5. 1.
+ ni 2. 4; 4. 1.
+ upa + ni 1. 5.
+ pra 1. 5; 2. 5; 3. 1; 5. 3; 6. 1.
+ anu + pra s. anupraṇīta.
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pañca 1. 1, 2; 2. 4; 5. 6; 6. 5, 8.
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pañcaśarāva 4. 1.
pañcājya 2. 9.
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1 paṇ 3. 1.
pat + ut 4. 2.
+ ni 2. 6.
+ sam + ni s. saṃnipatita.
+ pra s. prapatita; 2. 6, 9; 5. 5; 6. 1.
patatrin 5. 6.
patnī 2. 6; 4. 2.
patnya (?) 3. 8.
2 path 5. 3.

pathikṛt 2. 3, 8.
pad + ati s. atipanna.
+ ava s. avapanna; kīṭāvapanna.
+ ā 1. 3; 2. 1; 3. 8.
+ vi + ā 2. 1; 3. 4, 10; 4. 2; 6. 5.
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pannejana cf. pānnejanī.
payas 2. 8; 6. 7.
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parāk 5. 3.
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parikhyāta 3. 1.
paridhi s. bahiṣ°; antaḥparidhideśa.
parimāṇa 6. 10.
parṇa 4. 1.
paryagnikṛta 3. 2.
paryāya s. rātri°; 3. 3.
parvan 5. 4.
parṣām (?) 2. 9.
pavamāna 6. 4.
pavitra 3. 3.
paś + parā 5. 2.
paśu 1. 1; 2. 6; 3. 1, 2, 3, 10; 5. 5, 6.
paśugava 5. 5.
paśubandha 2. 9; 3. 10.
paśuśrapaṇa 6. 1.
paśuṣṭhā (?) 3. 1.
paścāt 1. 2; 2. 3, 9; 3. 10; 5. 1.
pā s. apīta; pītāpīta.
pākanagnim (?) 6. 8.
pāṇi 5. 2; 6. 7.
pātra s. pūrṇa°; 3. 3, 7.
pātraviniyoga s. mṛt°; 3. 6, 7, 8.
pāthikṛt 2. 2.
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pāthikṛtī 5. 3.
pāda 5. 2.
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pālāśatsaru l. pālāśataruṇī (?) 3. 8.
piṅgala 5. 6.
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pitar 3. 3; 5. 6.
pitṛdevatya 3. 2.
pitṛmedha 2. 8, 9.
pitṛloka 3. 8.
pitrya 2. 5.
pipāsā s. aśanā°.
pīta s. a°.
pītāpīta 6. 6.
puṭa s. asthi°.
putra 3. 9; 5. 5; 6. 7.
punar 3. 6; 6. 4.
punariṣṭi 4. 2.
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purastāt 2. 2, 9; 5. 3; 6. 4, 6, 7.
purastāddhoma 1. 2; 2. 1, 2, 3, 4 7, 8; 5. 1.
purā 6. 1, 4.
puruṣa 5. 2.
puruṣavidhi 6. 8.
puruṣākṛti 3. 8.
puroḍāśa 1. 2; 2. 1. 3, 4, 7, 8; 3. 10; 4. 1, 2; 5. 3, 4; 6. 9.
1 pū s. anupūta; utpūta; supūta.
+ ut 1. 5; 2. 3.
pūtabhṛt 3. 3
pūtika 6. 4.
pūrṇapātra 4. 2.
pūrṇamāsa s. darśapūrṇamāsa.
pūrṇāhuti 5. 6.
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pṛthivī 3. 1, 4.
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prakṛti s. yathā° 3. 10.
prajāpati 3. 1, 2; 4. 3; 6. 8.
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pratimā 3. 1.
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pratyak 2. 6.
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prathama 3. 5 (?); 5. 1, 5.
pradātar 2. 2; 5. 3.

pranabhasvatī 2. 5.
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prabhu 6. 10.
prabhṛti s. aṅga°.
pramā 3. 1.
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prayāja 2. 6; 3. 3; 4. 1.
prayukta 6. 10.
pravara 3. 3.
pravargya 6. 8.
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pravṛtta 3. 9, 10; 6. 2, 3.
prasavya 2. 9.
prasiddha 1. 3; 2. 9.
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prāñc 1. 5; 2. 6, 7; 3. 5, 9; 5. 1.
prāṇa 1. 1, 2, 5; 2. 3; 3. 2; 4. 1; 5. 6.
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prātar 1. 2; 4. 3.
prātaranuvāka 3. 2; 6. 6, 8.
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prāyaścitta s. sarva°; 1. 1, 3; 3. 8; 5. 1, 5; 6. 9, 10.
prāyaścittaprakaraṇa 6. 10.
prāyaścitti s. upacārabhakṣa° (?); 1. 2, 3, 5; 2. 1; 3. 8, 10.
prī 2. 3.
plu + abhi 2. 7; 5. 4.

phaṭkāraprabhṛti 6. 6.

bandh 1. 2; 2. 5.
barhis s. adobarhiṣa; saṃnaddhedhmā°; 2. 5; 3. 2; 4. 1.
basta 5. 6.
bahiṣparidhi 4. 2.
bahiṣpavamāna 3. 3; 6. 1, 5.
bahis 2. 9.
bahu 2. 9.
bahurūpa 5. 6.
bahuvid 5. 1.
bādhaka 2. 9.
bārhaspatya cf. aindrā°.
budh + ud 4. 1.
+ ni 6. 10.
bṛhaspati s. aindrābārhaspatya; 3. 1.
brahmatva 3. 4.
brahman m. 1. 2; 2. 6; 3. 4; 5. 6; 6. 1, 5, 6, 7.
brahman n. 3. 3; 5. 6.
brahmabali 5. 6.
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brāhmaṇa m. 3. 7; 4. 4; 5. 1, 2, 6; 6. 6, 8.
brāhmaṇa n. s. taittirīya°; vājasaneyī°; 2. 9.
brāhmaṇanigama 1. 1.
brāhmaṇāchaṃsin 3. 3; 6. 7.
brāhmaṇokta 2. 2.
brū + pari 6. 6.

bhakṣ s. bhakṣita; 3. 3, 5; 6. 3.
bhakṣa s. a°; upacāra°; 3. 3, 5.
bhakṣakāla 3. 5.
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bhakṣaṇa 3. 5.
bhakṣaṇīya 6. 3.
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bhakṣita 3. 3.
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bhaj + vi s. devatāvibhaktendra; 3. 2; 5. 3; 6. 7.
bhadra 3. 1.
bhaya 1. 3; 2. 4.
bhar 5. 2.
+ sam 5. 3.
bhasman s. sabhasmaka; 1. 3; 2. 5, 6; 5. 1, 2.
bhāga s. ājya°; saṃsrāva°; soma°.
bhāgadheya 3. 2.
bhāginī 4. 1.

bhāṇḍa s. yajña°.
bhāruṇḍasāman 3. 8.
bhārgava 4. 1.
bhāryā 5. 5.
bhid s. bhinna; 6. 2, 5.
+ ava 4. 3.
bhinna 4. 1; 6. 5, 9.
bhuj 4. 4.
bhū + anu 5. 6.
bhūyas 1. 5.
bhedana 6. 9.
bhojya (?) 3. 10.
bhram + vi 2. 5.
bhrātar 3. 9; 6. 7.
bhrātṛvya 3. 2.

maṇi 5. 6.
1 math 2. 4, 8; 5. 2.
+ nis s. nirmathya; nirmanthya.
madhya (?) 2. 1.
madhyama 5. 3.
man + abhi s. abhimata.
manas 1. 1, 2; 3. 1; 5. 3; 6. 8.
manuṣya 5. 6.
mantra 6. 8.
mantray + anu 1. 5; 2. 4; 6. 2.
+ abhi 1. 3; 2. 5; 4. 1; 5. 5; 6. 3, 5.
mantrāvant 1. 3.
manth 2. 4, 8; 3. 1; 5. 1, 2; 6. 1.
+ nis 3. 8.
maṃthaśrī 3. 3.
maya s. aśma°; dāru°; devatā°; yava°; loha°.
mar 2. 9; 6. 7.
1 marj 3. 6, 7.
+ abhi + vi 1. 3.
marya s. jarā°.
marś + abhi s. abhimṛṣṭa.
mahant 6. 6.
mahāpāthikṛtī 2. 3.
mahāvīra 6. 9.
mahendra 2. 1.
3 mā 3. 1.
+ upa (?) 6. 1.
māṃsa 3. 8, 10.
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māruta 3. 3; 5. 5; 6. 3.
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2 mi + pra 3. 7.
mitravaruṇa 3. 2.
mithas 2. 7; 5. 4; 6. 1.
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mukha s. prāṅ°; 3. 9.
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mṛtyu 1. 1.
medha 3. 2.
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maitra 1. 2; 4. 4.
maitrāvaruṇa 3. 3.
mogha 6. 8.
mnā + ā 4. 1.
+ sam + ā s. samāmnāta.
mluc + abhi + ni 4. 4; 5. 1.

yaj s. yajamāna; 2. 9; 5. 5; 6. 4, 7.
yajamāna 1. 3; 2. 4, 9; 3. 5; 6. 1, 7.
yajamānakarman 3. 5.
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yajñabhāṇḍa 6. 9.
yajñasaṃbandhin 6. 8.
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yata s. vāg°.
yathākāryam 3. 6.
yathāprakṛti 6. 1.
yathārtha 2. 9.
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yathāvadānam 3. 9.
yathāsukham 3. 7.
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yaddevatya 3. 3.
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1 riṣ + vi s. viriṣṭa.
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rudra 3. 1, 3.
2 rudh + apa 4. 2.
+ ava s. avaruddha.
+ upa 5. 2.
+ vi 1. 1.
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+ vi 2. 6; 5. 6.
+ sam 2. 4.
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+ upa + ā 6. 7.
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1 lī + vi 1. 5; 2. 3.
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+ vi + ā 3. 4.
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vapā s. valmīka°; 2. 5; 3. 2.
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varāha 3. 10.
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varj + sam 2. 7.
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varṇa s. tad°.
vart + ā s. āvṛtta; 1. 3.
+ abhi + ā 3. 3; 4. 2.
+ vi + ā s. vyāvṛtta; 6. 6.
+ ud 1. 5.
+ ni s. nivṛtta; 1. 3; 6. 2.
+ pari 5. 5.
+ pra s. pravṛtta; 3. 9; 6. 2.

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vidhyardhasamāpta 5. 3.
viniyoga s. pātra°; mṛtpātra°.
viparyāsa s. karma°.
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viśvajit 6. 7.
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viṣkanna 4. 3.
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vaiṣṇavant 6. 6.
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vyatyāsa s. āhutilopa°; yājyānuvākyā°.
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vyāpatti s. cittavyāpattyuḥ.
vyāvṛtta 6. 5.
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vratapati 2. 4; 5. 4.
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+ upa 1. 5; 2. 5.
śamyā 5. 3.
1 śar s. śīrṇa.
+ sam 2. 9.
śaraśarāy 4. 3.
śarāva s. catuḥ°.
śarīra 3. 8.
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śastra 6. 5.
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śiras 6. 1.
śiṣ + ati 1. 3.
+ ut s. ucchiṣṭa.
śīrṇa 6. 3, 5, 9.
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śeṣa s. karma°; 3. 5; 4. 2.
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śyena 2. 5; 5. 2, 6.
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śrā 1. 3, 5; 2. 5; 5. 5.
+ dus s. duḥśrita.
śri + adhi s. adhiśrita; 2. 9; 4. 3; 5. 1.
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saktuśrī 3. 3.
sakhi 3. 3.
saṃkrahiṣyām (?) 4. 2.
sattra s. samāsa°; 3. 6.
sattrin 3. 9, 10.
sad 3. 8.
+ ava 3. 2.
+ ā 3. 1, 10; 4. 2.
+ sam + ā s. samāsanna.
+ ud s. utsanna.
+ upa 3. 7.
sadarbha 2. 5.
sadas s. antaḥ°; 3. 1; 6. 3.
saṃtata 5. 4.
saṃtati 1. 3; 3. 2.
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saṃbandhin s. yajña°.
saṃbhāra 6. 6.
saṃbheda 1. 1.
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+ vi s. visṛṣṭa.
+ sam 2. 7; 5. 4; 6. 1, 6.
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sarpa 5. 6.
sarparājñī 6. 7.
sarpis 4. 1.
sarva 5. 1.
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savanīyasyuḥ (?) 6. 7.
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savyam 2. 9.
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sahiraṇya 2. 5.
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sādhu 1. 3.
sāṃnāyya 2. 1; 4. 1.
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sāyaṃdoha 2. 1; 4. 1.
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sāyamāhuti 4. 4.
sārasvata 3. 2; 6. 8.
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sic + ni 1. 3.
+ sam 6. 2, 5.
sidh + pra s. prasiddha.
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suparṇa 3. 1.
supūta 3. 3.
sura 3. 1.
susaṃtāpa 2. 9.
sūkta s. kāma°; 2. 5; 6. 6.
sūtra s. vaitāna°.
sūtraprāyaścitti 6. 10.
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+ adhi 4. 1.
+ ava s. avaskanna.
+ vi s. viṣkanna; 1. 5.
+ sam s. saṃskanna.
skanna 1. 3; 3. 4; 4. 1; 5. 5.
skannāhuta 4. 3.
stabh (?) 6. 1.
+ upa 6. 1.
stamba s. darbha°.
star 2. 5; 3. 2, 8.
stu 6. 1, 3, 4, 5.
stena (?) 3. 5, 8.
stotra s. kīrttana°; 6. 3, 7.
stoma 5. 6.
sthaviṣṭha 5. 3.
sthā + ava 6. 7.
+ ud s. uttha; utthita; 2. 4, 9.
+ upa + ud 4. 1.
+ upa 1. 1; 3. 5; 5. 3.
+ prati 1. 5; 2. 1.

sthā + sam 1. 2; 2. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8; 5. 1; 6. 4.
sthāna s. prātardoha°; sāyaṃdoha°.
sthālī s. caru°; 4. 3; 6. 3.
sthālīpāka 6. 9.
sthita + sam s. saṃsthita.
sparś + sam 2. 8; 5. 1.
spṛti 2. 9.
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sruc 1. 3.
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svarga 1. 1, 3.
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+ apa s. apahatapāpman; 1. 5.
+ ā 6. 7.
+ pari + nis 2. 5.
har cf. dhar; 1. 2; 2. 9; 3. 2; 5. 1.
+ apa 2. 1; 4. 1; 6. 1, 4.
+ abhi 3. 1, 2.
+ abhi + ava 4. 1.
+ upa + ava 3. 2.
+ ā 2. 5; 3. 5, 7; 6. 4.
+ anu + ā 1. 1, 3.
+ vi + ā 5. 3.
har + ud 1. 1, 2; 2. 5; 5. 1; 6. 7.
+ abhi + ud s. anabhyuddhṛta; 1. 1, 2; 2. 7; 5. 4.
+ sam + ud 5. 1.
+ abhi + upa 2. 9.
+ pari 1. 5.
+ anu + pra 2. 6; 4. 1.
+ vi 2. 8; 3. 7; 5. 2.
havirdhāna 3. 1; 6. 1.
havirbhūta 4. 1.
haviṣy (?) 5. 3.
havis s. daśahaviṣka; ṣaḍḍhaviṣka; 2. 1, 2, 3, 6, 9; 3. 2, 8, 10; 4. 1.
havyavāhana 2. 9.
hasta 3. 2; 4. 2.
2 hā 1. 5.
hi + pra 4. 3.
hita 3. 6.
hiraṇya s. sa°; 1. 2; 2. 5; 5. 1, 2.
hiraṇyagarbha 2. 5.
hu s. arddhahuta; ahuta; ahutvā; huta; 1. 3; 2. 8; 3. 3, 10.
huta 1. 3; 2. 6.
hutāhuta 6. 6.
hotar 1. 2; 2. 6, 9; 3. 4, 10; 4. 1; 6. 7.
hotrā 3. 3.
homa s. ājya°; 3. 5.
homakāla s. nitya°.
hautra 3. 4.
1 hvā + ā 1. 3.

Berichtigungen.

1. 3. S. 73 Z. 8 lies statt dhārayed: dhārayed |.
1. 5. S. 77 Z. 1 „ „ cyavate[79]: cyavate.
„ „ Anm. Z. 3 streiche: [79] A cyavaṃte.
2. 2. S. 79 Z. 2 lies statt "jyahaviṣe-'ṣṭyā: "jyahaviṣe 'ṣṭyā.
2. 7. S. 89 Anm. Z. 19 lies statt vidyamāna: 'vidyamāna.
2. 9. S. 93 Z. 15 lies: pitṛmedha [362] |
3. 1. S. 94 Z. 13—14 lies statt brahmavrate: brahma vrate |.
„ „ letzte Zeile lies samrāḍ āsandyām.
3. 2. S. 95 Z. 2—1 von unten lies nibhūyapūr ādhāvanīye.
3. 5. S. 97 Z. 18 lies statt ce' | ty: ce'ty |
3. 8. S. 99 Z. 12 lies: vā 'samāmnātānām.
3. 10. S. 101 Z. 12 lies statt vāto ātmānaṃ: vātaṃ te ātmā
4. 1. S. 104 Anm. [618] lies statt bhutaṃ: bhūtaṃ.
„ S. 105 Z. 9 lies statt uṣaṣo: uṣaso.
„ S. 106 Z. 4 lies statt om: oṃ.
„ „ Anm. Z. 24 lies statt viparyāseno 'dvāsane: viparyāse 'nudvāsane.
„ „ „ Z. 33 „ „ trarthīyā: trārthīya.
„ S. 107 „ Z. 3 „ „ viparyāsenā "vāhane: viparyāse 'nāvāhane.
„ S. 108 „ Z. 32 „ „ °-samkhyā-°: °-saṃkhyā-°.
„ „ „ Z. 44 „ „ sunavāma-soma: sunavāma soma.
„ S. 109 „ Z. 21 füge hinter apy agā ein: gemeint ist yato jātaḥ tato 'py avāṃ.
„ S. 110 „ Z. 6 lies statt āmikṣa-°: āmikṣā-°.
„ „ „ Z. 28 „ „ jātavedā: jātavedāḥ.
„ S. 111 Z. 3 lies statt suprajās tvaṃ: suprajāstvaṃ.
„ „ Anm. Z. 5 lies statt sahaṃ: ahaṃ.
4. 2. S. 112 Z. 6 lies statt "gahi: "gāhi.
„ „ Anm. Z. 18 lies statt "gnidhraḥ: "gnīdhraḥ.
„ „ „ Z. 2 von unten lies statt ꞇrayate: trayate.
4. 3. S. 113 „ Z. 9 lies statt śabdāyet: śabdayet.
„ „ „ Z. 12 „ „ "dvāsitaṃ: 'dvāsitaṃ.
„ S. 114 Z. 5 lies statt prajapater: prajāpater.
„ „ Anm. Z. 17 lies statt oben: unten.
4. 4. S. 117 „ Z. 12 „ „ akaśad: akśad.
„ S. 118 „ Z. 10 „ „ praṇīteśv: 'praṇīteṣv.
„ „ „ Z. 23 „ „ viśvadarśataś: viśvadarśataḥ.
„ „ „ Z. 28 „ „ vratabhṛc: vratabhṛt.
„ „ „ Z. 29 „ „ athā pra-: athā 'pra-.
„ S. 119 Z. 2 lies statt °-aha: °-ahā.
„ „ Anm. Z. 21 lies statt "dānīm: 'dānīm.
„ S. 120 „ Z. 2 „ „ 'havanīyāv: "havanīyāv.
„ „ „ Z. 7 „ „ die: das.

5. 1. S. 121 Anm. Z. 10 lies statt baddh[v]eti: baddheti [gemeint: badhyate].
„ „ „ Z. 18 „ „ 'ddharaṇādini: 'ddharaṇādīni.
„ S. 122 Z. 5 lies statt saṃrāḍ: samrāḍ.
„ S. 123 Anm. Z. 15 lies statt abhimaṃtranādīni: abhimaṃtraṇādīni.
„ „ „ Z. 17 „ „ saṃrāḍ: samrāḍ.
„ „ „ Z. 21 „ „ sāyam agnihotre: sāyam-agnihotre.
„ „ „ Z. 22 „ „ viśeṣā-'bhidhānāt: 'viśeṣā-'bhidhānāt.
„ „ „ Z. 25 füge hinter itaraścisminn ein: „lies wahrscheinlich: ahutam itī 'tarasminn".
„ „ „ unterste Zeile lies statt kuryat (!): kuryāt (!).
5. 2. S. 125 „ Z. 3 von unten lies statt dvipadāprasidhy-°: dvipadaprasidhy-°.
5. 3. S. 126 „ Z. 2 lies statt °siñcet: ṣiñcet.
„ „ „ Z. 32 „ „ °-siddy-°: °-siddhy-°.
„ S. 127 Z. 2 lies statt vāsaṃ[331]: vāsaṃ[831].
„ „ Z. 6 „ „ anuprāyāya: anupreyāya.
„ „ Anm. [836] Dem hier gegebenen Rekonstruktionsversuch des Textes gegenüber ist es mir wahrscheinlich, daß wir statt upavakṣayet und avakhyāyās etwa avakṣāyet und avakṣayaṇe zu lesen haben, und daß śamyāḥ parā parāsāc hinter den Mantra gehört, so daß die folgenden Worte zu übersetzen wären: „wenn aber das Feuer, über einen Keulenwurf hinaus angeschwollen, erlischt, so möge er ihm nachgehen und sodann sich dort niedersetzen . . ."; zu verweisen ist u. a. auf Kāṭh. 35. 17; T. B. 3. 7. 1. 3—4; eine eigentliche Rekonstruktion des Textes ist angesichts dessen ungewöhnlicher Verderbtheit ausgeschlossen.
„ S. 128 Z. 6 lies statt dadhani: dadh(a)ni.
„ „ Z. 7 „ „ śipiviṣṭāya | śrite prāg ukte: śipiviṣṭāya śṛte prāg ukte |.
5. 4. S. 129 Z. 4 lies statt anagnir: anagni-.
„ „ Anm. Z. 12—13 streiche die Worte „unter" bis „verstehen", und setze anderen Stelle: „unter agnigṛhāḥ wären dann die Häuser zu verstehen, die sich auf dem Opferplatze befinden, aber nicht Feuerhäuser sind."
„ „ „ Z. 17 lies hinter samavāye: s. Dhātup. 4. 114 (Boehtlingk).
„ „ „ Z. 28 lies statt buddhi-pūrvakaretaḥ-pāte: buddhipūrvaka- retaḥpāte.
„ S. 130 „ Z. 1 „ „ dagnaye: agnaye.
5. 6. S. 131 Z. 15—16 „ „ (nabhihita): 'nabhihita.
5. 5. „ Anm. Z. 2 „ „ prajāyatāṃ: jāyatāṃ (wie Āp. S. 9. 17. 1.).
6. 1. S. 132 „ Z. 14 „ „ »vielleicht Imperative plus „anas"«: vielleicht vulgäre Imperative plus „anas"; möglich ist es auch, daß „'pamānau" des Textes durch Fortfall einer Silbe aus 'pa[stam]bhānau corrumpiert und daß das Dvandva „stambhāno- 'pamānau" eine grammatische Glosse ist.

6. 1. S. 134 Anm. Z. 6 lies statt praṇītvena: praṇī[ta]tvena.
„ „ „ Z. 14 „ „ „(l.: °nimitta-prāyaścittaṃ)“: (l.: prāyaścittaṃ).
„ „ „ Z. 22 „ „ smārtavaj: smārtavad.
„ „ „ Z. 23 „ „ ūrddhvaṃ: ūrddhvaṃ-.
6. 3. S. 136 Z. 20 lies statt sthalī: sthālī.
6. 4. S. 137 Z. 14 „ „ upakrameraṇyaṃ: upakrame 'raṇyaṃ.
„ „ Anm. Z. 12 streiche: „zu“.
„ „ „ Z. 14 lies statt krameraṇyaṃ: krame 'raṇyaṃ.
„ S. 138 „ Z. 23 „ „ prayoga: prayogaḥ.
6. 5. S. 139 Z. 12 lies statt nārāśaṃsā(d): nārāśaṃsād.
„ „ Z. 14 „ iti saṃsiñcet.
6. 6. „ Z. 2 von unten lies statt vaiṣṇavatīṣu: vaiṣṇavīṣu.
„ „ unterste Textzeile lies statt stūyuḥ: stuyuḥ.
6. 5. „ Anm. Z. 9 lies statt unnītā?: unnītād?
6. 6. „ „ letzte Zeile: gemeint ist prātaḥsavanāc cet somo 'tiricyeta. . . .; so richtig auch Pañc. Br. 9. 7. T. B. 1. 4. 5. 1.
„ S. 140 Z. 6 lies statt ṣṭākapālam: 'ṣṭākapālam.
„ „ Z. 9 „ „ śaṃse[t]: śaṃse[d].
„ „ Anm. [1057] füge hinzu: lies mahati rātryāḥ; vgl. Pañc. Br. 9. 4. 1. T. S. 7. 5. 5. 1. T. B. 1. 4. 6. 4. und Pet. Wb. u. prātaranuvāka.
6. 7. S. 141 Z. 13 lies: (saṃvatsare [1097] 'sthipuṭaṃ [1097] nidadhyuḥ [1098]).
„ „ Z. 14 lies statt yājayet | samāpte saṃvatsare: yājayet (samāpte saṃvatsare). |
„ „ Anm. Z. 17 lies statt "diyād: 'diyād.
„ „ „ Z. 22 „ „ ['']śvavadva: ['']śvavad vā.
„ S. 142 Z. 1 lies statt savanīyasyuḥ: savanīyasya syuḥ.
„ „ Z. 4 „ „ „daśa-haviṣam“: „daśa-haviṣkām“, und bemerke unter dem Texte, daß diese Form eine Correctur der Msse ist.
„ „ Anm. Z. 3 lies statt erwähnten: erwähnen.
6. 8. „ Z. 18 lies etwa: aparāhṇikaṃ cet pravargyam abhyastamiyāt.
„ „ Anm. Z. 9 lies am Ende der Reihe: l. taru-payasāṃ?
6. 9. S. 143 Z. 10—11 lies: prātaḥsavanaṃ ced (mādhyaṃdinaṃ savanam) abhyastamiyād.
„ „ Z. 13 lies: cet (tṛtīya-) savanam.
„ „ Z. 22 lies statt ṛtvijāṃ: ṛtvijaś.
S. 144 Anm. Z. 3 von unten l.: | śake ||1785|| raudranāmasaṃvatsare māse māgha-°.

Additions to Field from the Lyons Codex of the Old Latin. — By MAX L. MARGOLIS, Professor in the Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa.

The following are Hexaplaric elements in the Old Latin of the first nine chapters of the book of Joshua (Codex Lugdunensis, edited by Ulysse Robert, 1900) hitherto unknown and therefore constituting additions to Field's monumental work:

5, 4—6 is presented by the codex in a composite text the constituent elements of which come from three recensions. Heavy-faced type indicates the recension with which the Latin ordinarily goes (**r** or **ruf;** see *AJSL.*, XXVIII [1911], 4); Origen's plus (which was inserted in the Hexapla sub asterisco) is printed in Italics; Roman type indicates the text of B. Between Origen's plus and the B text there is an element which, as will be shown below, is derived from Symmachus; it is printed in Italics with the siglum σ' in front. In the parallel column the Greek is printed as found in the sources pointed out except in the case of Symmachus where the Latin is simply translated back into Greek.

hoc autem modo pur-	*τουτον τον τροπον περιεκα-*
gavit Iesus filios Istra-	*θαρεν Ιησους τους υιους*
hel *et hoc verbo quo*	*Ισραηλ‖ και ουτος ο λογος ον*
circumcisa est omnis	*περιετεμεν Ιησους· πας ο*
plebs quae exierat ex	*λαος ο εκπορευομενος εξ* 5
Aegypto masculi om-	*Αιγυπτου το αρσενικον παν-*
nes viri bellatores	*τες ανδρες πολεμου οι*
mortui sunt in deser-	*απεθανον εν τη ερημω*
to in via exeuntibus	*εν τη οδω εξελθοντων*
ipsis ex Aegypto quia	*αυτων εξ Αιγυπτου. οτι* 10
incircumcisa erat om-	*περιτετμημενοι ησαν πας*
nis plebs quae exierat	*ο λαος ο εξελθων*
et omnis plebs quae	*και πας ο λαος οι γεν-*

fuerat in deserto in
15 *via cum exierunt*
ipsi ex Aegypto non
circumcisi erant
σ' quia XL annis
habitaverant filii
20 *Istrahel in deserto*
donec consummaretur
omnis plebs virorum
bellatorum qui exie-
runt ex Aegypto qui
25 *non audierant vocem*
Domini quemadmodum autem circumcidit Iesus qui aliquando fuerant in itinere et
30 quia quando incircumcisi erant qui profecti erant ex Aegypto omnes istos qui profecti erant circumcidit
35 Iesus XL enim annis conversatus est Istrahel in deserto ideoque incircumcisi erant illorum plurimi viri bel-
40 latores qui exierant de Aegypto qui non obaudierant praeceptis Domini quibus et definierat etc.

νηθεντες εν τη ερημω εν
τη οδω εξελθοντων
αυτων εξ Αιγυπτου ου
περιετμηθησαν
σ' οτι μ̄ ετη
ενδιετριψαν οι υιοι
Ισραηλ εν τη ερημω
εως ανηλωθη
πας ο λαος ανδρες
πολεμισται οι εξελ-
θοντες εξ Αιγυπτου οι
μη ακουσαντες της φωνης
Κυριου ‖ ον δε τροπον
περιεκαθαρεν
Ιησους τους υιους Ισραηλ·
οσοι ποτε εγενοντο εν τη οδω
και οσοι ποτε απεριτ-
μητοι ησαν των εξ-
ελληλυθοτων εξ Αιγυπτου,
παντας τουτους
περιετεμεν
Ιησους μ̄ γαρ ετη και δυο
ανεστραπται Ισραηλ
εν τη ερημω τη μαδβαρειτιδι
διο απεριτμητοι ησαν οι πλει-
στοι αυτων των μαχιμων
των εξελληλυθοτων
εκ γης Αιγυπτου οι
απειθησαντες των
εντολων του θεου οις
και διωρισε κτλ.

1 *hoc autem modo*] τουτον τον τροπον (o has the dative, comp. 4, 3 τροπω ω iz for ον τροπον; 2, 2 τη νυκτι iz for την νυκτα; 8, 9 τη νυκτι εκεινη iz for την νυκτα εκεινην) a rephrasing of ον δε τροπον B. 𝔄 presupposes τουτον δε τον τροπον | *purgavit*] Correctly for περιεκαθαρεν, but l. 28 𝔄 has *circumcidit* = 𝔈! Comp. περικαθαριζειν = מול De 30, 6 (α' περιτεμνειν) and περικαθαριζειν την ακαθαρσιαν = ערל ערלה Le 19, 23 (but ακροβυστιζειν την ακροβυστιαν M^m v^m sine nom. = ḷ Field). Nevertheless 𝔊 employs in the sequel, the grosser περιτεμνειν | 2 *filios Istrahel*] τους υιους ῑηλ, so B

omitted in 𝔏 l. 28. Not in 𝔓ᴹ | 3 *hoc verbo*] Read *hoc verbum.* Observe the literalness: *και* for *δε* and *λογος* (comp. De 15, 2 *ουτος ο λογος* k for *ουτως το προσταγμα* — *sit* 𝔏 is error for *sic*—; *προσταγμα* also 19, 4 but Ngkn have *πραγμα* comp. *πραγματεια* III K 19, 15) for *τροπος* (comp. Nu 18, 7 לכל דבר המזבח *κατα παντα τροπον του θυσιαστηριου;* De 1, 14 𝔊 וישמע להם לדבר הזה *εχρησατο αυτοις τον τροπον τουτον* free) | 4 *circumcisa est omnis plebs*] A bad adaptation of *περιετεμεν ις· πας ο λαος* | 8 *mortui sunt*] 𝔏 read *απεθανον* without *οι* in front which rests on error | 11 *incircumcisa*] Read *circumcisa* | 14 *fuerat*] 𝔏 read *γενηθεντες* with one *ν* | 19 *habitaverant*] *ενδιετριψαν* on the basis of *ενδιετριψεν* Mᵐ sine nom (the singular is inexact; in marginal citations the scribe is interested in the main point of difference, here the choice of the verb, but he is careless in details which he assimilates to the reading of the text, here the sing. 𝔊 namely read הלך ישראל. But 𝔏 (that is his source) follows 𝔓ᴹ: הלכו בני ישראל). The verb comports with the diction of *σ′*, comp. *διατριβειν σ′* Jd 19,8 (Barhebr. ܝܬܒ) and II K 5, 9 | 21—24 *donec consummaretur omnis plebs virorum bellatorum qui exierunt ex Aegypto*]=*σ′* ܕܢܦܠܘ ܟܠܗ ܕܥܡܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܩܪܒܘ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܡ 𝔖ᵐ correctly done back into Greek by Field (*αναλωθη* is merely a slip for *ανηλωθη*). In the parallel rendering of *α′* likewise recorded in 𝔖ᵐ ܫܠܡ is not *εξελιπεν* but *ετελειωθη.* *εκλειπειν* is found in *α′* for אָבַד Mi 7, 2; נִבְלָא Ez 31, 15 and the part. for אַכְזָב Je 15, 18; on the other hand *τελειουσθαι*=תֻּם Nu 14, 33; De 2, 14; I K 16, 11; III K 14, 10; Ps 9, 7 (*consummata sunt* ܡܫܠܡ); Je 14, 15 and *τελειουν*=הֻתַּם Da 9, 29; similarly ܢܫܠܡ Je 44, 12 will go back to *τελειωθησονται.*—*αναλισκεσθαι* for תֻּם is found in *σ′* elsewhere: Ps 72 (73), 19, also Ez 24, 10. 11, and in agreement with 𝔊 Nu 14, 33. 35; 32, 13. With *ανδρες πολεμισται* comp. *σ′* Is 42, 13 *ανηρ πολεμιστης* איש מלחמות. The telltale word is *plebs* = *λαος*; while 𝔖ᵐ has ܥܡܐ both for *α′* and *σ′*, Field is right in writing *εθνος* in *α′*s rendition; *εθνος* is rendered *gens* throughout Joshua | 27 *circumcidit*] see above on l. 1 | 28 *τους υιους ιηλ*] see above on l. 2 | 29 *fuerant*] Inadequate rendering of *εγενοντο.* Of the passages cited in the Concordance under *γιγνομαι* for the passives of ילד, we may eliminate the forms of the aor. pass. where the single *ν* may be orthographic, in some cases the inferior spelling is singular or restricted to a few codd. (comp. e. g. Ge 11, 28 A†); but there remain the passages with

the aor. med. (comp. in the Pentateuch Ge 21, 9; 35, 26; 36, 5; 41, 50; 46, 20. 27; Le 25, 45; comp. also Ge 17, 17 γενησεται A and cursives) | 30 *quia*] Read *qui*=οσοι | 31 *qui profecti erant*] 𝔏 obliterates the partitive construction; comp. 𝔈 | 33 *qui profecti erant*] Inner-Latin addition | 35 και δυο] Om 𝔏=𝔈𝔐 | 37 τη μαδβαρειτιδι] Om 𝔏=𝔈 | *ideoque*] Prob.=και δια τουτο **ruf** | 38 *illorum plurimi*]=αυτων οι πλειστοι rs | 41 *de Aegypto*] =εξ αιγυπτου **rh**𝔈.

The net result is the rendering of σ′ covering the greater portion of v. 6.

6, 11 According to the margin of the Syrohexaplaris Symmachus rendered the verbs in a future (imperative) sense, thus drawing v. 11 to the instructions in the preceding verses. Reminiscences of this conception are found in n 85[m] απελθετω, κοιμηθητω and 𝔏 *circumeat . . . et feratur*, but *mansit*, then erroneously carried into v. 12: *praecedant*.

6, 20 *tubis corneis* looks like a doublet=ταις σαλπιγξιν ταις κερατιναις. Comp. Judges 3, 27 *tuba cornea*=σαλπιγγι κερατινη 59; 6, 34 *tuba cornea*=κερατινη; 7, 8 *tubas corneas* comp. κερατινας σαλπιγγας 55, σαλπιγγας 54. 59. 75; 16 *tubas*=σαλπιγγας 54. 59. 75; κερατινας σαλπιγγας 55; 18 *tuba*=τη σαλπιγγι 54. 59. 75; 18 *tubis* = ταις σαλπιγξι 54. 59. 75; 19 *tubis* = τη σαλπιγγι 54. 59. 75. 118; 20 *tubas*=αι σαλπιγγες 54. 59. 75; 22 *tubis* comp. αι σαλπιγγες 54. 59. 75. — κερατινη is found in this chapter frequently in Hexaplaric additions for שופר. The three use it in v. 9 and elsewhere.

9, 1 f. The Hebrew order according to which the building of the altar and the reading of the Law follow after 8, 29 instead of after 9, 2 as in the Septuagint was naturally adopted by Origen (AFΘ**ufb**𝔖). The Latin follows its text (**r**) of the parallel recension which in this respect goes with the B texts. Nevertheless at the end of verse 35 (end of chapter 8 in the Hebrew) the Latin inserts a fresh translation of 9, 1 f. The parallel renderings may be presented here in juxtaposition:

ut autem audierunt reges amorrei qui erant ultra iordanen in montanis et in campis qui erant in fine maris magni et qui erant ab antelibum et chettei et amorrei et channanei	et factum est ut audierunt omnes reges qui erant trans iordanen in monte et in secelat et in omnibus litoribus maris magni contra faciem libani chettaeus et ferezaeus et eucha-

et ferezei et euchaei et gergessaei et iebussaei et convenerunt in unum expugnare iesum et istrahel simul omnes

eus et congregaverunt se in unum ut belligerarent cum iesu et cum istrahel ore uno

The text of the second version is defective in the Latin, several names having dropped out. But the literalness of the translation is unmistakable. Contrast the two versions in Greek:

ως δε ηκουσαν οι βασιλεις των Αμορραιων οι εν τω περαν του Ιορδανου εν τη ορεινη και εν τη πεδινη οι εν τη παραλια της θαλασσης της μεγαλης και οι προς τω Αντιλιβανω και οι Χετταιοι και οι Αμορραιοι και οι Χαναναιοι και οι Φερεζαιοι και οι Ευαιαι και οι Γεργεσαιοι και οι Ιεβουσαιοι και συνηλθον επι το αυτο εκπολεμησαι Ιησουν και τον Ισραηλ αμα παντες

και εγενετο ως ηκουσαν παντες οι βασιλεις οι περαν του Ιορδανου εν τω ορει και εν τη σε<φ>ηλαθ και εν παση τη παραλια της θαλασσης της μεγαλης κατα προσωπον του Λιβανου ο Χετταιος και ο <Αμορραιος και ο Χαναναιος και ο> Φερεζαιος και ο Ευαιος <και ο Ιεβουσαιος> και συνηθροισθησαν επι το αυτο ωστε πολεμησαι μετα Ιησου και μετα Ισραηλ εν στοματι ενι

In all likelihood, the source is Theodotion: comp. transliteration of שְׁפֵלָה (elsewhere II Chron. 26, 10; Obad. 19; Jerem. 39 (32), 44; 40 (33), 13; I Maccab. 12, 38), the construction πολεμειν μετα for נלחם עם (comp. 22. al. Jerem. 41 (48), 12), εν στοματι ενι פה אחד (comp. III King. 22, 13 where επι B error for ενι; II Chron. 18, 12). Professor Torrey will prob. be right in deriving the version of Chronicles from Theodotion, that is *a parte potiori.*

9, 7 איש ישראל ανηρ Ισραηλ 𝔏 only, contrast Ισραηλ roⲈ, οι υιοι Ισραηλ B rell ⲈⲤ. Comp. De 27, 14 παντι Ιηλ 𝔊, ο′ παντι ανδρι Ιηλ α′σ′ (προς) παντα ανδρα Ιηλ, but θ′ προς παντας υιους Ιηλ (just as Judges 12, 1 οι υιοι Εφραιμ A for ανηρ Εφραιμ B); comp. also Joshua 10, 24 where ανδρα was inserted by Origen sub asterisco. The literal rendering is found in 𝔊 in Judges and Kingdoms; contrast ανδρες Ιουδα in Jerem. (e. g. 4, 4), but 44 (51), 26. 27 ανδρος (ανηρ) sub ※; Isaiah 5, 3. 7 writes ανθρωπος του Ιουδα. In Chron. ανηρ (Ιηλ) BA II 20, 27; elsewhere om omnes II 34, 30 or om B II 5, 3; om S I 10, 7; 16, 3; or ανδρες in the pl. II 13, 15. 15.

The Chronology of Certain Indo-Iranian Sound-Changes. — By ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Sanskrit *ō* normally represents an earlier diphthong. The main elements of the peculiar development of final *-as* in Sanskrit and in Avestan to *-ō*[1] were solved by Bloomfield (*American Journal of Philology*, iii. 25—45) who demonstrated that the *ō* is here the descendent of an IE. *ŏ* whose quality had not yet changed to *ă*, and that this *-ō* for *-ŏs* was extended at the expense of the less common *-ē* for *-ĕs*.

In some details, however, Bloomfield's article must be corrected. He argues that the immediate precursor of *aśvō dravati* was **aśvoz dravati,* and that the *-ō* is the product of compensatory lengthening due to the loss of *-z* (from *-s*) before a voiced dental stop, just as *-iz-* and *-uz-* before voiced dentals result in *ī* and *ū* (*Am. Journ. of Phil.* iii. 27). But we have here to deal with two sets of phonetic changes of very different date: that of final *-ăs* to *-ō* appears in Avestan (where *-ō* is extended to use in all positions, regardless of the following sound, except before certain enclitics), but compensatory lengthening of a short vowel before *z* or *ž* + *d* or *dh* is unknown in Avestan;[2] thus Skt. *mīḍha-*, Av. *mižda-*; Skt. *dūdhī-*, Av. *duždā(y)-*. It is manifest, therefore, that the change which produced final *-ō* for *-ăs* is not the same as that which produced the long vowel of *mīḍha-*. Rather, the history of final *-ō* is the following: Final *-s* before a pause became a sound similar to the Skt. visarga. This *ḥ*-sound

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[1] Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i. 338 (with bibliography); Brugmann, *Grundr.* i.[2] 886, and *KVG.*, i. 264; Thumb, *Handbuch d. Sanskrit*, § 184 ff.; Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, 83.

[2] Av. *hiδ-a*[i]*ti* (*hĭδ-*) is not equivalent to Skt. *sīdati*, cf. Brugmann, *Grundr.*[2], i. 172; 504; Walde, *Lat. Etym. W.*[2], s. v. *sedeo*.

was then transferred to positions within the sentence, where before voiced stops a voiced *ḫ* resulted which was lost with compensatory lengthening.[1] Thus **-ŏs* became **-oḫ* and then *-ō* before voiced stops. The further extension of this final *-ō* to other positions in the sentence and its substitution for **-ē*[2] from **-ĕs* has been treated in masterly fashion by Bloomfield (*Amer. Journ. Philol.,* iii. 32—39), and needs no comment here.

It is important, however, that IE. *-ōs* became Skt. *-ās* and appears before voiced initials as *-ā*, not as *-ō*, while IE. *-ŏs*, though appearing in Skt. as *-ăs*, has the form *-ō* before sonants. Similarly, in Avestan, IE. final *-ās*, *-ēs*, *-ōs* appear as *-å̄*, while IE. final *-ŏs*, etc. appear as *-ō*. This difference of treatment can be explained in only one way: The IE. long *ō*, *ē* became *ā* in primitive Aryan before the short *ŏ*, *ĕ* became *ă*. In the period intervening between the change of the long vowels and the change of the short vowels, the loss of *-ḫ* before voiced stops produced *-ō*, *-ē* from the short final *-ŏs*, *-ĕs*, and *ā* from the long vowel followed by *s*. These new long vowels *-ō* and *-ē* were not subject to a further change to *-ā*, since the law converting IE. *ō*, *ē* to Aryan *ā* had already ceased operating.

As to the lengthening resulting from the loss of *z* or *ž* before *d* or *dh* in Skt., it has already been remarked that this change does not appear in Avestan; thus Skt. *nédīyas-*, Av. *nazdyah-;* Skt. *miyédha-*, Av. *myazda-* etc.[3] We have here ample proof that the quality of IE. *ĕ* was maintained distinct down to the time of this specifically Sanskrit change.[4]

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[1] Bartholomae, *KZ.* xxix. 572 ff.; Brugmann, *Grundr.*[2], i. 886. A similar suggestion by Brockhaus (1842): "Sollte nicht vielleicht auch der Nominativ auf *-as* wie *-ŏs* ausgesprochen worden sein, dessen dumpfes *s* vor allen tönenden Buchstaben verloren gehen mußte, aber wie fast immer im Sanskrit, wenn ein Consonant abfällt, dieser durch die Verlängerung des vorhergehenden Vocals ersetzt wird, auf diese Weise aus *-ŏs* die Form *-ô* wurde", (*Zt. Kunde d. Morg.* iv. 85).

[2] On the debatable question whether the Aryan possessed such an *-ē* (from *-es*) see Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, i. 338; Brugmann, *Grundr.*[2], i. 886, § 1005, 5, note.

[3] Cf. the examples in Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, i. p. 37, § 34; p. 274, § 237, b, *β*; Brugmann, *Grundr.*[2], i. 735; *KVG.*, p. 545, § 710, 2; Joh. Schmidt, *KZ.*, xxv. 60 ff.; Bloomfield, *AJP.* iii. 27 ff.

[4] Seeming exceptions like Skt. *sā́dhar-* for **sēḍhar-* (from **seĝh-tor-*) have *ā* by analogy of the *ă* in other forms and derivatives. Cf. Bloomfield, *AJP.*, iii. 30; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i. p. 38 (middle), § 34; p. 44, § 40.

That the quality of *ŏ* was similarly maintained can hardly be proved, since the final *-ō* received a great extension, even in the middle of words.[1] But words with an original long vowel show consistently *-ād(h)-*, never *-ēd(h)-* nor *-ōd(h)-*: thus, *śādhi, śaśādhi, cakādhi; ádhvam, śádhvam, árādhvam; ādaghná-* (for **ōz-d°*, cf. Lat *ōs*).[2]

The conclusions are therefore:

1. That IE. *ē, ō* became *ā* in the primitive Aryan period before the loss of final *-ḥ* before voiced stops.

2. That IE. *ĕ, ŏ* kept their quality until after the loss of final *-ḥ* before voiced initial stops.

3. That IE. *ĕ* certainly, and IE. *ŏ* presumably, kept their quality until after the Indian loss of *z* and *ž* with compensatory lengthening before voiced dental and cerebral stops.

For convenience the following chronological table of the changes is presented:

Primitive Aryan Changes.

1. Palatalization of gutturals by following palatal vowels and *i̯*.

2. Change of IE. *ē, ō* to *ā*, becoming identical with IE. *ā*.

3. Loss of final *-ḥ* before initial voiced consonants, giving new *ē* and *ō*.

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[1] The *ō* of *ṣṓ-ḍaśa* "sixteen", *ṣō-ḍhā́* "sixfold" (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i. p. 38, § 34, b) may be the result of such an extension. The post-vedic *sōḍhum, sōḍhar-* from the root *sah* is certainly an imitation of the Vedic *vṓḍhum* from *vah* (Bloomfield, *AJP.*, iii. 30). Vedic *vṓḍhum* etc. (Skt. *váhati*, Av. *vaza*ⁱ*ti*, Lat. *vehit*) cannot have IE. *ŏ* and must be due to some analogy; there are some parallel forms of this root with zero grade showing *ūḍh-* from **užḍh-* : *ūḍhvam* (by the side of *vōḍhvam*), *ūḍhá-* (by the side of *voḍha-*), *ūḍhvā* und *ūḍhi-*; a comparison with certain forms of *ruh* such as *rūḍhá-* by the side of *rṓḍhum, rūḍhvā́* by the side of *-roḍhar-* suggests a starting point for an analogy-formation.

[2] Whitney, *Skt Gr.*³, § 166; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, i. p. 273, § 237, a, α; Brugmann, *Grundr.*², i. 735, § 830, a. According to the rule (allowed by Pāṇini and required by the Prātiśākhyas) that the first consonant of a group be doubled (Whitney, *Skt. Gr.*³ § 229; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i. p. 112, § 98, a) the spelling *āddhvam* etc. is frequent.

(Division into Indian and Iranian.)

Indian Changes.	Iranian Changes.
1. Cerebralization of dentals by preceding cerebral sibilants.	1. Change of IE. *ĕ*, *ŏ* to *ă*, becoming identical with IE. *ă*.
2. Loss of *z* and *ž* before voiced dental and cerebral stops, with compensatory lengthening.	
3. Change of IE. *ĕ*, *ŏ* to *ă*, becoming identical with IE. *ă*.	

The Peshitta Text of Gen. 32, 25.—By RICHARD GOTTHEIL, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

In preparing the final part of my edition of the second half of the glosses of Bar Ali, I stumbled over the following:

ܗܢܒܐ ܫܬܘܠܐ. ܚܕܪܬ ܐܠܚܐܨܪܬ.

i. e. "The flank became torpid or benumbed". The dictionaries try to explain the word ܗܢܒܐ, which evidently comes from the passage Gen. 32, 25, as from the root ܗܢܐ, to change, to be altered—adding "for the worse", to be displaced, dislocated. So Mrs. Margoliouth in her *Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, p. 586. Audo, *Dictionnaire de la langue Chaldéenne*, II, 584:

ܐܘܕ ܕܗܘܘܠ ܟܕ. ܦܢܘܢ. ܕܠܐ ܙܘܟܘܗ: ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ — ܡܢ
ܡܫܚܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܠܝܠܘܗ. ܗܢܒܐ ܕܪܓܠܐ. ܐܝܕܐ: ܕܠܐ ܙܘܟܢܗ.

i. e. to become slack; to lose the power of speech through laughter; his leg or his hand lost its cunning.

But these meanings are all derived from the passage in Genesis in its faulty tradition. And yet that tradition is quite old. Not only is the reading found in the Mss. used by Le Jay for the Paris Polyglott and by Walton for the London Polyglott, and taken over by Lee in his reprint for the London Bible Society. It is also to be found in the Urmia Edition printed by the American missionaries. That these are based upon good Ms. authority, may be seen from the fact that the Jacobite seventh century Ms. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan reads ܗܢܒܐ, as does the excellent Nestorian Massoretic Ms. in the British Museum (Add. 12, 138 fol. 15b) of the year 899 A. D., which the Rev. G. Margoliouth has been kind enough to look up for me:

ܦܗܢܒܐ ܫܬܘܠܐ ܒܬܚܘܡܐ

Bar Ebhrāyā, in his scholia to the passage, is careful to punctuate the word; ܗܘܝܢ ܚܫܘܠܐ ܗܢܒܐ ܕܪܡܐ ܒܗ (See Uhry, *Die Scholien des ... Barhebraeus zur Genesis Capitel 21—50,* Strassburg 1898, p. 12); and in the sixteenth century Abhdisho

of Jāzartā wrote in his heptasyllabic poem dealing with Syriac homonyms: ܐܢܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܫܢܝܐ ܕܫܢܝܐ (Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. 68, 8).

Of course, the correct reading is ܫܢܝܐ, √ܫܢ become weak, feeble, debilitated, torpid; and this reading was not unknown in certain parts of the Syriac Church. The scholarly grammarian and writer Jacob of Edessa (seventh century) reads correctly ܫܢܝܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܫܢܝܐ (see von Lengerke, *Commentatio de Ephraemo Syro*, p. 20)—a reading which has been preserved in another place by Bar Ali himself (ed. Gottheil p. 108, 6) and by Bar Bahlūl (ed. Duval, col. 1283, falsely punctuated ܢܦܫܐ). I might add that Payne-Smith in his Thesaurus, though seemingly suspecting the reading (see cols. 1360 s. v. ܫܢܝܐ and 2471 s. v. ܫܢ), has listed the passage also s. v. ܫܢ col. 4233).

The accepted reading in the texts has not failed to lead scholars astray; which is a signal proof how necessary a correct edition of the Peshiṭta is. Ball, in his edition of the Hebrew text for the Polychrome Bible (1896) p. 91, has the following note: הנשה 𝔊 *ὁ ἐνάρκησεν which became dumb.* 𝔊 thus renders ותקע v. 25. Here 𝔊 evidently read השנה and pointed הַשֹּׁנָה cfr. 𝔖 ܐܬܩܥ = ותקע v. 25.

In this connection I might mention the curious translation in the Polyglotts of the Syriac rendering for גִּיד הַנָּשֶׁה — ܓܝܕܐ ܕܢܫܝܐ. They translate "nervum muliebrum" which they have gotten from a false punctuation of the Arabic rendering عِرق النَّسَا "the sciatic nerve"—a common expression in Arabic medical works. They punctuate عِرق النِّسَاء!!—which Payne-Smith has also incorporated in his Thesaurus.

J.A.M

Plate 1.

The Çāntikalpa of the Atharvaveda. — By G. M. Bolling, Henry E. Johnston Jr. Scholar in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

In the Transactions of the American Philological Association, vol. xxxv, 1904, pp. 77—127, I published with introduction, translation and commentary the text of the Çāntikalpa as found in the Chambers Codex. Weber's transcript of this codex was at that time the only manuscript readily accessible, but since then there has been a considerable increase of such material. In the first place, I have had the opportunity to collate the Chambers Codex itself, and also the British Museum manuscript (L) mentioned on p. 78 of my edition; while, furthermore, the University of Tuebingen's publication of its catalogue of Roth's manuscripts has brought to light another copy of the text. Of this last manuscript a copy, made by a pupil of Professor Garbe, was very kindly secured for me by Dr. J. von Negelein, my collaborator in the publication of the Atharvan Pariçiṣṭas.

From this new material the chief result, as regards the published text, is the corroboration of my opinion, that the text could be little improved by the collation of additional manuscripts. There are, to be sure, some gleanings,[1] but the

[1] The following seem worthy of mention: 1. 6 read *punarvaso* with L (cf. p. 90); Roth *punarvasor*. — 2. 2. Roth uses forms of *āçleṣā* here and 12. 2. — 3. 2. LRoth *mṛdukarmaprasādhaki*. — 3. 4. L *ugratejasam*. — 4. 4. Read: *dhruvasādhike;* Roth reads *-sādhaki;* L *-sādhakiṁ*, but M has *-sādhakāi* or *-sādhakāiṁ* corrected to *-sādhakāi* or *-sādhake*, and from this J would restore (cf. p. 91) the normal form. — 6. 7. *imā āpa* iti refers to Çāntik. 1. 14. 1—6. — 12. 2 Roth *phalgunībhyām*. — 12. 3. Read: *masūrā*, with LMRoth. — *ibid.* Roth *abhijitaye*. — 14. 2 L *viṣāsahim ityādayo;* Roth *ityādayor*. — 15. 1. LRoth *dakṣiṇāpare*. — 15. 3. L *valima lomikā;* Roth *balimaṁ lomakā*. — 17. 3. L *(a)dbhutotpraty-abhicādeṣu;* Roth *(a)dbhutotpany-abhicāreṣu*. — 17. 4. L *jalabhaya-jalakṣayayoḥ*; Roth *jalabhaye jalakṣayaṁyo*. 18. 1. The correct punctuation is *athāvā-*

main importance of the new material lies in a different direction. That the published text was incomplete, was suspected neither by myself, nor—as far as I know—by anyone else who has handled it. There was, indeed, no ground for such a suspicion. The colophon of the Chambers Codex gives no hint of it; the contents of the text, a description of the *mahāçānti* and its preliminary *nakṣatrayāga*, seem complete in themselves; and the tract begins with an abruptness no greater than the beginnings of several Pariçiṣṭas. Under such circumstances it was impossible to divine that the *mahāçānti* required two other preliminary ceremonies,—a propitiation of the Vināyakas (cf. MG. 2. 14) and a *grahayāga*. Nevertheless, after giving a brief introduction, both the London and the Tuebingen manuscripts proceed to give a description of these ceremonies, and then label this portion of their text the first chapter, or the first half, of the *mahāçānti*.

Immediately after this new material (of which I now present an edition to the Society) follows in each manuscript the text already published from the Chambers Codex. Curiously enough this is not designated in either manuscript as the second chapter, their colophons being (like that of the Chambers Codex) simply: Roth, *iti çrī atharvavede mahāçāntiḥ samaptaḥ* (!), L *iti mahāçāntiḥ samāptaḥ* (!). This might at first sight suggest the idea that the first chapter is a later addition. Such a belief—except as a possible theory about the ultimate sources of the text—will prove however to be untenable. Not only is the first chapter cited by Sāyaṇa, but the Pariçiṣṭas, cf. xviii b. 19. 3; lxx. 9. 3, juxtapose a *grahayāga* and a *nakṣatrayāga* in such a way as to show that their authors had the text with both chapters, and there is also a reference from the second to the first chapter. From this it follows that the Chambers Codex is incomplete. On account of its pagination it is best to regard it as the second of two volumes which contained the whole text.

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pikāḥ | *çāntaya iti amṛtāyām* |. — 19. 1. L *pūtadāru;* Roth *pūtūdāraṁ.* — 19. 6. Roth *çātāvarāṁ.* — 19. 8 Roth *ājaçṛṅgyaṁ*; L *ājaçṛṅ.* — 21. 1. For *sahāṁ*: L *tsaruṁ*; Roth *svaraṁ.* — 22. 1. LRoth *sikatāḥ.* — 22. 3 LRoth *upalepayet.* — 23. 4 Roth *vyatiṣakte tha.* — 23. 5. Read with LMRoth: *atra mantrān.* — 24. 4. L *acaṁnayānādāu snapanārthān;* Roth *arcanayānādāu stapanārthān.* — 25. 1. Roth *badhyāu.* L *vrīhiyavo.* — 25. 3. Roth *tad avākārya.* — 25. 4. Roth *tathādhikaṁ.*

With the full text of the Çāntikalpa we get a better insight into Sāyaṇa's employment of the ancillary Atharvan literature. Beside the Kāuçika and Vāitāna Sūtras and the (probably no longer extant) Āṅgirasakalpa, Sāyaṇa cites the Çāntikalpa, the Nakṣatrakalpa and various Pariçiṣṭas from ii. 5. 5 to xxxiii. 7. 3, cf. the references given in our edition, p. 645 f. That Sāyaṇa's quotations from the Nakṣatrakalpa come in reality from the second chapter of the Çāntikalpa was first pointed out by Bloomfield, SBE. xlii. p. 233, and is proved in detail in my commentary. The source of the quotations from the Çāntikalpa was unknown, but now proves to be the first chapter of that text. That Sāyaṇa has simply blundered, is to my mind clear beyond the possibility of discussion, and I think it possible to explain the origin of his mistake. The Chambers Codex of the Pariçiṣṭas is an edition in three volumes, containing respectively AVPar. i=the true Nakṣatrakalpa, AVPar. ii—xxxvi and AVPar. xxxvii—lxxii. If we assume that Sāyaṇa had only a broken set, namely vol. ii., of such an edition, we can understand why his citations from the Pariçiṣṭas are so limited and also his ignorance of the Nakṣatrakalpa. He was however familiar with the tradition of the five *kalpas*, and as the second chapter of the Çāntikalpa began with an elaborate *nakṣatrayāga*, he identified this portion of the text with the Nakṣatrakalpa of which he had no knowledge except the name.

TEXT OF THE ÇĀNTIKALPA.

oṁ namaḥ çrībrahmavedāya namaḥ

Omitted in Roth. L oṁ namo.

1. oṁ mahāçāntiṁ pravakṣyāmi yāṁ prāpya mahatīṁ çriyam |
brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyo vāpi vāiçyo vāpy upasarjati ||

Roth çriyaḥ. L brahmaṇaḥ; Roth brāhmaṇa.

2. brāhmaṇaḥ sarvakāmāptiṁ kṣatriyaḥ pṛthivījayam |
sarvatas tu samṛddhiṁ ca vāiçyaḥ samadhigachati ||

Roth samṛddhigachati.

3. divyaṁ vā pārthivaṁ vāpy āntarikṣam athāpi vā |
mahāçāntiḥ çamayaty anyad vā bhayam utthitam ||

Roth va. L parthivāiṁ. Roth çamayany. L ucchitaṁ.

4. ārogyam arthaputrāṅç cā 'namitraṁ tathāiva ca |
sāubhāgyaṁ ca samṛddhiṁ ca mahāçāntiḥ prayachati ||

L arthaṁ putrāṅç. L numitraṁ; Roth numitra. Roth mahāçānti.

5. mahādevābhimṛṣṭasya mṛtyor āsyagatasya vā |
grahaghorābhitaptasya mahāçāntir vimocanī || 1 ||
L -bhisṛṣṭasya. Roth ca. Roth vimocanīm.

1. dānavāir abhimṛṣṭasya mahendrasya purā kila |
mahāçāntiṁ paritrāṇīṁ bṛhaspatir amanyata ||
Roth mahāçānti. L vṛhaspatir amanvata.

2. anayaṁ valagaṁ kṛtyāṁ çaṅkamānaḥ parājayam |
ichann ṛddhiṁ samṛddhiṁ ca mahāçāntiṁ prayojayet ||
L çaṁkyāmānaḥ; Roth çikyamānaṁ; perhaps çaṅkyamānaḥ was intended.

3. pāyasaṁ samidhaḥ çāntā yavān ājyaṁ pṛthak-pṛthak |
rudrarāudraparāir mantrāir mahāçāntiṁ prayojayet ||
L pīyasaṁ.

4. çākabhakṣaḥ payobhakṣaḥ phalabhakṣo 'pi vā punaḥ |
bhūtvā dvādaçarātraṁ tu mahāçāntiṁ prayojayet ||

5. bilvāhāraḥ phalāhāraḥ payasā vāpi vartayet |
saptarātraṁ ghṛtāçī vā mahāçāntiṁ prayojayet || 2 ||

1. saptarātram ato 'nyena vartayitvā yathāvidhi |
mahāçāntiṁ prayuñjānaḥ payasā vartayet sakṛt ||
L yasyīvidhi. L prayuñjīnaḥ; prayuñjīta should perhaps be read.

2. kāmān nakṣatrasaṁyogād anukūlaṁ yadā bhavet |
tadā karma prayuñjītā 'pahatya vināyakān ||
Roth kāmāṁ.

3. karmasiddher mahāyogī iṣṭāyuktaḥ samāhitaḥ |
bahiḥ karma prayuñjīta karmasiddhim avāpnuyāt ||
LRoth -siddhir mahāyogā. Roth iṣṭāmuktaḥ. Roth barhiḥ. Roth avā- not clear, arā- in margin.

4. āmnāye kāmikā mantrāḥ prajñātāḥ syuḥ pṛthagvidhāḥ |
āvāpe tān prayuñjīta prathamaṁ tantram iṣyate ||
Roth āmnāje. Roth mantrā. LRoth prajñātā. Roth -vidhā. With pāda d begins a dittography of one çloka in L.

5. balayaç cānu karmāṇi 'jyā cāivānu devatāḥ |
haviṣā ca prayuñjītā "jyena manaseti ca || 3 ||
LRoth maṇayaç. Roth yā for jyā. L maneseti; Roth tamaseti (not clear).

1. nir lakṣmyam iti
L lakṣyam. AV. 1. 18. 1.

2. catvāraḥ khalu vināyakā bhavanti ||
Quoted by Sāyaṇa at 7. 118, p. 542.

3. çālakaṭaṅkaṭaç ca kūṣmāṇḍarājaputraç cotsmṛtaç ca devayajanaç cety

L çalakṛ-. L -rājayutraç. MG. gives third name as: utsmita.

4. eteṣāṁ samanvāgatānām imāni rūpāṇi bhavanty

5. apaḥ svapne kaluṣāḥ paçyati sarpān paçyati muṇḍān paçyati jaṭilān paçyati kāṣāyavāsasaḥ paçyati hastinaḥ paçyaty antarikṣaṁ sthānaṁ caṅkramaṇam iva manyate divaḥ patanam iva manyate 'dhvānaṁ vrajan manyate pṛṣṭhato mā kaç cid anuvrajatīti prāsādārohaṇam antarikṣāt kramaṇam ity.

LRoth kalukhāḥ. L sarpāna. Roth kākhāya-. Roth cakramaṇam. Roth diva. Roth dhvīna vrajaṁ. L manyato. L nā kaç; Roth vā kaç.

6. etāiḥ khalu vināyakair gṛhītā rājaputrā rājyakāmā rājyaṁ na labhante kanyāḥ patikāmāḥ patiṁ na labhante striyaḥ putrakāmāḥ putrān na labhante çrotriyā adhyāpakā ācāryatvaṁ na labhante 'dhyetṝṇām adhyayanāni mahāvighnakarāṇi bhavanti kṛṣatāṁ kṛṣir alpaphalā bhavati vaṇijāṁ vāṇijyam alpaphalaṁ bhavati

L prājaputrā. L labhate. Roth omits: kanyāḥ ... labhante. LRoth kṛṣitāṁ. LRoth bhavaṁti vaṇijāṁ.

7. tatra prāyaçcittam || 4 ||

1. mṛgākharāt kūlāt kulālamṛttikā guggulu vṛṣabhacarma rocanā<ṁ> sarvabījāni sarvaratnāny upahṛtya

L mṛgākharākrūlā kulālaṁmṛtrikā (mṛ being inserted). LRoth guggula. L -vījāni. L upahlatya.

2. puradvārād valmīkād adhidevatāvecyā-rājāṅgaṇābhyāṁ ca mṛttikā madhusarpiṣī ca

L puraddhārād vaḥlmīkād. L adhidevatādveçyā-; Roth adhidevanāveçyā-; lengthening in dual cmpd., but prob. read -veçma-. L -rājāgaṇābhyām. L mṛtti. Roth -sarpiṣi. LRoth carry the *saṁdhi* over to next sentence.

3. etān saṁbhārān saṁbhṛtya

Roth etāṁ.

4. pavane kṛtvā

5. grāmacatuṣpathe nagaracatuṣpathe vā vṛṣabhacarmāstīrya

L vā vā ṛṣabhaṁ-.

6. tatrāinaṁ snāpayet pāvamānībhiḥ || 5 ||

Roth tatrāitaṁ. L pāvamānīdbhih.

1. pavitraṁ çatadhāraṁ <yad> ṛṣibhiḥ pāvana<ṁ> kṛtam |
tena tvām abhiṣiñcāmi pāvamānīḥ punantu tvā ||

L omits. See Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance.

2. yena devāḥ pavitreṇā 'tmānaṁ punate sadā |
tena tvām abhiṣiñcāmi pāvamānīḥ punantu tvā ||

L omits: yena devāḥ, but repeats the verse correctly.

3. yā te 'lakṣmīr yaç ca pāpmā hṛdaye yaç canodare |
ūrvor upasthe pāyāu ca tām ito nāçayāmy aham ||

L yaḥ; Roth yaçaḥ; for yaç ca. L yānç; Roth yāç. Roth pāyu.

4. yā çirasi grīvāyāṁ ‹ca› pāṇipādāu ca sevate |
çroṇyāṁ pṛṣṭhe tu yālakṣmīs tām ito nāçayāmy aham ||

L çroṇyo. L nu. Roth yālakṣmī.

5. prācīṁ diçam avadhāyendraṁ dāivatam āindrīṁ pariṣadaṁ yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||

L avadhāyeṁiṁ; Roth avadhāyendra. L āidrīṁ; Roth āiṁdrī. L pariṣaṁ. L kaṁnyā. This section is modelled after AV. 4. 40.

6. indreṇa dattā oṣadhaya āpo varuṇasaṁmitāḥ |
tābhiṣ ṭvām abhiṣiñcāmi pāvamānīḥ punantu tvā ||

L iddhe || dattā.

7. dakṣiṇāṁ diçam avadhāya yamaṁ dāivataṁ yāmīṁ pariṣadaṁ yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||

8. yamena dattā oṣadhaya āpo ◦ | ◦ ◦ ||

9. pratīcīṁ diçam avadhāya varuṇaṁ dāivataṁ vāruṇīṁ pariṣadaṁ yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||

L pratī. L vahaṇaṁ.

10. varuṇena dattā oṣadhaya āpo ◦ | ◦ ◦ ||

11. udīcīṁ diçam avadhāya somaṁ dāivataṁ somīṁ pariṣadaṁ yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||

Roth omits.

12. somena dattā oṣadhaya āpo ◦ | ◦ ◦ ||

13. dhruvāṁ diçam avadhāya viṣṇu‹ṁ› dāivataṁ vāiṣṇavīṁ pariṣadaṁ yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||

14. viṣṇunā dattā oṣadhaya āpo • | ◦ ◦ ||

15. vyadhvāṁ diçam avadhāya vāyuṁ dāivataṁ vāyavīṁ pariṣadaṁ yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||

Roth vāyu. L vāyaṁvīṁ.

16. vāyunā dattā oṣadhaya āpo ◦ | ◦ ◦ ||

17. ūrdhvāṁ diçam avadhāya bṛhaspatiṁ dāivatam bārhaspatyāṁ pariṣadaṁ yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||

L vṛhaspatiṁ; Roth bṛhaspati.

18. bṛhaspatinā dattā oṣadhaya āpo • | ◦ ◦ ||

L vṛhaspatinā; Roth brihaspatinā.

19. sarvā diçaḥ sarvān antardeçān avadhāya brahmāṇaṁ dāivataṁ brāhmīm pariṣadaṁ yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||

Roth sarvāntardeçān, with also some confusion after brahmāṇaṁ.

20. brahmaṇā dattā oṣadhaya āpo varuṇasaṁmitāḥ |
tābhiṣ ṭvāṃ abhiṣiñcāmi pāvamānīḥ punantu tvā ||
Pādas cd are quoted by Sāyaṇa at 7. 118, p. 542.

21. pra patetaḥ pāpi lakṣmīti catasraḥ || 6 ||
AV. 7. 115. 1—4; quoted by Sāyaṇa, loc. cit.

1. atha snātasyārdharātre sadyaḥpīḍitena gāurasarṣapatāilena sadyonmathitena vā ghṛtenāudumbareṇa sruveṇa juhoti ||
L snātasyārdva-. Roth -pīlitena. L stuveṇa; Roth sraveṇa mūrdhni.

2. çālakaṭaṅkaṭāya svāhā kūṣmāṇḍarājaputrāya svāhotsmṛtāya svāhā devayajanāya svāhety
Roth kuṣmāṇḍa-. L devajanāya svāhāhety.

3. aṭha snāto yāṁ tv āryām upatiṣṭhate tāṁ brūyād bhagavati bhagaṁ me dehi dhanavati dhanaṁ me dehi yaçasvati yaço me dehi sāubhāgyavati sāubhāgyaṁ me dehi putravati putrān me dehi sarvavati sarvān kāmān me dehīty
L snato. Roth yaṁ tvāryam upatiṣṭhante. L tā. Roth yaçasvatī. L sāubhāgavyati. Roth putravatī. Roth sarvavani. L sarvānva kāmān me; Roth sarvān me kāmān. A deletion in L between dehī and ty.

4. *athendrāṇyuçīraduhitrikāṇi bhavanti bhagavati*
sarvabhūteçvari devi çaraṇaṁ tvāham āgataḥ |
sāubhāgyakāmaḥ subhage jahi mahyaṁ vināyakān ||
*nityam || 7 ||
Roth athendrāny-. L -duhitrakāṇi; Roth -duhitri kāni. Roth tvāpam. L -kāma. The çloka is not marked off by punctuation in the mss.

1. ata ūrdhvaṁ vināyakopahārāḥ
2. çuklāḥ sumanasa upahared raktāḥ sumanasa upahared guptāç cāguptāç ca taṇḍulāḥ phalīkṛtāç cāphalīkṛtāç ca piṣṭaṁ pakvaṁ cāmaṁ ca māṅsaṁ pakvaṁ cāmaṁ ca dhānā matsyāḥ çaṣkulyaḥ purodāçaḥ kulmāṣā ajakaçigruka-bhūstṛṇaka-mūlako-'padaṅçānāṁ gandhapānaṁ marīcapānaṁ surāpānam iti
Roth çuktāḥ sumanasaḥ. L upahareṁd. L upahareta. L_1 phalīkṛtoç. L māṅsa. LRoth çaḥkulyaḥ. L gaja-çiyuka-. L -bhūranṛṇaka-; Roth -bhustriṇaka-. L maricayāvaṁ; Roth marīcepānaṁ.

3. naveṣu çūrpeṣu caturbhiḥ kṛtvopahared
4. athopatiṣṭhate || 8 ||

1. çyeno vimukho bakaḥ pakṣī siṅhakalakalī kalahabhīrur vinā-

yakaḥ kubjaḥ kūṣmāṇḍarājaputro hāimavato jambuko virūpākṣaḥ *kaliṅgākumārī* sūkaraḥ krodhī

L vimuko; Roth bhimukta. LRoth -kalaṁkali. Roth kalahavīra. L kuṁbhaṁḍarākṣaḥputrāu. L jaṁbūkā. Roth virūpakṣeḥ. Read: kaliṅgaḥ kumārī, or: kaliṅgo 'kumārī. L çūkara krodhīṁ; Roth çukrakrodhī.

2. vāiçravaṇāya rājñe namo

3. yas tiṣṭhati vāiçravaṇasya dvāre kubjaḥ karālo vinato vināyakas tam ahaṁ çaraṇaṁ prapadye brahmacāriṇam amum

L vāiçvavaṇasya. L kuḥbjaḥ. Roth prapate. L omits: amum.

4. amuṣya kāmam imaṁ saṁardhaya

Roth kāmaḥ imaṁ; L kāpayimaṁ. Roth somaddhaya.

5. vāiçravaṇāya rājñe namo

6. atha çvobhūte vimalam ādityam upatiṣṭhate

L tha.

7. namas te astu bhagavañ chataraçme tamonuda |
jahi me deva dāurbhāgyaṁ sāubhāgyena mā saṁsṛjety

L asru. L bhagavaṁ; Roth bhagavaḥ. L chataraçmi; Roth not clear. L tya jahi (i. e. scribe started to skip pādas cd.) cf. MG. 2. 14. 31.

8. ata ūrdhvaṁ brāhmaṇatarpaṇaṁ

9. gomithunaṁ hiraṇyaṁ vāsaç ca kartre dakṣiṇā || 9 ||

L gomithuna; Roth so- (but not clear). Roth kartre ye.

1. athāto 'gnir mahāçānteḥ pralipte sthaṇḍile same |
çuklavāsāḥ pramathnīta prokṣate çāntivāriṇā ||

Roth gner mahāçāntiḥ. Roth -vāsā pramathnītā.

2. kravyādāgniṁ pranirhatya saṁbhared araṇī çubhe |
om ity etena mantreṇa mathitvāgniṁ samāhitaḥ ||

Roth kravyādagniṁ pranirhṛtya. Roth çubhi.

3. aṅço rājety ṛcaṁ vidvān vibhāgaṁ manasā japet |
kravyāde nāirṛtaṁ karma vakṣyate tat svake krame ||

Kāuç. 71. 1, L aço. Roth sake; L khake. Çāntik. ii. 15. 1—6.

4. samāstvīyena havyāu hi pūrṇākhyāṁ sarpiṣāhutim |
hutvā samindhayed agnim āhutīr juhuyāt tataḥ ||

AV. 2. 6. 1. L havyū. L pūrṇākṣāṁ. L samedhayed; Roth samidhayed; finite forms of caus. are not cited.

5. divas pṛthivyā ākūtiṁ kāmasyendrasye 'ndro rājeti ||

AV. 19. 3. 1 (and elsewhere); 4. 2; 9. 2. 6; 19. 5. 1. L dro; Roth ndra.

6. īçānaṁ prathamaṁ devaṁ yajed brahmā samāhitaḥ |
pākayajñavidhānena prārambhe sarvakarmaṇām ||

7. mahāçāntiṁ prayuñjānas tarpayitvā grahān budhaḥ |
pūjitā devaputrās te tuṣṭāḥ santu phalapradāḥ || 10 ||

Roth -çānti. L -putrārthe. L -pradā.

1. devaputrā vāi grahā uçanā aṅgirāḥ sūryaḥ prājāpatyaḥ somaḥ ketur budhaḥ çanāiçcaro rāhur ity
L uçanāṅgirāḥ; Roth uçanāṅgirā (double saṁdhi). L -patyāḥ. L vudhaḥ.
2. ete brahmāṇam upasasrur bhāgadheyaṁ no bhagavan kalpayasveti
Roth upasusrur.
3. tān abravīd brahmā aṣṭāviṅçatinakṣatreṣu paryāyeṇa carata rāhuḥ somārkayoḥ parvakāleṣu dṛçyatām iti ||
L ṣṭāvinçato-. Roth rāhu. L somārkaryoḥ. Roth omits punctuation.
4. te devā abruvann atha yasya nakṣatraṁ graheṇārtaṁ bhavati tam ārto 'dhitiṣṭhati nāsyārthāḥ sidhyanti
Roth ta; L_1 omits. L abrūvann. L nakṣatre. L -ārtta; Roth -ārthaṁ. Roth ārtho. L nārsyārthāḥ. There is a lacuna at this point.
5. svayaṁ vā manyetāṁ svastimān aham iti
L manyetā; in Roth the anusvara is not clear. L svastiprācan
6. deçasya grāmasya vā *sīnam anu* dīkṣitaḥ karmaṇyaḥ surabhir ahatavāsāḥ
L_1 grāmasyā. L va siṣṭhmuni. Roth dīkṣitaḥ | anudīkṣitaḥ. L -vāsā.
7. pāurṇamāsaṁ tantraṁ vratopāyanāntaṁ kṛtvā
8. purastād agner gomayena gocarmamātraṁ sthaṇḍilam upalipya
L agne gemiyena gocamar-. Roth -mātrāṁ. LRoth elide at the end of this and the following sentences.
9. athāmīṣāṁ grahāṇāṁ hiraṇmayāni chatrāṇy āsanopānatpādapīṭhāni nidhāya
L -yānatyāda-. L nidadhāya.
10. ahatena vastreṇodagdaçenāsanāny avachādya
L -dagadaçenā-. LRoth -āsanāṁny. L avatsādya; Roth acatsādya.
11. ādityādīn grahān āvāhayed
L -ādīna. Roth grahāny.
12. yaṁ vahanti çoṇakarṇā iti navabhiḥ || 11 ||
L yā.

1. yaṁ vahanti çoṇakarṇāḥ pratilomā vājinaḥ |
tam ahaṁ sarvatejomayam ādityam āvāhayāmīha ||
L ryaṁ. L pratiloma. L -yāmi ha. The meter is too bad to warrant corrections for its improvement.

2. yaṁ vahanti haṅsavarṇā anulomā vājinaḥ |
tam ahaṁ dvijāir āpyāyyamānaṁ somam āvāhayāmīha ||
L yāṁ. L āpyājya-; Roth āpyayya-.
3. yasya raktaṁ rūpaṁ raktānulepanaç ca yaḥ |
tam aham raktavarṇābhaṁ bhāumam āvāhayāmīha ||
Roth raktāṁ. L -leyanaç. L stuvarṇābhaṁ.

4. yasya pītaṁ rūpaṁ pītānulepanaç ca yaḥ |
tam ahaṁ pītavarṇābhaṁ budham āvāhayāmīha ||
L pītāi. L vudham.

5. yaç cāivāṅgirasaḥ putro devānāṁ ca purohitaḥ |
tam aham hiraṇyavarṇābhaṁ bṛhaspatim āvāhayāmīha ||
L yo ṁgirasaḥ. L vṛhaspatim.

6. yasya çuklaṁ rūpaṁ çuklānulepanaç ca yaḥ |
tam ahaṁ çuklavarṇābhaṁ çukram āvāhayāmīha ||
L -yāmi ha.

7. yasyāyasaṁ rūpam āyasā ca prakṛtiḥ |
tam aham *ādityatejoniyasthāpyāyamānaṁ mṛtyuputram
āvāhayāmīha ||
L yasyāyesaṁ. Roth āyasāya ca. L ādityenoniyasthāpyamānaṁ.

8. yasya kṛṣṇaṁ rūpaṁ kṛṣṇānulepanaç ca yaḥ |
tam ahaṁ kṛṣṇavarṇābhaṁ rāhum āvāhayāmīha ||

9. yasya dīrghā çikhā mukhaṁ ca parimaṇḍalam |
tam ahaṁ brahmaṇaḥ putraṁ ketum āvāhayāmīha ||
L vrahmaṇaḥ. Combined with next: L -he || ty; Roth -he | ty.

10. ity āvāhya varṇakamayīr vṛkṣamayīr dhātumayīr vā graha-
pratimāḥ pratyaṅmukhīr āsaneṣūpaveçayati || 12 ||
L vakṣamayīr. L grahapratimāṁḥ; Roth pratimā L āsaneṣupa-.

1. bhāskarāṅgārakāu raktāu çvetāu çukraniçākarāu |
rāhuketuyamāḥ kṛṣṇāḥ pītāu budhabṛhaspatī ||
L-āṁgārako. L -vṛhaspatī.

2. cāndanāu somaçukrāu tu bhāumārkāu raktacāndanāu |
hāridrakāv ubhāu jñeyāu viprāir budhabṛhaspatī |
kṛṣṇāguror grahāḥ kāryā rāhuketuçanāiçcarāḥ ||
L jñeyo viprā; viprāu is also possible emendation. Roth kṛṣnāgaror;
L not clear.

3. bhāskarāṅgārakāu tāmrāu rāukmāu budhabṛhaspatī |
rājatāu somaçukrāu tu çeṣāḥ kārṣṇāyasā grahāḥ ||
L tāmnāu rāukabho; Roth tāmre rukme. L -vṛhaspatī. L kārṣṇayasā;
Roth kṛṣṇāyasā.

4. grahāṇāṁ divyaceṣṭānāṁ nakṣatrapathacāriṇām |
yathāvarṇāni puṣpāṇi vāsāṁsy evānulepanam || 13 ||
L_1 vāsāuṁsy; Roth vāsāsy. LRoth āivānu-.

1. imā āpaḥ çivāḥ çivatamāḥ çāntāḥ çāntatamāḥ pūtāh pūta-
tamāḥ puṇyāḥ puṇyatamā amṛtā amṛtatamāḥ pādyāç cār-
ghyāç cācamanīyāç cābhiṣecanīyāç ca pratigṛhṇantu bhaga-
vanto devā grahā ity apo ninayati ||

Roth puryā pur-. L amṛtatamyaḥ; Roth abbreviated. L cārdhyāç. Roth ābhi-. L pratigṛhantu. Roth deva. L çnahā.

2. ime gandhāḥ çubhā divyāḥ sarvagandhāiḥ samanvitāḥ |
pūtā brahmapavitreṇa sūryasya ca raçmibhiḥ ||
pratigṛhṇantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti gandhāir anulimpati ||

L brahmāpavitraṇa sūryarā ca. Roth anulimpayati.

3. imāḥ sumanaso divyāḥ surabhivṛkṣayonijāḥ |
pūtā vāyupavitreṇa sūryasya ca raçmibhiḥ ||
pratigṛhṇantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti sumanobhir abhyarcayati ||

L imā sumanasare. L surabhirvṛkṣa-. L vāyuḥ-.

4. vanaspatiraso medhyo divyo gandhāḍhya uttamaḥ |
āhāraḥ sarvadevānāṁ dhūpo 'yaṁ ‹pratigṛhyatām ||›
pratigṛhṇantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti dhūpaṁ dahati ||

L_1 vinaspati-. L gandhād ătuttamaḥ (for: anuttamaḥ). Roth uttamāḥ.

5. agniḥ çukraç ca jyotiç ca sarvadevapriyo hi saḥ |
prabhākaro mahātejā dīpo 'yaṁ pratigṛhyatām ||
bālārcir dhūmaçikhas ‹tu› timirāriḥ svayaṁprabhuḥ |
oṣadhīsnehasaṁpanno dīpo 'yaṁ ‹pratigṛhyatām ||›
pratigṛhṇantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti dīpaṁ dadāti.

Roth dhuma-. Roth svayaṁ pratigṛhnantu prabhuḥ. L bhagavante divā; Roth bhagavato devā. L dadāmi.

6. ime bhakṣāḥ çubhā divyāḥ sarvabhakṣāiḥ samanvitāḥ |
pūtā brahmapavitreṇa sūryasya ca raçmibhiḥ ||
pratigṛhṇantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti sarvabhakṣān nivedayati ||

Roth bhikṣā. L sarvabhakṣāṁ; Roth sarvabhikṣāṁ.

7. hiraṇmayāṅç camasān sarpiṣaḥ pūrṇān upaharet |

L hiraṇyayāṅç. Roth sarpiṣa upahāra. L omits punctuation.

8. paçcād agneḥ prāṅmukha upaviçya

9. karmaṇe vām ityevamādi

Kauc. 1. 36; 58. 5.

10. devasya tvā savitur ity ādity‹ādy›ebhyo grahebhyo havir nirvapet || 14 ||

Cf. Bloomfield's concordance.

1. athājyabhāgānte viṣāsahim ity ādityāya haviṣo hutvājyaṁ juhuyāt samidha ādhāyopatiṣṭhate ||

Quoted by Sāyaṇa at 10. 2, p. 737; 19. 6, p. 266. AV. 17. 1. 1. L sagid; Roth samid.

2. çakadhūmam iti somāya
AV. 6. 128. 1. Quoted by Sāyaṇa at 6. 127, p. 268.

3. tvayā manyo yas te manyo ity aṅgārakāya
AV. 4. 31. 1; 32. 1. Quoted by Sāyaṇa at 4. 31, p. 675.

4. yad rājānaḥ somasyāṅço yudhāṁ pata iti budhāya
AV. 3. 29. 1; 7. 81. 3. Quoted by Sāyaṇa at 3. 29, p. 494; 7. 85, p. 476. L yajñyajānaḥ. Roth somasyaṅço.

5. sa budhnyād bhadrād adhi çreyaḥ prehi bṛhaspatir na iti bṛhaspataye
AV. 4. 1. 5; 7. 8. 1; 51. 1. Quoted by Sāyaṇa at 7. 6, p. 320; 52, p. 394. Roth prahi. L vṛhaspatir.

6. hiraṇyavarṇā nūnaṁ tad asya çukro 'sīti çukrāya
AV. 1. 33. 1; 4. 1. 6; 17. 1. 20 (2. 11. 5). L n nam.

7. sahasrabāhuḥ puruṣaḥ kena pārṣṇī prāṇāya nama iti çanāiçcarāya
AV. 19. 6. 1; 10. 2. 1; 11. 4. 1. Quoted by Sāyaṇa at 10. 2, p. 737; 11. 6, p. 86; 19. 6, p. 266. L -vāhuḥ. L prāṇāyā.

8. divyaṁ citraṁ rāhū rājānam iti rāhave
Kāuç. 99. 2; 100. 2. Roth rāhu. L rājānama.

9. yas te pṛthu stanayitnur devo devān paribhūr ṛtena ketuṁ kṛṇvann aketava iti ketave
AV. 7. 11. 1; 18. 1. 30; 20. 26. 6. Cf. Sāyaṇa at 7. 11, p. 328. L ttatena. Roth ketu. L kṛṇvaṁn.

10. ketuṁ kṛṇvann aketave peço maryā apeçase |
sam uṣadbhir ajāyathāḥ || 15 ||
L kṛṇvaṁn. L yeçon. L ajāyathā; Roth ājāyathāḥ.

1. mādhūkīr lohitāṅgāya nāiyagrodhīr budhāya ca |
ādadhyāt samidhaḥ plākṣīḥ sakṣīrā bhārgavāya tu ||
Cf. AVPar. xxvi. 5. 6 ff. A page is transposed in Roth so that 16. 1—17. 4 (incl.) stand after the colophon of the chapter. LRoth mādhūkīṁ. Roth -tāṅgaya nyāiyagrodhīṁ. L sakṣirā.

2. ārkīs tu ravaye dadyād rāhor āraṇyagomayam |
āudumbaryo guroḥ proktā āçvatthīs tu çanāiçcare |
candrāya samidhaḥ pālāçīḥ ketor ghṛtayutāḥ kuçāḥ ||
L ārkī ravaye. L oṁkṛduṁbaryo. Roth āçvatthas. L çanāiçcarā.

3. atha çāntāiḥ kṛtyādūṣaṇāiç cātanāir mātṛnāmabhir vāstoṣpatyāir ājyaṁ juhuyād
Cf. AVPar. xxxii. 1—5. Quoted in fragments by Sāyaṇa at 1. 7, p. 48; 2. 2, p. 198; 11, p. 243; 14, p. 260; 8. 3, p. 589. L çāṅtāi. L mātṛnāmabhi. L juhuyātd.

4. abhayenopasthāya tantraṁ parisamāpayed
Cf. AVPar. xxxii. 12. Sāyaṇa at 19. 15, p. 328: abhayenopatiṣṭhate.

5. atha dakṣiṇāḥ prayacchati || 16 ||
L dakṣiṇā. Roth prayachaṁti.

1. bhārgavāya hayaṁ dadyāt somaputrāya kāñcanam |
vṛṣabhaṁ lohitāṅgāya chagalīṁ dhūmaketave ||
Roth -āṅgāja.

2. varam āṅgirasāya dadyād ādityāya tu gāḥ çubhāḥ |
vṛṣalīṁ mṛtyuputrāya gajaṁ dadyāt tu rāhave |
rukmaṁ candramase dadyād etad ācāryaçāsanam ||
L āṅgirase. Roth for gajaṁ: maṁḍāṁ. L dadyā tu.

3. gṛhe bṛhaspatāu viprān bhojayed ghṛtapāyasam |
çukre sarvaguṇaṁ tv annaṁ madhunā cābhighāritam ||
L vṛhaspatāu. L bhojayet. L sarvagṛṇaṁ. Roth yābhighāritaṁ.

4. çanāiçcare haviṣyānnaṁ tathā kṣīrāudanaṁ budhe |
kṛçarānnena ketūnāṁ rāhor māṅsāudanena tu ||
Roth starts to omit pādas bc. L kṣīrāudanu; Roth kṣīradanaṁ. L vudhe; Roth budhāiḥ.

5. bhāume guḍāudanaṁ dadyān modakāiḥ samalaṁkṛtam |
sarpiṣā payasā cāiva sūrye candre tathāudanam ||
Roth gaḍāudanaṁ. L mohakāiḥ.

6. samidādhānam eteṣāṁ grahapūjā vidhīyate |
annadānam athāiteṣām eteṣāṁ dakṣiṇā<h> smṛtāḥ ||
L ekeṣāṁ. L vadhīyate. L athāikeṣāṁm ekeṣāṁ. Roth dakṣiṇa.

7. tad etaj janmani karmaṇi yātrāyāṁ pratilomeṣu vā graheṣu
çāntibhāiṣajyaṁ kuryād ity evam āhur manīṣiṇa ity
L eta junmani. Roth graheṣu | çāntir-. L āhu. Roth manīṣīna.

8. atrāite çlokā bhavanti || 17 ||
L bhavati.

1. yathā samutthitaṁ yantraṁ yantreṇa pratihanyate |
evaṁ samutthitaṁ ghoraṁ çīghraṁ çāntir vināçayet ||
2. yathā bāṇaprahārāṇāṁ kavacaṁ bhavati vāraṇam |
tadvad dāivopaghātānāṁ çāntir bhavati vāraṇam ||
L vāṇa-. L kevacaṁ. L tadvard devo-.

3. ahiṅsakasya dāntasya dharmārjitadhanasya ca |
nityaṁ ca niyamasthasya sadā cānugrahā grahāḥ ||
L_1 -dhasya ca. L sānu, omitting: grahā which is in margin, but cf. next note.

4. grahā gāvo narendrāç ca brāhmaṇāç ca viçeṣataḥ |
pūjitāḥ pratipūjyante nirdahanty apamānitāḥ ||

L omits: grahā, cf. last note. L nareṅdrāṅç ca vrā-.

5. etad grahāṇām ātithyaṁ kuryāt saṁvatsarād api |
ārogyabalasaṁpanno jīvec ca çaradaḥ çatam ||

Roth -saṁpannā jīvema çaradaḥ.

jīvec ca çaradaḥ çatam iti || 18 ||

Roth omits.

iti prathamo 'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ ||

Roth: mahāçāntiḥ (read: -çānteḥ) prathamārdhaṁ samāptam.

Zum magischen Texte (Journal of the American Oriental Society 1912, p. 434 seq.). — Von Dr. J. N. Epstein, Brest-Litowsk, Rußland.

Zu dem von *James A. Montgomery* ibid. S. 435 veröffentlichten Texte ist Folgendes zu bemerken und berichtigen:

1) Zunächst ist zu lesen (s. die Tafel auf S. 434):

זה וזה על סכרא תחיתי דרום ביתא

„Zah, zah (fort! fort!) auf den *Riegel* unter der *Höhe* (Plafónd) des Hauses". זה als Verbannungsinterjektion — denn es ist eine Interjektion, wie das vorhergehende יה, syr. und mand. יא, aram. Papyri יה — ist in einem talmudischen Zauberspruch zur Verbannung eines *Löwen* erhalten: גיזהא דאריה זה זה, Pes. 112b.[1] סכרא ist natürlich das syrische ܣܟܪܐ, talm. סיכרא (סוכרא) „Türriegel".[2] תְחַיתי, v. תְחַית „infra" ist nach der Tafel ziemlich sicher (weniger wahrscheinlich תְחוּתי). (ד)רום־ביתא „Höhe des Hauses", nicht [ד]רומ[ו] „südlich"! Vgl. auch das Talmudische עומקא ורומא eines Hauses. BB. 63b—64a; für „Süden" gebraucht unser Text, wie wir sehen werden, ein anderes Äquivalent.

2) Von וסכר[א]...וערפאלא, unten, zeigt die Tafel bloß: וסכ...וערפאלא und daher eine Ergänzung wie וסכר[א], das hier *nicht* paßt, höchst unwahrscheinlich.

3) Ibid. unten, l.: חראם עליכון שמשא וסינא גזרדינא עליכון אסתאנא ואור[יא ש]ותא וגאבלא אסוריהון קירקא נחאשא ועברא דפרזלא וחתימין בעיזקתה דשמחיזא... „Untersagt sei euch die Sonne und der Mond, verboten sei euch der *Norden* und *Wes[ten,]* der *[O]sten* und *Süden*, ihre (der Teufel) Fessel sind eherne Ringe und eiserne *Riegel*" usw.

אסתאנא, talmudisch אסתן, אסתנא, syr. selten ܐܣܬܢܐ, ass.-bab. *ištânu* „Norden" (zu unserer Stelle vgl. den „Nordwind" im

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[1] Zur Etymologie, s. Montgomery, ibid. S. 436.

[2] Das סכרא scheint eine Zauberkraft gehabt zu haben, s. Sab. 67a: ושבעה עפרי מו' סכרי (Var. bei Aruch: סוכרי דבבא).

Zendavesta: „vâtô daêvô“ „Dämonenwind“); אוריא „Westen“, wie im Talm., ass. *amuru* (avuru); שותא „Osten„, wie im Talm., ass. *šûtu*. Es fehlt nun noch der „Süden“ (im Talm. שדיא, ass. *šadû*) und dieser wird wohl mit גאבלא gemeint sein, welches wohl Metathesis von לאגבא, נאגבא, hebr. נֶגֶב, syr. ܢܓܒܐ ist, wie ähnlich z. B. talm. ניגרא „Fuß“ = mand. ליגרא, Sendschirli לגרא, לגר = רגלא.[1] עברא ist *nicht* = אברא „Blei“, denn nach der Tafel ist zweifellos דפרזלא (ר) zu lesen. Es bedeutet vielmehr, wie häufig im Talm. (דדשא) עברא „Riegel“[2] (Querbalken), entsprechend קרקא, die, wie im Syr. „Ringe“ sind und dienen hier zum Empfangen des „Riegels“. Zu שמחיזא „Semayaza“ des Jubiläumbuches (Montgomery, S. 436), der Gigant שמחזאי im Targ. j. Gen. 6, 4, b. Nidda 61ª, vgl. noch den talmudischen Zauberspruch zur Bändigung eines *Dämons*, Sab. 67ª ליטא תבור ומשומת בר טיט בר טינא בשמגז מריגז ואיסטמא:, Var.: Aruch: בשם מוריגז ומוריפת ואיסתממתיה, Ms. Oxf. (bei Rabbinowicz) בשם מרגיז מוריפת ואיסטתמתיה, Ms. Mün. בשם מורינן ומוריפת ואיסתמי מייתי (das ב in בשמ' ist daher jedenfalls sicher).

4) Ibid. l. nach der Tafel: וניזהון וניפקון כול שידא, statt וניזחון, vgl. das זה, oben.

5) גניבא (S. 436) ist ein häufiger Name im b. Talmud.

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[1] Oder, was mir noch wahrscheinlicher ist, גאבלא (ar. جَبَلٌ „Berg“) ist eine buchstäbliche Übersetzung des ass.-bab. *šadû* „Süden“ vom Stamme *šadû* „hoch sein“ von dem auch das gleichlautende Nomen *šadû* „Berg“ abgeleitet ist (s. Del., HWB. s. v.). Vgl. das גבלא des Targ. j. zu שֵׂעִיר, bei dem Samaritaner גבלא (Levy, TWB. I, 123), das „Bergland“, „Hochland“ („Idumea“), das גְּבָל der Bibel (Ps. 83, 8), heute Dschebāl, bei den Griechen Γεβαλήνη, die Gebirgsgegend im Süden des toten Meeres (Gesen.-Buhl, s. v. גבל, vgl. s. v. שעיר). Hervorzuheben ist auch, daß jene Gegend ja im „Süden“ liegt! Zu גבלא vgl. auch das *gablu (ga-ab-lum)* bei Rawl. V 28, 842 zwischen *ša-du-ú* (Hoch s., Berg) und *a-la-ku* („Gehen“), Del. HWB. 193ª u. 642ᵇ.

[2] Vgl. Targ. Jos. 6, 1: בעַבְּרִין דִנְחָשׁ, Ps. 107, 16: דשי נחשא וַעֲבָרֵי פרזלא.

Iranian Miscellanies.—By Dr. Louis H. Gray, Aberdeen, Scotland.

a) On the Aramaic Version of the Behistān Inscriptions.

The value of the fragments of the Aramaic version of the Behistān inscriptions for solving some of the problems in the interpretation of these texts has recently been made evident by Tolman's identification of the Old Persian month Garmapada with Tammuz.[1] These same fragments conclusively clear up two of the most difficult words in all Old Persian literature. The passage Bh. i, 65, the text of which has been definitely settled by Jackson[2] and by King and Thompson,[3] reads as follows: *abičariš gaiθāmčā māniyamčā viθabiščā.* The principal translations of these words, since this establishment of the text, are: Bartholomae, "Weideland (?), (und) fahrende Habe, (und) liegende Habe, (und) (?)";[4] Justi, "Volksversammlungen, Gehöfte, Hauskomplexe, (einzelne) Häuser";[5] King and Thompson, "the pasture-lands, and the herds and the dwelling-places, and the houses";[6] Tolman, "the revenue (?) and the personal property and the estates and the royal residences";[7] Weißbach and Bang, "das Weideland (?), die Viehherden und die Wohnungen, und zwar in den Häusern";[8] Hoffmann-Kutschke, "die Zusammenkünfte des Volkes, die Gehöfte sowohl wie die Hauskomplexe wie die (einzelnen) Klanen".[9]

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[1] *American Journal of Philology*, xxxii, 444 f.

[2] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxiv, 84 f., *Persia Past and Present*, p. 196 f. [3] *Inscription of Darius . . . at Behistûn*, p. 14.

[4] *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, coll. 89, 478, 1168, *Zum altiran. Wörterb.*, p. 227 f.

[5] *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xvii, Anzeiger, pp. 105—108, reading *abāčariš* and *viθbiš* (!). [6] *loc. cit.*

[7] *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, pp. 9, 64 f., 85, 116, 125 f.

[8] *Altpersische Keilinschriften*, p. xv; similarly Weißbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 21, who omits the query and translates *māniyam* by "Wohnung(en)"; like Justi, he reads *viθbiš*.

[9] *Altpersische Keilinschriften . . . am Berge Bagistān*, pp. 13, 51 f., reading *abičiriš* (!).

The Babylonian version for this passage is lacking, nor do the two New Susian words preserved as the equivalents of *gaiθām* and *māniyam*, the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα *aš* and *kurtaš* respectively, give any assistance. Fortunately, the Aramaic version contains the equivalents for *māniyamčā viθabiščā*—נכסיהום ובתיהם, "their wealth and their houses".[1] The word נכס—a *plurale tantum*, like its Syriac equivalent, ܢܟܣܐ—occurs seven times in the Old Testament, the Septuagint rendering being χρήματα in Joshua xxii, 8, II Chronicles i, 11 f., ὑπάρχοντα in Ezra vi, 8, Ecclesiastes v, 18, vi, 2, and ζημία τοῦ βίου in Ezra vii, 26.[2] This term denotes material wealth, as in the mention of "the king's goods, even the tribute beyond the river" (Ezra vi, 8), and in Joshua xxii, 8, נכסים, "wealth", is expressly distinguished from מקנה, "cattle", just as *gaiθām* and *māniyam* are contrasted in Bh. i, 65. As to the etymology of *māniya-*, its translation by נכסי suggests that it is to be connected with Sanskrit *mānya-*, "honourable, venerable".

Turning to the second equation—*viθabiš*: בתיהם—we are confronted by some difficulty. So far as the syntax is concerned, I see no reason to depart from the view which I formerly expressed—although incorrectly reading *viθaibiš*—that the form is an instrumental neuter plural, used with accusatival force.[3] As to the form, I have been able to make no advance over my suggestion in a letter to Professor Tolman, incorporated by him in his *Lexicon*,[4] that *viθabiš* is from the stem *viθan-*, and is to be compared with Avesta *vīsan-*, "householder". As in Bartholomae's similar suggestion[5] to explain the difficult Old Persian word *viθibiš* in Dar. Pers. d, 14, 22, 24, from a stem *viθin-*, I feel the difficulty of meaning, since *-an-* normally forms nouns denoting a part of the body or *nomina agentis*,[6] rather than words of relationship to something. Despite this, I see at present no alternative but to repeat the suggestion to which I have already referred, that *viθabiš* means "things

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[1] Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, 61 A. P. 13447 c, Nr. 1 (Vs), p. 91.

[2] See, further, Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, p. 647.

[3] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxiii, 58 f.

[4] P. 126. [5] *Zum altiran. Wörterb.*, p. 227.

[6] Brugmann, *Kurzgefaßte Grammatik*, p. 332, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik*, II², i, 292—312.

relating to the house, *τὰ οἰκεῖα*". It may be noted, in this connexion, that the Aramaic, being rendered from the Babylonian rather than from either of the other two versions,[1] does not invariably represent exactly the Old Persian text.[2]

The translation of the Old Persian passage *abičariš gaiθāmčā māniyamčā viθabiščā* would accordingly be, "the pasturage, and the live stock, and the wealth, and the home possessions".

There is in these Aramaic fragments a very remarkable passage which has no parallel in any of the other versions of the Behistān inscriptions. This passage, which begins with Old Persian Bh. iv, 37 (Babylonian, 97; New Susian, iii, 63), is as follows:[3]

. . . אנ]ת מלך זי אחרי תהוה זי יכדב
. . .]־ מן כדבן שגיאן אזהר ע[־־°] זי יכדב
. . .] הודע איך זי עביד אנת וא[יך] הלכתך
. . .]־כך יאמר שמע זי פרתר יאמר
. . .] בד זי מסכן יעבד זך חזי אף קדמתך
. . .] טובך

"Thou who shalt be king after me,[4] the man who lieth,
". . . of lies[5] beware mightily . . . who lieth.
". . . make known how thou hast been created,[6] and how hath been thy going.
". . . saith, Hear what he saith before.[7]

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[1] Ungnad, p. 83.

[2] An excellent instance of such divergence is the Aramaic rendering of Old Persian *ha^{n}gmatā paraitā*, "having assembled, they went" (for the form see Bartholomae, *Grundriß*, I, i, 220 f., *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 501), in Bh. ii, 43, 52, 58, by אתכנשו אזלו, "they assembled, they went", corresponding to Babylonian *ip-ḫu-ru-nim-ma it-tal-ku-ʾ* or *ip-ḫu-ru-nim-ma il-li-ku-ʾ*.

[3] Ungnad, 67, P. 13447b (Vs.), p. 90. For a slightly different rendering see Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüd. Militärkolonie zu Elephantine*, p. 197.

[4] This use of אחרי substantiates the suggestion of Bartholomae (*Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 77) that [illegible] in Bh. iv, 37, 68, 87, should be read *apara^{h}ma^{h}* instead of *aparam*; cf. also *arkîʾa* (Bab. 105) as the equivalent of *apara^{h}ma^{h}* (Old Persian iv, 68).

[5] Cf. the Babylonian plural *parṣātu* as the equivalent of the Old Persian *drauga*, "lie" (Bab. Bh. 14 = Old Pers. Bh. i, 34).

[6] Cf. the "making" of the earth, etc., and the "making" of Darius, etc., to be king in Dar. Pers. d, 2 f. (*adadā*), NR a, 1—6, Xerx. Pers. a, 1—4, b, 1—7, etc. (*adā, akunauš*)?

[7] The word פרתר represents Old Persian **fratara-*, "prior" (see Ungnad, p. 2, note to line 5).

"... who maketh alms, that man hath also been seen before thee.
"... good unto thee," etc.

b) A New Fragment of the Avesta.

In Manakji Rustamji Unvāla's lithographed edition of the *Rivāyats* of Dārāb Hormazdyār, to which more particular reference will be made below, there are a large number of citations from the Avesta, including Westergaard's Fragment 4 (p. 179, l. 15—p. 180, l. 10),[1] but all these, excepting one, are taken from the Avesta as already known. This one exception, which may be considered a new fragment, and as adding one word to the Avesta vocabulary, occurs twice in the *Rivāyats*: first, in a *Rivāyat* of Dastūr Barzū Qiyām-ad-Dīn Sanǰāna, who flourished in the seventeenth century (p. 39, l. 14—p. 40, l. 8); and, second, in a response of the Persian dastūrs to a letter of Barzū b. Qavām-ad-Dīn b. Kaikubād b. Ormazdyār, written in 1015 A. Y. (p. 431, l. 19—p. 432, l. 10).[2] The variants of the two passages are unimportant; the text, according to the first occurrence, with the translation, runs thus: *ahurəm mazdąm raēvantəm xᵛarənaŋhvantəm yazamaide. aməšāspəntā huxšaθrā huδāŋhō yazamaide. rašnūm razištəm yazamaide. arastātəmča frādaṯ-gaēθąm varədaṯ-gaēθąm yazamaide. ərəzuxδəm vāčim yaṯ frādaṯ-gaēθąm yazamaide. arəstātəm frādaṯ-gaēθəm yazamaide. gaerīm uši-darənəm mazdaδātəm ašaxᵛāθrəm yazatəm yazamaide. ašānąm vaŋhəš sūrā spəntā fravšyō yazamaide. vīspehe a[ša]vana yazata yazamaide. ušehenem paiti-raθūm bərəzīm namānīmča paiti-ratūm yeŋhe hātąm*; "Ahura Mazda, radiant, glorious, we worship; the Aməša Spəntas, rightly ruling, fair of form, we worship; Rašnu, most righteous, we worship; and Arštāt, furthering living creatures, increasing living creatures, we worship; the rightly spoken prayer, furthering living creatures, we worship; Arštāt, furthering living creatures, we worship; the mountain Ušidarəna, created by Mazda, the happy abode of Aša, the yazad, we worship; the good, mighty, holy fravašis of the righteous we worship; every righteous yazad we worship; Ušahina, the counter-ratu; Bərəǰya and Nmānyá, the counter-ratu; yeŋhē-hātąm."

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[1] On this fragment see Haas, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, pp. 181—187.

[2] Rosenberg, *Notices de littérature parsie*, pp. 43, 67; on Barzū Qiyām-ad-Dīn see West, *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 123.

In this fragment the occurrence of the term *paiti-ratu-*, "counter-ratu", which seems to be found nowhere else in Avesta literature thus far known, is noteworthy. Ušahina, Bərəǰya, and Nmānya are frequently mentioned together as *ašahe ratu*,[1] and the question arises whether *paiti-ratu-* is synonymous with the ordinary *ratu-*, or whether it bears some special technical meaning.

c) The Iranian Name בגדאנא.

In the last volume of this *Journal* (pp. 434—438) Professor Montgomery discusses a magical bowl-text which contains the words שמחיזא מריא בגדאנא, "Šamḥîzâ, the lord Bagdânâ". As Professor Moore suggested to him, this Šamḥîzâ is obviously the fallen angel Semyaza of the Book of Enoch,[2] and it is equally evident that בגדאנא is equivalent to שמחיזא. The fallen angel שמחזאי is frequently mentioned in post-Biblical Hebrew,[3] and his name means, according to Schwab,[4] "nom du visionnaire". As שמחזאי is composed of שם, "name", and חזאי, "seer", so בגדאנא is composed of בג, "God", and (א)דאנ, which is, I think, represented by Modern Persian دان—, "knowing" (Pahlavi **dānak*), or else by دانا, "learned, wise" (Pahlavi *dānāk*). If בג is equivalent to שם, the latter is a paraphrase of the Ineffable Name.[5] The Iranian appellation בגדאנא means "God-knowing", and I suggest that the Semitic appellative שמחזאי should be translated "he who sees the Name"[6] rather than "name of him who sees". I am, of course, aware that שמחזאי scarcely describes the character of the fallen angel, but it was doubtless very appropriate before he fell and wedded one of the "daughters of men".

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[1] *E. g. Yasna* i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; vi, 6; xxii, 9; *Gāh* v, 1, 5 f.; *Srōš Bāž* 1.

[2] Enoch vi ff.; see Beer *ad loc.*, in his translation in Kautzsch, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ii, 217 ff.; Barton, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxi, 165, explains Semyaza as "apparently the Heb. *shemî-'az*, 'my name is mighty'."

[3] See Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, ii, 492, and *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, iv, 573; Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc., p. 1594; for the legends especially Grünbaum, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxxi, 225—248.

[4] *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie*, p. 256.

[5] Cf. Blau, *Altjüdisches Zauberwesen*, p. 117 ff.; see also *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ix, 162—165, xi, 262—264.

[6] I reached this conclusion before I knew the similar view of Nathaniel Schmidt, *Harper Memorial Volume*, ii. 343 f.: "Semyaza = שמא חזא, 'he sees the Name, i. e. God.' or שמיא חזא, 'he surveys the heavens', as he reveals 'the revolution of the world'."

d) Parsī-Persian Omen Calendars.

I recently published in this *Journal* (xxx, 436—442) and in the *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume* (pp. 454—464) two studies on Parsī-Persian omen-lists: one on the *Burǰ-Nāmah*, copied for me on 29 June, 1909, by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana from a manuscript in the Library of the University of Bombay (BU 29); and the other on two brief *maθnavīs* edited by Salemann in *Travaux du IIIme Congrès des Orientalistes*, ii, 497 f. It was then unknown to me that another version of the *Burǰ-Nāmah*, differing in slight details, had been lithographed by Manakji Rustamji Unvāla in his edition of the *Rivāyats* of Dārāb Hormazdyār (ii, 193 f.). This work has not yet been published, but has been exhaustively analysed by Rosenberg, in his *Notices de littérature parsie.* Through the kindness of the editor and of Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, I have received proof-sheets of the volume, and since the readings are better, it seems to me advisable to re-edit the *Burǰ-Nāmah* from it, particularly as my former translation contained a number of errors, one of which—the rendering of کودک وزن (ll. 10, 23) by "boy and woman" instead of "child and wife" (though both are equally possible)—led me unjustly to criticise the moral tone of the poem. I also take this opportunity to correct a few minor errors in the two *maθnavīs* on which I commented in the *Hoshang Volume.*

The text and translation of the *Burǰ-Nāmah*, according to Unvāla's edition, together with Dastur Sanjana's variant readings, are as follows:

بنام ایزد مهربان دادگر

حکایت در باب دیدن ماه نو اندرون هر یک برج که میاید

زطاف خداوند روزیرسان بگویم زهر ماه نو من تو دان[1]
زبرج حمد چون به بینی تو ماه بکن اندر آن دم بآتش نگاه
که آن ماه کارت بود خوبتر زگفتار دانا[2] کنون درنگر
هم از ثور بنگر به بینی کاورا که آن ماه بهتر بود مر ترا
چو در برج جوزا به بینی تو ماه بکن اندر آن دم[3] بزاهد نگاه 5
بپرهیز از کور واورا مبین که باشدت آن ماه نیکوترین
چو در برج خرجنگ بینی قمر زگفت حکیم این تو بشنو خبر

[1] BU 29, میتوان. [2] BU, زکنتار دان.
[3] BU, در آن وقت کن تو.

در آن دم نظر کن باب روان دگر سبزهٔ[1] خوب یا اوروران
زبرج اسد چون به بینی تو ماه تو در آسمان کن زمانی نگاه
10 بخواه حاجت از پاک پروردگار مبین کودک وزن تو ای نامدار
چو در برج خوشه به بینی تو دان زمضمون او بشنو از[2] من چنان
مبین تو چنان رو دگر کس زدود که غمگین نکردی تو خود باوجود
بخوان ذکر یزدان بصدق و[2] درست که خوشحال کردی درآن ماه نوست
چو در برج میزان به بینی قمر در آینه وزر در آن دم بگر
15 بخواه حاجت از کردگار جهان هم از برج عقرب بگویم تو دان[3]
تو بنگر ایا مرد نیکو[4] نظر جوان مرد با شد نه کور و نه کر
مبین چیز مکروه ای نامور که آن مه به نیکی رسد خود بسر
چو در برج قوس اندر آید قمر همانگه نگه کن ابا سیم وزر
مبین روی بیمار را آن زمان ببرهیز تا خود شوی شادمان
20 زبرج جدی چون به بینی تو مه اشیم وُهو[5] برخوان همانگه سه ره
تو منگر زبیمار و هم کودکان که باشی در آن مه بسی شادمان
چو در دل و[6] بینی همی ماه نو ایثا اهوُویریو[7] میخوان تو اینها شنو
بخواه حاجت از قادر کردگار مبین کودک وزن تو ای نامدار
چو در برج ماهی به بینی تو ماه بلعل و جواهر کن انگه نگاه
25 به بین و بشو شادمان آن زمان بودی شاد و نبود ترا خود زیان
همین بیت[8] مارا کنون یاد دار که باشد نگه‌دار پروردگار

IN THE NAME OF GOD, COMPASSIONATE, OMNIPOTENT!
TRADITION ON THE THEME OF WHAT HAPPENS AT SIGHT OF THE NEW MOON IN EACH SIGN [OF THE ZODIAC].

(1) By the grace of God, Who giveth daily food, I shall tell of each new moon; be thou wise!

(2) When thou seest the moon from the sign of Aries, at that instant gaze on fire;

(3) In order that thy affairs may be better that month, consider now the word of the sage.

(4) Likewise at sight [of the new moon] from Taurus look on an ox in order that that month may be better for thee.

(5) When in the sign of Gemini thou seest the moon, at that instant gaze on an ascetic;[9]

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[1] BU, سبزه‌را. [2] BU omits. [3] BU, توان.
[4] BU, ابام بنیکو. [5] BU, اشیم اهو. [6] BU, دل‌و در.
[7] BU, ایثا اهوویر. [8] BU, همین است.
[9] Rosenberg (Бурдж-нāмэ, p. 8, note 1) regards this reference to the ascetic (زاهد) as a proof of the Indian origin of the *Burǰ-Nāmah*.

(6) Beware of mirage and look not upon it, in order that that month may be most good for thee.

(7) When thou seest the moon in the sign of Cancer—hark thou to tidings from the words of this sage—

(8) At that instant look on running water, but not on pleasant verdure or plants.

(9) When thou seest the moon from the sign of Leo, gaze a while upon the sky;

(10) Implore thy necessities from the pure Protector [God]; look not thou on child and wife, O famous one!

(11) When in the sign of Virgo thou seest (the new moon), be thou wise; of its signification hear thou from me thus:

(12) Look not thou, under these circumstances, with sadness[1] on the face of any one else, in order that thou mayest not make thyself distressed with thyself;

(13) Recite thou praise of God with verity and perfectly, in order that thou mayest do happily in that moon, the new one.

(14) When in the sign of Libra thou seest the moon, gaze at that instant on a mirror and on gold;

(15) Implore thy necessities from the Creator of the world. Likewise of the sign of Scorpio I shall tell; be thou wise!

(16) Gaze thou, O man of good appearance, young man of vigour, not blind and not deaf;

(17) Look not on any thing abominable, O famous one, in order that that month may come to an end with goodness.

(18) When the moon entereth the sign of Sagittarius. gaze straightway on silver and gold;

(19) Look not on the face of the sick at that time; beware [of so doing] in order that thou thyself mayest be joyful.

(20) When thou seest the moon from the sign of Capricornus, straightway recite the *Ašīm Vuhū* [*Ašəm vohu*] thrice;

(21) Gaze not on the sick and likewise [not] on children, in order that in that month thou mayest be very joyful.

(22) When in Aquarius thou seest the new moon, recite thou the *Ayθā Ahūvīryū* [*Yaθā ahū vairyō*], listen unto them;

(23) Implore thy necessities from the mighty Creator; look not thou on child and wife, O famous one!

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[1] Rosenberg (p. 9, cf., however, his uncertainty expressed on p. 4) renders "with pride" (съ надменностью).

(24) When thou seest the moon in the sign of Pisces, gaze straightway on rubies and pearls;

(25) Look and be joyful at that time; be joyous, and it is no harm to thee.

(26) Even so remember our verses now, in order that the Protector [God] may be guardian.

The two *maθnavīs* (reprinted from the *Hoshang Volume*) on the omens to be drawn from the appearance of snakes on each of the days of the week and in each of the signs of the zodiac are as follows, with their revised translations:

دیدن مار از خوب و بد هفته

به شنبه مار بینی روز کیوان — رسد بر آسمانت قصر و ایوان
به یکشنبه که رو(ز) آفتابست — به بینی مار را میکش ثوابست
دو شنبه روز روز ماه باشد — چو دیدی مار را دلخواه باشد
سه شنبه روز باشد روز مرّیخ — بکن بنیاد اژدر را تو از بیخ
چهار شنبه که باشد از عطارد — ترا امروز عیشی و عشرت آرد
پنج شنبه که باشد روز برجیس — چو دیدی مارکشتی کشتی ابلیس
بود آدینه روز زهره ناهید — ترا انروز میباید کنی عید

The Sight of a Snake according to the Good and Bad of the Week.

(1) On the Sabbath, the day of Saturn, [if] thou seest a snake, rear unto heaven thy castle and palace.

(2) On the day after the Sabbath, which is the day of the Sun, [if] thou seest a snake, kill it; it is a good work.

(3) Two days after the Sabbath—the day of the Moon it would be—when thou seest a snake, it would be desirable.

(4) Three days after the Sabbath—the day of Mars it would be—[if thou seest a snake,] dig up the serpent's foundation from the root.

(5) Four days after the Sabbath, which would be from Mercury, [if thou seest a snake,] it bringeth thee pleasure and society this day.

(6) Five days after the Sabbath, which would be the day of Jupiter, when thou seest a snake [and] killest it, thou killest Iblīs.

(7) Friday is the day of Venus, of Aphrodite; that day [if thou seest a snake,][1] thou shouldst keep festival.

دیدن مار را از خوب و بد دوازده برج که ماه باشد
چو در برج حمل باشد مه ایدوست به بینی مار را بسیار نیکوست
به برج ثور نیکو مینماید ترا از مار نیرو مینماید
مه اندر برج جوزا نیک باشد سرش در زیر سنگ و چوب باشد
چو در خرچنگ مه تو مار دیدی طمع از مال و جان خود بریدی
چو در برج اسد بدر اندر آید فزاید دولت و محنت سر آید
به برج سنبله باشد هلالي چو دیدی مار میخور در سفالی
چو بینی مار را اندر ترازو بود پشت و پناه[2] زور بازو
چو در عقرب قمر کردد نمایان بکشتن اژدها باشد همایون
چه مه در برج قوس انداخت پرتو بآئین بینی دولت از نو
چه در جدی قمر کردد بدیدار مبین بر اژدها منمای رخسار
ببرج دلو مه شل اشکارا ستم بسیار بینی و جفارا
به برج حوت مه در برج ماهی به بینی بگذرانی پادشاهی
اگر هشیار اگر خوشحال و کیفی خدامرزی رسانی بر ضعیفی

The Sight of a Snake according to the Good and Bad of the Twelve [Zodiacal] Signs, [according to] what Moon it is.

(1) When the moon should be in the sign of Aries, O friend, [if] thou seest a snake, much good it is.

(2) In the sign of Taurus good doth it [the moon] show; to thee from a snake strength doth it show.

(3) The moon in the sign of Gemini should be good; his [the snake's] head should be under stone and stock.

(4) When the moon [is] in Cancer, [if then] thou seest a snake, thou cuttest off hope of thy wealth and life.

(5) When the full moon entereth the sign of Leo, [if then thou seest a snake,] good fortune increaseth, and calamity cometh to a head [*i. e.* ceaseth].

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[1] Rosenberg, who read an advance offprint of my article in the *Hoshang Volume*, does not think that this bracket should be supplied here. The parallelism of the other verses seems to require it, yet it is, of course, true that Friday, as the Muhammadan Sabbath, might form an exception to the other days of the week.

[2] Rosenberg suggests پناه و زور.

(6) Should the new moon be in the sign of Virgo when thou seest a snake, eat on earthenware.[1]

(7) When thou seest a snake in Libra, it [the snake] is thy protector and asylum, [and] the might of thine arm.

(8) When the moon appeareth in Scorpio, it would be fortunate for the killing of a serpent.

(9) When the moon darteth his ray in the sign of Sagittarius, [if then thou seest a snake,] thou dost customarily see wealth anew.

(10) When the moon doth make its appearance in Capricornus, look not on a serpent, show not thy face.

(11) [If] the moon becometh visible in the sign of Aquarius, [if then thou seest a snake,] thou seest [*i. e.* sufferest] much oppression and cruelty.

(12) [If] the moon [be] in the sign of Pisces, in the sign of the Fish, [if thou seest a snake,] thou seest the passing of sovereignty.

(13) If [thou art] prudent, if happy and joyous, thou causest the divine compassion to come unto [thy] weakness.[2]

As supplementary to my former studies, I may note that Rosenberg assigns both the *Burǰ-Nāmah* and the *Mār-Nāmah* (the latter edited by Modi, Bombay, 1893) either to Anūšīrvān ibn Marzbān of Kirmān, who flourished in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, or to one of his pupils.[3]

While I have endeavoured, largely on the basis of Rosenberg's criticism on my article in this *Journal* and his pencil notes on the *Hoshang* offprint, to correct the errors of reading and translation to which I confess, I remain unchanged regarding the only matter which I regard as of real importance in this connexion—the problem of the ultimate source of this whole type of Parsī-Persian omen-literature. I have long been perfectly aware of the existence of snake-cults in India, though I had overlooked the mentions of moon-omens in India made by al-Bīrūnī (*India*, tr. Sachau, ii, 97; *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, p. 335); but these are scarcely of a weight sufficient to make any alteration in my theory. I have also long known that,

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[1] Rosenberg, reading می خور, translates "drink wine in an earthen cup".

[2] Rosenberg translates "thou reachest God's compassion with the feeble".

[3] Rosenberg, *Notices*, 11—13, 49, Бурдж-нāмə, 4.

as Rosenberg says, there was active communication between India and Persia in the Sasanian period, and long before; and that books of Indian authorship were translated into Pahlavi, and later into Persian and Arabic. It would indeed be strange if Indian works on astrology and divination had not been among this number.

But all this seems to me to be beside the mark. I myself mentioned, in the Hoshang paper, abundant instances of ophiomancy from India, Burmah, Melanesia, Greece, Italy, and the Balto-Slavs, etc. Instances of omens from the new moon are as wide-spread as the lunar light. Yet among only one people was the omen-system drawn up in regular and exact calendrical form—the Babylonians. If we assume an Indian source for such omen-lists as are here studied, we can allege in support of this view only the fact that omens were unsystematically drawn from moon and snakes, and the possibility that Indian works upon these omens were translated by Persians or Arabs, although no Indian book of this character is thus far known to exist. My own belief is still the one which I expressed in the *Hoshang Volume*: "In view, then, of the facts that omens from snakes cannot be explained as Zoroastrian, and that, while sporadic portents are drawn from serpents among Hebrews, Hindus, Burmese, Melanesians, Romans, Greeks, and Lithuanians, there is no systematic development of ophiomancy among any of these peoples, there seems to me but one possible derivation for the Persian *Mār-Nāmah*, for only among the ancient Babylonians was there at once a perfected ophiomancy and a regular calendar form for it . . . I would tentatively suggest that the alleged Zoroastrian ophiomancy is, in reality, a survival of Babylonian lore on the same subject. Whether this knowledge was transmitted orally, or how it received its recrudescence, of which the first trace known to me at present is al-Bīrūnī's record, is a problem I cannot touch. I believe, however, that more than one element in Zoroastrianism, even as recorded in the Avesta, will ultimately prove to have Babylonian influence as at least a factor. The West of Asia has been for milleniums a fusing-furnace of religions; Sumerians and Babylonians, Jews and Persians, Gnostics, Mandæans, and Manichæans, Muhammadan sects, and Nestorian Christianity have all contributed their share. In this snake-calendar, perhaps, is one indebtedness of the later Parsis to Babylonia."

In this same article I mentioned the close parallelism of the *De Ostentis* of Johannes Lydus to the Babylonian omen-literature. Since I wrote that paper, it has been shown by Bezold and Boll[1] that much of Greek astrology, as in lunaries, brontologies, steropologies, seismologies, etc., was modelled on, and, at least in part, more or less directly translated from, Babylonian tablets. If Babylonian astrology thus lingered on, and was carried to Greece, it is still more probable that it long survived in its native home. In the absence of any Indian work showing either in form or in spirit the slightest kinship to such compositions as the *Burǰ-* and *Mār-Nāmah*, and with the rich abundance of Babylonian omen-literature which is amazingly like this portion of Parsī-Persian, I can only abide by my conviction that these Iranian texts are to be derived from Babylonian, and not from Indian, sources.

e) Modern Persian *bi-*: Lithuanian *be-*.

In Modern Persian the future, the subjunctive, and the imperative are formed by the aid of the particle ـِبـ, found in Afγān as *ba-*, in Kurdish as *b-* (*be-*, *bi-*, *bo-*, *bu-*), in Tāliš as *ba-*, in Gīlakī as *be-*, in Māzandarānī as *ba-*, in Gabrī as *v-*, etc.[2] In Pahlavi the form is *bē-* (cf. the antevocalic ـِبی in Modern Persian), and in Pāzand *bə-*. The fact that in Pahlavi *bē-* is regularly rendered in Huzvaresh by *barā* (ڕاه), "except, besides, without," has led some[3] to consider the verbal particle *bē-* identical with the preposition *bē*. The correct view regarding the particle *bē-* is, however, that of Salemann,[4] who connects it with the Avesta intensive particle *bōiṯ*, which is compounded of Avesta *bā-* + *iṯ*.[5] The cognates of *bā* are numerous,[6] and are traceable to the monosyllabic bases **bhā* and **bhē*:

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[1] "Reflexe astrologischer Keilinschriften bei griechischen Schriftstellern", *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1911, *Abhandlung* vii.

[2] Geiger, *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, I, ii, 220, 396.

[3] Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, i, 213 f., Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, no. 143, *Grundriß*, I, ii, 150, West, *Mainyo-i-Khard*, p. 249. On the source of *bē*, "without", see Salemann, *Grundriß*, I, i, 284, 318, Horn, *ib.* I, ii, 20, 160.

[4] *Grundriß*, I, i, 311.

[5] Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, coll. 962, 912.

[6] Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 619, Feist, *Etymo-*

**bhā*: Full grade: Avesta *bā*, Armenian *ba(y)* (?),[1] Old Bulgarian *bo*;
Reduced or first null grade: Lithuanian *bà*, Gothic *-ba(i)*,[2] Lettish *-ba*.

**bhē*: Full grade: Greek *φή*.
Reduced or first null grade: Lithuanian *bè*, *be*, Old Prussian *bhe*.

Thus far, however, it seems not to have been suggested that an exact etymological analogue to the Modern Persian verbal particle ب is to be found in Balticon Lithuanian *be-* prefixed to verbs adds a continuative force, as *be-vargstù*, "I am continually miserable", *mán bè-kalbant*, "while I continued speaking";[3] and in Old Lettish *-ba* was affixed to verbal forms to give a similar modification of meaning, as *láidi-ba*, "let it continue to be".[4]

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logisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache, p. 40, Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 36, Trautmann, *Altpreußische Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 311.

[1] On this difficult word see Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 427 f.

[2] On *-bai* beside *-ba* see Brugmann, p. 669.

[3] Kurschat, *Grammatik der littauischen Sprache*, pp. 130, 385, and especially Leskien, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xiv, 92. The relationship stated to exist between Lithuanian *bè* and *beĩ* by Gauthiot, *ib.* xxvi, 357, and Trautmann, p. 311, seems uncertain, for *beĩ* would appear to be the reduced grade of the base **b(h)ēi*. Osthoff, *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, iv, 229, connects *beĩ* with Old High German *bî*; the latter is connected with Sanskrit *abhí*, with the form *abhī́-* in *abhī́tvari-*, "onrushing", *abhī́manin-*, "one of the Agnis", *abhīlāpalā́p-*, "lamenting".

[4] Bielenstein, *Lettische Sprache*, ii, 372 f.

The Names of two Kings of Adab. — By George A. Barton, Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

In the winter of 1903/4 Dr. Edgar J. Banks discovered at Bismya the statue of an ancient king. The statue bears on its right upper arm the inscription: [1]E-SAR [2]LUGAL-DA-UDU LUGAL [3]UD-NUN^{ki}. In an article in AJSL, XXI, 59, Banks in 1904 interpreted the inscription as follows: "(Temple) Eshar. King Daddu. King of Udnun." Dr. Banks suggested that Daddu was equivalent to David! This interpretation was written in Babylonia without the use of Brünnow's *Ideographs*, so that Banks did not then know the Semitic name of the city. In 1905 Thureau-Dangin in his *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad*, 216, 217, rendered the inscription as Semitic, thus: *é-sar šarrum da-lu šar adab^{ki}*, "E-sar, roi *fort*, roi d'Adab". The same scholar in his *Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königinschriften*, 1907, 152, 153, transliterates as in his earlier work, rendering: "E-sar, der *mächtige* König, König von Adab (Udab, Usab)." Through the authority of Thureau-Dangin the name of the king was generally accepted as Esar.

We have now before us Dr. Banks long delayed *Bismya, or the Lost City of Adab*, in which he takes up again (p. 198ff.) the discussion of the translation of this little inscription. He maintains that from an examination of the many inscriptions from Adab, which are as yet unpublished, but which were accessible to him at Bismya, it is clear that E-SAR is the name of the temple and not of the king. He also points out that the Code of Hammurapi (col. iii, 67-69) shows that the real name of the temple was E-MAḪ, and hence in the earlier writing the signs were read E-MAḪ. The first of these contentions of Banks is borne out by material published in his book. The vase inscription (p. 201) of a king of Kish, whom

he calls Barki, but which should be read Maški[1] (or more probably Mêki) is in front proof of it. The inscription reads: [1]MÊ-KI [2]LUGAL KIŠ [3]E-SAR [4]IL-IL [5]BIR-IS-SI [6]GAR PA-TE-SI UD-NU^{ki}, "Mêki, king of Kish, to E-sar brought, Birissi being Patesi of Adab." Here E-SAR is clearly the name of the temple to which the king of Kish brought the vase.

The copper inscription (Banks, p. 200) proves either that the temple was really named E-MAḪ or that there was a temple named E-MAḪ in Adab, or that the sign MAḪ had also the value SAR. It runs: (I) [1]^{d}MAḪ [2]E-ŠI-NIM-PA-UD-DU [3]GAR PA-TE-SI [4]UD-NUN^{ki} E-MAḪ MU-NA-RU (II) [1]UR-BI KI KU [2]ITU BASI, "(For) the god Makh Eshinimpauddu, being Patesi of Adab, Emakh built; its foundations (were laid) in the earth, month Basi."[2] Dr. Poebel has shown me a list of temple-names, which is to appear in his forthcoming volume, in which the temple at Adab is spelled out E-SAR-RA. This proves that the sign SAR was read *sar* and not *maḫ*. Either, then, the sign MAḪ had also the value *sar*, or there were two temples in Adab. In the present state of our knowledge we do not know which horn of this dilemma to accept. But whether there was one or two temples in Adab, it is now certain that one of them was called E-sar. Esar is not, then, the name of the king, but of the temple and is to be read Emaḫ. Banks is, however, wrong in his reading of the name of the king. He still contends (*Bismya*, 202) that the king's name is to be read Da-udu and that it explains the name David. The inscription must be read "Esar: Lugaldaudu, king of Adab". Lugal-da-udu is the king's name. It is parallel to Lugal-ušum-gal, Lugal-pad-da, Lugal-šag-ga, Lugal-temen-na, and other well known Sumerian names.

The name of another king of Adab is given us in a vase inscription pictured by Banks, *Bismya*, 264. It reads: [1]E-SAR [2]MÊ-ŠI-TUG [3]LUGAL [4]UD-NUN, "Esar: Mêshitug, king of Adab".

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[1] The reading BAR would require ▏▁, not ⊢┼. The sign seems to be ▏⊢; cf. the writer's *Babylonian Writing*, 478.

[2] This given us the name of one of the months in the calendar of Adab. Each of the early Babylonian cities had a different calendar.

Kugler's Criterion for Determining the Order of the Months in the Earliest Babylonian Calendar. — By George A. Barton, Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.[1]

In a paper read before the Oriental Society a year ago, the difficulties which confront the students of the early Babylonian calendar were pointed out, and some of the consequent diversity of opinion concerning it among scholars was noted. During the year that has passed Father Kugler has proposed in his *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Buch II, II. Teil, 1. Heft, p. 213ff., a new criterion for determining the order of the months. Many of the tablets have at the end of the account the words BA-AN or GAR-AN preceded by a numeral. Kugler holds that these numerals refer to monthly payments, and that the number refers to the payment of the month previous to that in which the tablet is dated. It is known from a passage in Gudea[2] that EZEN-^{d}BAU was the first month. Kugler finds a tablet dated in EZEN-^{d}BAU which concludes with XII BA-AN, which he takes to mean 12 payments, and to refer to the distribution made in the preceding months. He holds that the accounts were not written up until the month following that in which payments were made. This accounts for the number 12 on a tablet in the month EZEN-BAU. From this one fixed example he makes a general rule. A tablet that ends with III BA-AN or III GAR-AN belongs to the fourth month; one that has at its close VIII BA-AN belongs to the ninth month; if the months are named, their position in the calendar is, he holds, fixed.

Kugler himself is, however, confronted with the difficulty that, when the month name is the same, the numbers sometimes vary. Thus in the fourth year of Urkagina a month is marked IV BA-AN and in his fifth year, III BA-AN. Kugler

[1] Presented in March, 1913.

[2] Stat. E V. 1—2; G III. 5.

concludes that an intercalary month had been inserted in Urkagina's fourth year, and had pushed the months forward one place. It seems strange that the intercalary month should be introduced early in the year and not at its end, but for the moment we pass that difficulty by.

Langdon has tentatively accepted Kugler's rule, declaring that "the principle introduced by the genius of Kugler can be employed in settling the position of a month, but that certainty can be obtained only by the consistent evidence of several tablets."[1] Pinches accepts it also in theory,[2] though he does not place much reliance on it.

If Kugler had really discovered a principle which would throw light on this difficult problem, no one would rejoice more than I. Unfortunately his induction is contradicted by much evidence that was in his hands when he wrote, and since his work appeared Dr. Hussey's important publication of Harvard tablets has given us a much larger number of texts by which to test Kugler's principle. When tested by all the available material, the theory utterly breaks down. In the case of EZEN-^{d}BAU the month for which the most material exists, two tablets dated in this month bear the desired subscription XII BA-AN, viz: TSA 10; H[3] 27, but one has the subscription XI BA-AN (DP 112), another XI GAR-AN (Nik.[4] 64), while two have for their subscription, IV BA-AN, (TSA 20; H 10). If, then, Kugler's principle were correct, EZEN-^{d}BAU would occur three times in the year; it would be at once the first, the fifth, and the twelfth month! Each of these positions for it is supported by two texts, so that there is only Gudea's inscription to act as an arbiter among them. Still another tablet (Nik. 1), if this rule were followed, would make AMAR-A-A-SIG-GA also the first month!

Again the evidence is conflicting in the case of EZEN-BULUK-KÙ-^{d}NINA. Kugler's principle would make it the second month on the authority of Nik. 57 and H 6, but the tenth month on the authority of Nik. 6. Similarly the month SIG-^{d}BA-U-E-TA-GAR-RA would be the fourth month on

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[1] PSBA. XXXIV, 257. [2] PSBA. XXXV, 24.

[3] Dr. Hussey's *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum.*

[4] Nikolski's publication of Likhatchef's collection.

the authority of H 9, but the twelfth month on the authority of Nik. 63. Were we to take into account month names which vary in their spelling, but which probably refer to the same month, further proof of the impossibility of deducing any rule from these subscriptions might be obtained, but such proof is not needed.

In reality the tablets on which these subscriptions are found are not all accounts of the same class. Those labeled GAR-AN with one exception record the distribution of grain for the wages or food of donkeys and the men in charge of the donkeys. The donkeys assume the most important place in these tablets because they are placed first and are most numerous. This statement is true of TSA 34, 35, RTC 51, Nik. 57, 64, 66, H 31, 34, 35, 36. The one exception occurs in RTC 55, which deals exclusively with 𒄩𒁹𒁹, which Pinches thinks may have been some kind of wheat.[1] This exception is, however, more apparent than real, for 𒄩𒁹𒁹, whatever it was, figures in the donkey tablets also; see H 31 and Nik. 57. It is quite possible that the yearly accounts of ass-hire might, for economic reasons, begin with a different month from the yearly accounts of the wages of the employes of the harem.

An examination of the BA-AN accounts reveals the fact that they are not all of one class. Thus TSA 20 and H 10, which are dated in EZEN-^{d}BAU and have the subscription IV BA-AN, record payments to herders of she-asses (SIB-AMA-GAN-ŠA-ME), fresh-water fishermen (ḪA-A-DUG-GA), gardeners (NU-ŠAR), head farmers (SAG-ĀPIN), cow-'punchers' (LID-RU-ME), carpenters (NAGAR), overseers (MU-ME), scribes (DUP-ŠAR), shepherd of the wool-bearing-sheep (SIB UDU-SIG-KA-ME), porters (PA-IL-ME), bird-catchers (RI-ḪU-ME), etc. There are some others whose functions are not certainly determined, but in general it is clear that these men had to do with out-door affairs.

Another group of tablets has to do with the royal harem. These also bear BA-AN after their numbers. The names contained in them are those of women, boys and girls, though three or four men are included. To this series belong TSA 10,

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[1] PSBA. XXXV, 31.

DP 112, Nik. 1, H 20, 21, 22 and 23. These include maid-servants, pages, wool-workers (weavers), and a few men.

These tablets, which range in date from Lugalanda's sixth year to Urkagina's sixth year, all state that a certain Lugal-pa-ud-du was SIB-DUN; i. e. the same officer was in charge of all these payments.

Another group contains a greater variety of workmen and takes in both men and women. This group includes TSA 18, RTC 54, DP 113, 114, 116, 117, Nik. 2, 16, H 15, 26 and 27. This series is by no means so uniform as the other two; it contains a far greater variety of workers, some tablets mentioning but one or two classes and others a considerable number. Thus TSA 18 records the pay of NAGAR, a carpenter, KI-SIG, "workers in wool" (weavers?), women of the palace, and QA-ŠU-DU, whose occupation is not determined. RTC 56 mentions GIN-UŠ "weighers", RI-ḪU bird-catchers, SIB-GUD "ox-herds", NU-ŠAR "gardeners", DUP-SAR "scribes", NAGAR "carpenters", SIB-AMA-GAN-ŠA "herders of she-asses", SIB-ANŠU "ass-herds", SIB-UDU-SIG "shep-herds of wool-sheep", and ḪA-A-DUG-GA "fresh-water fisher-men". To these some of the others, as DP 113, and Nik. 9 add IGI-NU-DU "assistant gardeners", DU-A-KUD "diggers", NI-DU "gate keepers" and others. This list is by no means exhaustive. Some of the tablets mention PA-IL "porters" NIMGIR "stewards", SAG-NANGA "chiefs of districts" or "sections", ŠU-I "branders" or "barbers" etc. This group of tablets at times seems almost identical with the first group, and at times almost identical with the second, since, as in the modern east, women seem to have been employed in out-door work. That all such accounts should begin their year at the same time is pure assumption; the fact that these numbers, when attached to the same month, differ so much is proof that, even if these accounts recorded monthly payments, such was not the case.

Kugler's criterion thus turns out to be no criterion at all. It rests upon no basis of fact.

As Kugler's criterion breaks down, his evidence for the year with an intercalary month fails. We can, however, from other evidence prove that the fourth year of Urkagina was an intercalary year. As pointed out last year, DP 99, a tablet dated in the year mentioned, contains the name of an intercalary

month.[1] It was the custom in Babylonia to introduce the intercalary month at the end of the year. The year at Lagash, as previously shown,[2] began in the autumn. Before the time of the dynasty of Ur a new calendar was introduced according to which the year began in the spring. In the earliest calendar the intercalary month fell about August; in the later calendar, about February. The tablets from the time of the First dynasty of Babylon reveal survivals of both systems; ITU KIN-^{d}NANA II^{kam}, which corresponds roughly to August, being the intercalary month in CT VIII, 3, No. 12, while ITU DIR-ŠE-GUR-KUD, which corresponded roughly with February, was ordinarily the intercalary month. Originally the ordinary succession of the months in the year was not disturbed. Intercalary months were inserted at the end. When the beginning of the year had been pushed back to the spring by the introduction of a new calendar, two precedents survived; one favored the introduction of the intercalary month at the end of summer, the other at the end of winter. Both customs can be traced in First Dynasty tablets. If ITU KIN-^{d}NANA was the intercalary month, the last six months in the year would be pushed forward one place in the enumeration. Perhaps it was this custom which led at least once in the time of the First Dynasty to making Nisan the intercalary month. This appears to have been the case once in the reign of Abishu (cf. CT VIII, 27, No. 320). Of course this would push all the months for the year forward one place, as Kugler supposes was done in the time of Urkagina, but it is hazardous to base a theory on the supposition that such irregularities had occurred before the mixture of precedents from different calendars had prepared the way for it.

Kugler has called attention[3] to the fact that the label sent by Barnamtarra, wife of Lugalanda, with her contributions to certain festivals (DP 25), shows that the feast EZEN-AB-Ê occurred in the same month as EZEN-^{d}BAU. This had been recognized by me as a possibility,[4] though I hesitated to adopt the view. It is, however, undoubtedly correct.

The same label of Barnamtarra (DP 25) affords other

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[1] See JAOS. XXXIII, 5 ff. [2] JAOS. XXXI, 253. [3] Op. cit. 219.
[4] JAOS. XXXI, 256 n.

evidence which Kugler has overlooked. The mutilated sign at the beginning of col. i, 3 is not DUB as Allotte de la Fuye supposed, but EZEN,[1] and the tablet records the succession of feasts: EZEN-^{d}LUGAL-ERIM^{ki}, EZEN-AB-Ê, EZEN-KISAL, and EZEN-^{d}BAU. This testimony confirms the conjecture which I made three years ago on other grounds, that ITU EZEN-^{d}LUGAL-ERIM immediately preceded ITU EZEN-^{d}BAU.

Langdon and Pinches have both written on the calendar of Lagash in PSBA during the past year. The latter mentions the calendar only incidentally and with all reserve; the former finds himself beset with difficulties from conflicting evidence. A postscript to his last article[2] expresses opinions diametrically opposed to those in his previous article.

Nevertheless in this wavering some things of interest have developed. He has now come around to my view that the month name ITU MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA-ŠUB-A-A is a reference to the star Sirius. Since it now appears from the computations of the astronomer, Dr. Frothingham, that at 2500 B.C. the heliac setting of Sirius occurred on April 13th and its heliac rising on July 3rd, Langdon would now interpret ŠUB in the month name as ŠUB "be bright", "shine" rather than ŠUB "incline", "fall". This is probably right. It involves, however, no change in my previous arrangement of the calendar.

Langdon still believes[3] that the harvest in Babylonia came in the month May-June, because in the list of months published in VR 43 line 13 calls the month Simanu *araḫ ši-ir-i eburi*, or "month of the grain harvest". The document in question is, however, an Assyrian document; and the statement referred to is an Assyrian statement, true of Nineveh and its environs, but not true of southern Babylonia. Dr. Talcott Williams, whose boyhood was passed in that region, writes me: "The harvest in Mosul comes May-June. It is earlier from Baghdad to Bussorah by at least a month." The statement for Mosul is confirmed by Layard.[4] Dr. Williams' statement is corroborated by Mr. D. Z. Noorian, who writes: "In southern

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[1] Allotte de la Fuye, in a private letter, admits that this is the probable reading.

[2] Cf. PSBA. XXXV, 49 ff. with XXXIV, 248 ff.

[3] PSBA. XXXV, 50. [4] *Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853, 361 ff.

Babylonia barley is harvested in the latter part of March; immediately after barley wheat is harvested, and so rice, rather early in April. Round about and south of Nippur all tender vegetation dies and dries up by the end of March except such as grows along canals or swamps."[1] This is confirmed by a statement of Hilprecht's.[2] The harvest at Lagash was earlier by from one to two months than at Mosul. All European scholars have based their theories of the calendar of Lagash on a statement intended for Nineveh. Their systems are accordingly wrong. The persistence of the agricultural seasons, unchanged through the centuries, is the surest datum on which we can build.

Two years ago I was led through pure conjecture to place the month ITU UZ-NE-GÙ-RA-A in the season Dec.-Jan. Recently a section of Hammurabi's laws has seemed to me to be evidence for a Babylonian agricultural custom which confirms the conjecture. In order to make the point clear it is necessary to quote two sections.

§ 57. If a shepherd cause his sheep to eat vegetation and has not made an agreement with the owner of the field, and without the consent of the owner has pastured his sheep, the owner of the field shall harvest the field, and the shepherd, who without the consent of the owner of the field caused his sheep to eat the field, shall pay the owner of the field in addition 20 GUR of grain for each BUR of land.

§ 58. If, after the sheep have come up out of the fields and are mingled[3] on the public common by the city gate, a shepherd turn his sheep into a field and cause the sheep to eat the field, the shepherd shall oversee the field which he has caused to be eaten, and at harvest time shall measure to the owner of the field 60 GUR of grain for each BUR of land.

It would seem from these sections of the code that it was a Babylonian custom to let the flocks graze in the fields until after the crops had been planted in the autumn and had

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[1] Cf. JAOS. XXXI, 259 n. 1.

[2] *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 446.

[3] The verb is *it-ta-aḫ-la-lu*, which has been a puzzle to scholars. Scheil rendered "et que le troupeau (?) en entier à l'intérieur de la porte s'est déja glissé"; Harper, "have crowded their way out" (of the gate); Johns, "have passed into" (the common fold by the city gate); Ungnad [sie sich ein Schlupfloch (?)] "gegraben haben"; Rogers, "closed within" (the gate). This Babylonian *ittaḫlalu* has the force of the 8th stem of the Arabic خلّ, which means among other significations, "be put in disorder" or "confusion".

grown sufficiently so that crop might be harmed by the grazing of sheep; and that later the flocks were brought in from the fields and turned into a common by the city gate. It seems safe to assume that such an agricultural custom would be general and not confined to one city, and that it would apply to all flocks whether of sheep or goats. As the crops were sown in November the month UZ-NE-GÙ-RA-A "the month they call the goats", i. e. to bring them up from the fields, would naturally fall in Dec.-Jan., where I placed it. The conjecture has, then, some slight confirmation. The changes which a year's progress in knowledge would lead me to make in my previous arrangements of the months are indicated in the following list of month names, in which such new readings of the signs are adopted as seem to be established.

First month, Sept.-Oct., { ITU-EZEN-^{d}BAU
ITU-EZEN-AB-Ê
ITU EZEN-AB-Ê-LAGAŠ^{ki} [1]

Second month, Oct.-Nov., { ITU EZEN-BULUK-KU-^{d}NINA
ITU EZEN-ŠE-KÙ-^{d}NINA
ITU GAR-KA-ÌD-KA [2]

Third month (??), Nov.-Dec., ITU ŠI-GAR-MA

Fourth month, Dec.-Jan., ITU UZ-NE-GÙ-RA-A

Fifth month, Jan.-Feb., { ITU GAL-ŠAG-GA
ITU GAL-UNUG^{ki}-GA

Sixth month, Feb.-March, { ITU AMAR-A-A-SIG-GA
ITU AMA-UDU-TUK

Seventh month, March-April, { ITU ŠE-GUR-KUD
ITU GÀ-UDU-UR
ITU GÀ-UR
ITU SIG-BA
ITU SIG-^{d}BA-U-E-TA-GAR-RA-A

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[1] H 17.

[2] The reading is not certain. Dr. Hussey reads ITU NIK-KA-ÌD-KA, which would mean, "month of the possession of the rivers", or month of high water. On this reading the month would correspond to May-June, when the water was at its height.

Eighth month, April-May,
- ITU UDU-ŠU-ŞE-IL-LA-^{d}NINA
- ITU UDU-ŠE-A-IL-LA
- ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A-^{d}NINA-TIL-LA-BA[1]
- ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A-^{d}NINA
- ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A-^{d}NIN-GIR-SU
- ITU ŠE-GAR-UDU
- ITU GŪR-DUB-BA-A
- ITU GŪR-IMI-A-TA
- ITU GUR-IMI-GABA-A
- ITU ŠI-NAM-DUB-NI-BA-DUR-BA-A

Ninth month, May-June,
- ITU ḪAR-RA-NE-MA-A
- ITU ḪAR-RA-NE-MA-A-^{d}NINA

Tenth month, June-July, ITE EZEN-^{d}NE-GUN-NA

Eleventh month, July-Aug.,
- ITU EZEN-BULUK-KÙ-^{d}NIN-GIR-SU
- ITU EZEN-ŠE-KÙ-^{d}NIN-GIR-SU
- (?) ITU ^{d}NIN-GIR-SU-E-BIL-AN-TA-SUR-RA-KA-NA-NI-DU-DU
- (?) ITU AN-TA-SUR-RA

Twelfth month, Aug.-Sept.,
- ITU EZEN-^{d}LUGAL-ERIM^{ki}
- ITU MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA-ŠUB-A-A

Intercalary month, ITU BABBAR-MIN-GÀL-LA-A

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[1] H 26.

Two Forged Antiques. — By Richard Gottheil, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

Archaeological frauds have been multiplying rapidly of late, and this country has become a dumping-ground for forgeries of many kinds. Not a few modern antiques—aged long before their time — have found a resting place in our public and private collections.

It has fallen to my lot to assist in the exposure of several such frauds. In 1890 I brought to the attention of this Society an Alhambra vase belonging to this category; in 1909, a pair of beautiful doors said to have come from the madrasah of the Mameluke Sultan Barḳūḳ, in Cairo; and in the same year, a manuscript of that arch-forger of Arabic History in the Island of Sicily, Vella. This last-named forgery is one of the two described in the following pages.

A. A Remarkable Gold Amulet.

During the last five or six years a certain number of amulets made of gold or silver foil have come to light, covered for the most part with Hebrew inscriptions. With the exception of one or two, these amulets are now in the possession of the New York Public Library. They are said to have been found in graves excavated at Irbid in the Hauran; a statement which rests entirely upon the good faith (God save the mark!) of the dealers themselves. At the last meeting of this society, Professor Montgomery favored us with a translation of two of these amulets. Since then, one further copy has been brought to this country, which raises the number of these objects in the New York Public Library to six. It is with the sixth that the present paper has to do.

In size and general appearance, it is easily recognized as belonging to the same class as the other amulets, though it is the first of the larger size to be presented in gold. As an ord-

inary amulet, it would not especially arouse our interest; but when we come to examine the writing upon it, our curiosity is engaged. The surface is divided into two fields, which are evidently quite distinct one from the other. The first field contains writing evidently meant to be either Phoenician or old Aramaic—a strange circumstance in itself, as the previous finds seem to point to a community of Jews living in Irbid during the first centuries of our era, when the Aramaic script had long given way to the so-called square characters. This circumstance, however, might pass; it would only make it necessary that we revise our dates in connection with this community. But the Aramaic inscription contains nothing but variations of portions of the ordinary Semitic alphabet, first in its regular and secondly in its reverse order; the so-called *abgad*, and its complement the *tashraḳ*. Even so, we might hesitate to declare ourselves doubters, when we remember the many uses made of the alphabet by mystics of early times and down through the Middle Ages; or, again, our amulet-maker might have belonged to the class of simple-minded and God-fearing men, like the monk in the story of Luther, who told merely the alphabet on their beads, prefering that God himself should put the letters into words pleasing in His sight. Yet, we are led to doubt the simplicity of the simple-minded man in our own case, for he has mixed up Phoenician or Aramaic letters of various epochs and has used some which belong to no epoch at all. Finally, at the end of the first two fields, he has added a line of letters that to all intents and purposes are Samaritan in character.

The examination of the second field confirms us as doubters. The Aramaic inscription in equivocal characters to which is attached a line of Samaritan is bad enough; but when to this is joined an old Babylonian inscription, the climax is certainly reached. For the Babylonian inscription is an old acquaintance found on a mace head of Sargon of Agade, whose name and title it gives.[1]

This much, at least, can be said: the forger of the amulet was a man of no ordinary talent. He certainly had imagin-

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[1] Shar ganni | Shar ali | Shar A-ga-de^{ki} | a-na | ^{ilu}Shamash | in ^{ilu}Ud-Kib- | nun^{ki} (=Sippar). See, e. g. Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 52; Radau p. 161, note.

ation, and a sense of historical proportion, if historical importance is measured by bigness. He has roamed at will over a space of some three or four thousand years; but we should be thankful to him for this, for it has enabled us the more easily to follow his somewhat tortuous footsteps.

B. The "Kitāb Dīwān Miṣr".

Authentic documents from the early centuries of Mohammedan dominion are of rare occurrence, and therefore are highly prized. It is only of late that the finds of Egyptian papyri have begun to yield of their fulness something in the service of Mohammedan studies. The hand of time and the negligence of man have ruthlessly destroyed the mass of records that must have existed in the chancelleries of the various Moslem empires. I was accordingly much surprised and delighted when, in 1908,[1] I was shown a manuscript (said to have been brought to this country by an Italian sailor) bearing the title "Book of the Dīwān of Egypt".[2] The volume had all the outward marks of great age; even the bookworm had left many traces on the pages. The edges of the codex had been frayed, and each page was set in paper that was very evidently of much later date than the original. My interest was deepened still further by the deciphering of the opening paragraph. The manuscript contained nothing less than a copy of the letters which had come to the Egyptian Caliph Al-Mustanṣir Billāh (1035—1094) from Arab rulers in Sicily and Tunis, and the answers of the Caliph to them; and the copy—it was asserted—had been made at the instance of the Caliph himself in the year of the Hejira 467. Here, indeed, was a find of considerable importance; for the reign of Al-Mustanṣir was long and important.

I had hardly gotten as far as this, when doubts began to be raised in my mind. How did the scribes of al-Mustanṣir come to write in a well-defined Maghrebī script? True, it was not the intertwisted and entangled script in which later Maghrebīs delight; but it bore all the hall-marks of this extraordinary development of Arabic writing. The manuscript

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[1] The account of this forgery was read at a meeting of this Society in the spring of 1909.

[2] كتاب ديوان مصر.

might indeed be a later copy of an earlier original. But, if the script was intertwisted and entangled, what adjectives were fit to qualify the language it expressed? None that I could find. It was quite evidently Arabic—or was intended to be—but it was the most impossible Arabic that I had ever seen. Very soon certain peculiarities which were easily recognized as Maltese and Tunisian came to view, but most of the sentences could not be construed even upon the very liberal basis laid down by Arab grammarians. Through some of them shimmered an Italian construction or an Italian word composition. This was too much even for a willing believer. And the doubt once aroused very quickly entrained others. The thin brown paper was entirely foreign to Arabic manuscripts; the artistic design of the frontispiece was as un-Oriental and as un-Arabic as it could be. But enough! The story is as follows:

In the year 1782, there was in Palermo a certain Giuseppe Vella, a Maltese by birth, a member of the Jerusalem order and afterwards Abbot of St. Pancrace. At the time he was Chaplain at the Abbey of St. Martin, three leagues distant from Palermo. As a Maltese, he was naturally familiar with the local Arabic dialect of his birth-place; but he was ignorant of literary Arabic as well as of Mohammedan history. There happened to be four or five Arabic manuscripts in the library of St. Martin's, and when a certain Mohammed ibn Uthmān came in 1782 as ambassador of Morocco to the court of Naples, he visited St. Martin's near Palermo. Whether because Mohammed ibn Uthmān and Vella could in a measure understand each other's speech, or not, the two formed an acquaintance that was destined to be productive of much evil for students of Arabic. For hardly had the Moroccan delegate left when Vella announced the discovery in St. Martin's of a valuable Arabic manuscript giving the history of the Arabs in the Island of Sicily. A few years later (1786), having kept up by correspondence his connection with the Moroccan delegate, he noised abroad the receipt of another important manuscript found at Fez, containing the correspondence between the Norman princes, Count Roger and Duke Robert Guiscard, and the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir in Egypt. King Ferdinand of Sicily became deeply interested in these discoveries, and even went so far as to send Vella and three

students to Fez upon a mission of enquiry for other manuscripts dealing with the same subject. Patriotic Sicilians joined their king. Among these was Monseignor Airoldi, Archbishop of Heraclea, Judge of the Apostolic Legation and of the Monarchy of Sicily, who paid all the expenses connected with the publication of the volumes and even had Arabic type sent especially from Parma for the purpose. Six volumes of this history appeared between the years 1789 and 1792,[1] Vella hiding his own personality behind that of a suppositious Muṣṭafa ibn Hānī. Airoldi had even commenced the publication of these texts in Latin and Italian, in 1788 (48 pp.).[2] Writers on the history of Sicily generally accepted the manuscript as genuine, and Wahl, Rossi, Ferrara, Piazzi, etc. made use of it in their works. Even so good a scholar as Olaus Gerard Tychsen at Rostock was caught in the trap of the wily Maltese, and republished a small portion in his "*Elementale arabicum*" (Rostock, 1792), and a professor in Stuttgart, P. W. G. Hausleutner, translated the first four volumes into German under the title "*Geschichte der Araber in Sicilien*"[3] (1791—92). The Pope even lent his consideration to the fraud by a profuse letter of thanks, dated 1790. But there were not wanting conscientious students who quickly saw through the very evident fraud. Joseph Hager was called to Palermo in 1794 by the king himself; and in 1796 Monseignor Adami, Bishop of Aleppo, who was on his way from Rome to his own diocese, was bidden to Sicily to examine the precious manuscript. Both men pronounced the manuscript a stupid forgery,[4] the latter even writing a treatise in German which

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[1] Mustafa ibn Hani, *Codice diplomatico di Sicilia sotto il governo degli Arabi, publicato per opere e studio di A. Airoldi.* Palermo, 1789—1792. See *Catalogue of the Printed Books in the British Museum;* Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux,* 1867, VI, 274; I, 48. Cfr. Amari, *Storia dei Musselmani in Sicilia* I, p. XI.

[2] *Codex diplomaticus Siciliae sub Saracenorum imperio ab anno 827 ad 1072; nunc primum ex Mss. Mauro-occidentalibus depromptus cura et studio A. Airoldi.* Panormi 1788 (pp. 1—48).

[3] *Geschichte der Araber in Sicilien und Siciliens unter der Herrschaft der Araber. In gleichzeitigen Urkunden von diesem Volk selbst. Aus dem Italiänischen. Mit Anmerkungen und Zusätzen.* 4 vols. Königsberg 1791—92.

[4] The report of Adami is published, together with a letter by the Chevalier d'Italinsky, in von Hammer's *Fundgruben des Orients,* vol. 1 (1809), pp. 236 sq.

was afterwards published in a French translation.[1] In the meanwhile Vella had gone ahead with the printing of his second manuscript containing the correspondence between the Norman princes and the Egyptian Caliph. This was undertaken by the king himself and gotten out in two editions—one folio and one quarto—in regal style, the Arabic text side by side with the translation.[2] In this edition Guiseppe Vella's name is mentioned as translator with the ornate title, "Cappelano del sac. ordine Gerosolimitano, Abate di Sant. Pancragio, Prof. di lingua araba nella reale academia di Palermo e socio nazionale della reale academia della scienze". The first volume, containing no less than 370 pp., appeared in 1793 and the second was in the press when the bubble burst. Vella was arrested and tried before three different tribunals and condemned. But it is evident either that the authorities did not consider the crime to be a serious one, or that strong influence was exerted in his behalf. He was condemned simply to seclusion in a small villa at Mozzo Monreale, a suburb of Palermo.

In such manner was finished the first act of the drama; and it would seem that with the final condemnation of Vella the whole matter could be relegated to the lumber-room or finally classed among the rather numerous forgeries which have been committed at the expense of the Orient. But after the lapse of more than one hundred years, the forgeries of Vella received a new lease of life; and in order that this lease of life may be cut short, or at least not transferred to these shores, I ask the attention of the Society for a few moments longer. About the year 1905 a certain Varvaro read a paper before the "Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria" in Palermo —but which does not appear in its publications—in which he tried to establish the thesis that Vella had not entirely falsified the manuscripts that he brought forward, but that he

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[1] I have not been able to see the German original. The title of the French translation is: *Relation d'une insigne Imposture Littéraire découverte dans un Voyage fait en Sicile en 1794.* Par Mr. le Dr. Hager. Traduit de l'Allemand, Erlangen 1799.

[2] كتاب ديوان مصر *Libro del consiglio de Egitto etc.* Palermo, Reale Stamperia, 1793. Cfr. Zenker, *Bibliotheca Orientalis,* I, p. 94. A portion of this was republished in 1794 by the secretary of the Palermo Academy "del Bon Gusto" for use in one of the seminaries.

had based them upon authentic documents of great value which were in his possession, and that Vella's manuscripts might still be of great service in studying the history of Sicily in its relations with various Mohammedan states. The manuscripts to which he referred were not the two sequestered at the time of the arrest of Vella, for these are still, I am reliably informed, in the Archivio di Stato at Palermo. It seems that after Vella had been relegated to the villa in Mozzo Monreale he continued to write Arabic manuscripts. These formed parts of Vella's effects which passed on to his family and were preserved instead of being destroyed. The Varvaros are distantly related to the Vella family, and in course of time have become possessed of the books which (being entirely ignorant of Arabic) they consider to be of great value, and which they now desire to sell. At the meeting referred to, Varvaro brought with him one of the manuscripts. Professor Carlo A. Nallino, an eminent Arabic scholar, formerly of Naples but now connected with the University of Palermo, recognized immediately that it was not a genuine work, and later in the house of the Varvaros he saw two or three more of the manuscripts, one of which was the Kitāb Dīwān Miṣr.

It is this last volume, evidently a copy of the original corpus delicti, which has at length been sold, and has found its way (together with sundry other Italian things) to this country, in the hope that it may be sold here to some credulous American. Its sole value is a mournful one, and it belongs, by all right, in a Museum of Criminology.

In conclusion, I ought to say that I am indebted to Professor Nallino for the information contained in the second part of this paper.[1]

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[1] Note, 4/8/13. In his translation of al-Ṣairafī's description of the Egyptian "Foreign Office" at the time of the Fatimides, M. Henri Massé has been led astray by the title, and has classified the "Kitāb Dīwān Miṣr" among the "recueils de modèles epistolaires à l'usage de la Chancellerie"! See his *Ibn al-Çairafi: Code de la Chancellerie d'Égypte; Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale*, Tome XI, Le Caire, 1913, p. 67.

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Mohammedanism in Borneo: Notes for a Study of the Local Modifications of Islam and the Extent of its Influence on the native Tribes.—By Mrs. Samuel Bryan Scott, Philadelphia, Pa.

The whole question of the nature and history of Mohammedanism in Borneo is much larger than the scope of the present paper. I have some incomplete notes to offer, which I venture to present at this time, because I think that even these have a certain theoretical significance that may be of interest; and because I hope that from this body of scholars intimately familiar with the various manifestations of Mohammedanism I may gain some valuable suggestions for further investigation of its history in Borneo.

In studying the effect of environment upon the religion of a primitive people, such as the jungle tribes of the interior of Borneo, it is of course necessary to take into account the possibility of foreign ideas interrupting the simple interplay of surroundings and sensibilities. Of the foreign elements to be reckoned with in Borneo the chief is Mohammedanism, brought to the coast settlements during several centuries by Arab traders and adventurers. While investigating the influence of the Arabs in Borneo, I became convinced that we have here a striking instance of the manner in which the introduction of a new religion into a country follows certain definite economic laws, similar to those that govern the growth of religions on their native soil.

There has been implied, if not actually stated, in many studies of religions, the theory that a religion develops according to environmental influences only so far as it is not interfered with by the contact of foreign ideas. Some such theories divide a religion into ideas appropriate to the native environment, and ideas that have come from the north, south, east, or west. Having traced the religious elements to their geographical or linguistic sources, the historian leaves the

matter,—and rightly perhaps so far as he is a mere historian. It has been recognized of course that there are local reasons why a new faith sometimes takes hold and sometimes does not. The reasons are usually stated parenthetically in a historical account. For the science of religion, however, to become really scientific, it would seem necessary to go further, to gather up these reasons and formulate them into laws of borrowing corresponding to the now very widely admitted laws of the growth of ideas according to the environment in which they were thought out.

The facts offered in this paper are presented in the hope that they may prove a minor bit of suggestive material for the formulation of a law of contact. They consist of a few notes, necessarily incomplete, on what happened when Indonesian Mohammedanism was brought in touch with Malay Paganism and the typical jungle religion of Borneo.

It was, to begin with, a great economic force that brought Mohammedanism to Borneo. And it was a geographical barrier—the jungle—that stopped it at the coast, and made it after four hundred years still a foreign faith. The sheltered waters, short distances, frequent harbors and favorable monsoons of the Malay Archipelago[1] developed very early a seafaring small-trading population such as the Malays and Bugis about the coasts of many islands. They were all ready to form a link in the chain of commerce when the greater nations, first of Asia, then of Europe discovered and determined to have the spices and dazzling natural wealth of the tropical islands. Emporia were formed at Acheh, Bantam, and elsewhere, where the native traders of the Archipelago brought the collected wares to merchants of larger vessels capable of sailing the open seas.[2] As the predominance of carrying trade in these products of the east shifted westward from China through India to Arabia, the religion of the Arab came to the Eastern Archipelago.[3]

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[1] St. John, Horace R., "*Indian Archipelago,*" 2 vols. London 1853. i, pp. 4, 44.

[2] St. John, *Ind. Arch.*, i, pp. 6, 118, 223; Sir Hugh Low, *Sarawak, its Inhabitants and its Productions*, p. 116.

[3] Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Edinburgh 1820, iii, pp. 199—201; Hugh Clifford, *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, XVII, p. 474, Article, *Malay Peninsula.* In the second century B. C. the trade with

The first teachers of Mohammedanism in the Archipelago were Arab traders, pirates, and adventurers who came to seek their fortune and made converts only as a secondary task. Later, as the new faith gained headway, the prospect of making money attracted teachers from India, Egypt, Mecca, and Hadramaut.[1] From the 12th to the 20th century, following in the wake of trade, Mohammedanism has been spreading all over the Indian Archipelago.[2] Borneo was not exempt from its influence. The difference in the course of events in Borneo from that in Java, Sumatra, and many of the other centers,

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Ceylon was wholly in the hands of the Arabs; by the middle of the eighth century A. D. there were many Arab traders in Canton; from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, until the coming of the Portuguese, they were the undisputed masters of trade with the East. They were probably early in the Malay Archipelago, but no mention is made of these islands in the work of Arab geographers earlier than the ninth century. G. K. Niemann, *Inleiding tot de kennis an den Islam*, Rotterdam 1861, p. 337, and Reinaud, *Geographie d'Aboulfeda*, tome I, p. CCCXXXIX, quoted by T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, London 1896, pp. 293—294.

[1] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, trans. by O'Sullivan, London 1906, ii, p. 279. Which of these regions sent its missionary-traders to Borneo seems a little vague. They are generally spoken of simply as Arabs. They all claimed and were accorded in Borneo the title of Seriff. Some of the Mohammedan influence in Borneo came either directly, or via the Javanese and Sumatran merchants who traded there, from the Malabar coast, where the Shafi'ijah sect is predominant to-day as it was in the fourteenth century. *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, Paris 1843—58, iv, pp. 66, 80, quoted by Arnold p. 294. For the Shi'ah Klings in Borneo cf. below p. 28. The predominant influence to-day, however, is that of Mecca. Besides the annual pilgrims who come to Mecca merely for a short time, there is a permanent colony of Malays in Mecca who keep in constant communication with their fellow countrymen in the Archipelago. And religious books printed in Mecca are carried to all parts of the Archipelago. The number of annual pilgrims to Mecca from Borneo increased in the latter part of the nineteenth century 66% in twelve years. Niemann pp. 406—7, and C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Hague 1889, ii, pp. xv, 339—393, quoted by Arnold, pp. 329—330.

[2] With the Mohammedan conquest the Perso-Arabic Alphabet was introduced among the Malays. Hugh Clifford, *ibid.* p. 477; Marsden's *Malay Grammar*, London 1812, pp. 1, 2. Crawfurd, iii, p. 207, gives the following dates for the introduction of Mohammedanism into the Archipelago: 1204 A. D. the Achehnese, 1278 the Malays of Malacca, 1478 the Javanese, 1495 natives of the Spice Islands. Cf. also *ibid.* ii, pp. 304 to 306; and St. John, *ibid.* i, pp. 48—51. cf. also Arnold, passim, pp. 296—343.

was that while in the latter practically the whole population became at least nominally Mohammedan, in Borneo the converts were, in spite of zealous propaganda, almost entirely limited to the partially civilized Malays of the sea-coast. So much is this true that in Borneo the terms Malay and Mohammedan have become synonymous and interchangeable. A natural highway of trade brought Mohammedanism to the harbors and rivermouths of the island. A natural barrier, the jungle, stopped it at the coast.

The coastal population of Borneo is composed of colonists of the trading nations mentioned above, the Malays and Bugis and others, from Sumatra, Java, the Malay Peninsula and Celebes. Most of these colonies were, however, formed before the conversion of the Malays to Mohammedanism. The Malay kingdom of Brunei was founded in the middle of the thirteenth century, though even before that there were probably some few colonists there. It became Mohammedan not until much later—some time before 1530.[1] Colonists from Java had settlements at Passir, Kotei, and Banjermassin, on the south coast of Borneo, at Sambas, Mampawa, and Landak on the west coast as early as 1360.[2] The introduction of Mohammedanism

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[1] P. J. Veth, *Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling*, 1854, i, p. 180, quoting van Lijnden, *Aanteekingen over de landen van het stroomgebied der Kapoeas*, *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Ned. Indie*, 1851, p. 587; *ibid.* p. 181, quoting Logan, *Traces of the Origin of the Malay Kingdom of Borneo Proper*, *Journal of the Ind. Arch. and Eastern Asia*, iii, pp. 513, 514; *ibid.* p. 184 quoting Tobias, *de Westkust van Borneo*, *Nederlandsche Hermes*, 1828, 12, p. 47; Earl, *The Eastern Seas*, p. 241; St. John, i, p. 197; A. C. Haddon, *Head Hunters, Black, White, and Brown*, p. 289; Leyden, In Moor's *Notices of the Indian Archipelago*, Singapore, 1837, app. p. 95. For origin of the Malay nation cf. *ibid.* p. 3; A. C. Keane, *Eastern Geography*, London 1887, pp. 8, 9; St. John, i, p. 26—41. J. J. de Hollander *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Land-en-Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, Breda, 1884, p. 61, quoted by Arnold, p. 318.

[2] Dalton in Moor's *Notices*, pp. 37, 41; Sir T. S. Raffles, *History of Java*, London 1830, ii, p. 171; Low pp. 312, 153; C. Bock, *Head Hunters of Borneo*, London 1881, p. 47; Veth, i, p. 182, quoting Logan, *Antiquity of Chinese Trade with India and the Ind. Archip.*, in *J. I. A.*, iii, pp. 604, 605, also Dulaurier, *Collection des principales Chroniques Malayes*, pp. 107, 109; and *Journal Anatique*, [should this be Journal Asiatique?] 1846, pp. 544—571, and Pijnappel, *Journal Asiatique*, 1846, pp. 555 ff.; *ibid.* p. 185, quoting J. Hageman, *Indisch Archief*, Jaarg. i, deel ii, pp. 53 ff., and Brumund, *Indiana*, ii, p. 178. C. P. Rouffaer, *Het Tijdperk van*

into these various settlements, according to different accounts, occurred sometime between 1495 and 1770. Several Malay Sultans on the Kapuas river were converted to Islam as late as 1850. The Malays are Mohammedan, and both the Malays and Mohammedanism came from without, but it was not in the first instance the Malays who brought Mohammedanism to Borneo.[1]

Before the Arabian era Malay traders and pirates were attracted to the mouths of the navigable rivers of Borneo for shelter, and found there opportunities for getting, with slight work, gold and diamonds; by raids on the weak Dyaks, cargoes of slaves; by barter with them, a wealth of rattans, camphor and other saleable jungle produce. They founded towns at the river mouths, later having outposts for trade farther up river. It was long after these communities were established that individual Arab adventurers came to Borneo and preached their faith. Later still, the converts were reinforced in number by Malays from Sumatra or the Peninsula,

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Godsdienst overgang in den Malayischen Archipel, p. 113, identifies Tandjoeng Poera, mentioned in the History of the Hindu-Javan kingdom of Madjapahit as among the conquests of the great monarch of that realm, Hayam Woeroek, who reigned from 1351 (?)—1389, as probably Matan, on the southwest coast of Borneo. Basing his evidence largely on a Portuguese report of 1514, published in 1892, and on corroborative notices especially in the *Livro* of 1516 of Duarte Barbosa, he concludes that the kingdom of Madjapahit cannot have succumbed entirely to Mohammedan domination until sometimes between 1516 and 1521. However uncertain may be the date of the colonies in Borneo, they seem at least to have been much earlier than this time. Cf. also Earl, p. 336; Raffles, ii, p. 171. Mohammedanism was introduced into Succadana on the West Coast of Borneo by Arabs from Palembang in Sumatra in 1550. R. P. A. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, Leiden 1879, p. 386, quoted by Arnold p. 316. Into Banjermassin on the South Coast in the sixteenth century from Dawak, one of the Mohammedan states that rose on the ruins of Madjapahit. J. Hageman, *Beidrage tot de Geschiedenis van Borneo, Ts. Ind. t. L. vk.*, Deel vi, 1856, p. 236, quoted by Arnold, p. 316.

[1] C. J. Temminck, *Coup d'Oeil general sur les possessions neerlandaises dans l'Inde archipelagique*, Leiden, 1846, p. 176; Leyden, *ibid.* app. p. 97; J. J. K. Enthoven, *Bijdragen tot de Geographie van Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling*, Leiden, 1902, pp. 132, 138, 158, 209; Veth, i, p. 193, following G. M. Muller, *Proeve eener geschiedenis van een gedeelte the Westkust van Borneo*, Indische Bij, p. 124, puts the date of the coming of the first Mohammedan missionaries to Borneo at about 1550.

which had in the mean time become centers of Mohammedan propaganda. On the east coast of Borneo colonies were founded by the similar nation of Bugis, who migrated to Borneo both before and after the coming of Mohammedanism to their home country of Celebes about 1600.[1]

We may take as a typical instance of the turn to Mohammedanism in Borneo the narrative, which comes to us from many sources, and is apparently as reliable as any hundred and fifty year old story of these regions can be, of the founding of one of the chief Mohammedan kingdoms of Borneo, that of Pontianak, the great Malay trading centre of to-day at the mouth of the Kapuas river.

A fortune-hunting Arab, Seriff Hoesein ibn Ahmed al Kadri (I give Veth's Dutch orthography of the name) came to Matan, an ancient Javanese colony on the southwest coast of Borneo, in 1735. He found Mohammedanism already vaguely known there, strengthened it, instructed the people and was highly venerated. After a quarrel with the Sultan of Matan he fled to another Javanese-Malay colony, Mampawa, whose Sultan received him with open arms, built a mosque, gave him large control of his kingdom, and gave his daughter in marriage to the dashing handsome son of the Arab adventurer and a Dyak slave girl. This young half-savage-half-Arab, who nevertheless bore his father's title of Seriff, at the age of twenty-two left his royal bride and started out to seek his fortune on the seas. After a wild career of piracy and audacious foreign trade, during the course of which he married the daughter of another Malay Sultan, engaged in opium trade, captured Chinese, English, French, and Dutch ships, he had amassed great wealth. Gathering about himself a band of Malay and Bugis followers of his own type, he came to the mouth of the Kapuas river and established himself with his retainers on a haunted island in the river, which gave him a

[1] Rouffaer, p. 111; Earl, p. 310; Low, pp. 7, 18, 20—28; Dalton in Moor's *Notices*, pp. 55—57; Hunt in Keppel's *Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido*, 1846, p. 404; Bock, pp. 22—26; England, *Hydrographic Office, Eastern Archipelago*, London, 1890, ii, pp. 7, 296; for description of the up-river trading posts of the Malays, cf. Molengraaf, *Geological Expedition to Borneo*, London, 1902, pp. 149, 150; and Nieuwenhuis, *In Centraal Borneo*, Leiden 1900, i, p. 24. Arnold, p. 319, places the general adoption of Mohammedanism by the Bugis of Celebes at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

protected base from which to prey on trading prahus. The island was a shrewdly chosen location, not only for its accessibility to the sea and because its evil ghostly reputation secured him from attack, but it commanded the Kapuas river, the immense navigable artery, by which all the inland wealth of the whole western district of Borneo must come down to the sea. The Seriff Abdoe'r Rahman soon found it more profitable to give up piracy, turn into a respectable and pious Moslem, and become the protector instead of the assassin of traders, gaining his income by a levy on all boats using the river. He built a mosque, established the Mohammedan ritual, and made pious pilgrimages to the grave of his father, who had long before his death repudiated this scape-grace son. Thus was founded the Arab dynasty—racially half-Dyak—of the Malay kingdom of Pontianak.[1]

And thus Mohammedanism came to the Kapuas river. It took it nearly one hundred years to extend its influence 300 kilometers up river to the Malay settlements of the lake region. And the reason for that is again the jungle. It is only in recent years when the Dutch have opened up the country, and made not only more intercommunication between the different parts of the country, but also more contact with the outside world, that Mohammedanism has greatly spread in their provinces.

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[1] W. L. Ritter, *Indische herinneringen*, Amsterdam, 1843, pp. 192, 193, C. L. Hartmann, *Algemeen verslag van de residentie Pontianak over 1823* pp. 2, 3 (unpublished MS.), van Lijnden, p. 601, Muller, p. 346, and Tobias, p. 51, quoted by Veth, i, pp. 249—266; A. Pompe, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Overzeesche Bezittingen*, 2nd ed. Schoonhaven 1872, p. 225; Leyden in Moor's *Notices*, pp. 101, 102. The town was afterwards named for the spectre of the haunted Island. So great was the fear of this place that the Arab founder had to shoot up the woods for two hours before he could persuade his men to land. Leyden gives Pontiana or Pontianak as "the name the Malays give to a spectre of the forests which appears in the form of a winged female," Moor's *Notices*, app. p. 102; according to Veth the pontianaks are ghosts of children who have never seen the light on account of the death of their mothers, or, more usually, the mothers themselves who have died in childbirth, and go about in lonely places naked with loose hair, and moaning (i, p. 14); in the Malay Peninsula the pontianak is the ghost of all still-born child, while the ghost of a woman who dies in childbirth, the ghost that goes around with long floating hair is known as a langsuir. Both of these are supposed by the Peninsular Malays to be embodied in owls. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 325—327.

But to return for a moment to the earlier period. What effect had the establishment of the Malay and Bugis semi-civilized colonies, and their subsequent conversion to Mohammedanism upon the native savages who occupied Borneo previous to the coming of the sea-faring folk? Of the majority it may be said that it simply drove them back into their jungle, where in greater isolation than ever, they continue to live a wild free life of independence with all their old habits of thought and custom.[1] Some were directly enslaved or conquered by the Malays, or remained among them, intermarried with them and adopted their manner of life so as to become almost indistinguishable from them. Between the entirely independent and the entirely subjugated Dyaks are the tribes who are called in Dutch-Malay terminology "serah-plichtig" and "hasil-plichtig" Dyaks, who, keeping their own political organization and manner of life, pay as "hasil" or "serah" a certain proportion of their gains in primitive agriculture or jungle life to the Malay Mohammedan prince whom they acknowledge as overlord. The hold on these Dyaks of the Malay prince is very slight and may be repudiated by them entirely simply by going (in the next of their frequent movings of the village) over the boundary of the territory which he theoretically controls. It is of course only among the last two classes of Dyaks, the entirely amal gamated and semi-dependent, that we find any evidence of Mohammedanism at all; and how much influence it has had in any case seems to depend upon the extent to which the Dyaks have adopted the Malay habit of life.[1]

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[1] "The aborigines, distributed by the geographical character of the region into numerous communities, have been further isolated by foreign rule and colonisation. The superior races have frequently turned their natural eminence into a means of oppression; and instead of drawing the natives forth from their barbarous haunts, have imprisoned them more deeply in their jungles." St. John, i, p. 18; cf. also Temminck, p. 135. Throughout this paper I have used the word Dyak in the widely-accepted though somewhat inexact sense as denoting all the native jungle tribes, as contrasted with the semi-civilized nations of later immigration. The Dyaks are not racially homogeneous, and probably represent several layers of migrations in the far distant past, but they have a certain cultural uniformity and may be classed as "aboriginal" in contrast with the Malays and Bugis and other comparatively recent colonists.

The population of Borneo is estimated at 1,800,000, of whom only 300,000 represent the Malays and other semi-civilized peoples. All the

I have attempted to analyse separately the Mohammedanism of the Malays, and that of the tribes of native descent who by conquest or commerce have come under Malay influence and given at least a nominal allegiance to Islam. But this is extremely difficult because the race nomenclature has become confused with a cultural one. All people, of whatever nationality, who have adopted the stage of civilization and something of the dress and manner of the typical Malay coast dweller, are called Malays. Even, frequently, the classification is made religious, and since most Malays are Mohammedan, all Mohammedans are called Malays,—including Chinese, Dyaks, Klings, Arabs, Bugis, slaves from Sumbawa and elsewhere, Rayyats from Lingga, and even descendants of negro slaves brought here, as well as various racial mixtures of Malay with Arab,

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rest are Dyaks. Holbé, *Revue Anth.*, 1911, p. 435; the Malays are founds with a very few exceptions, only along the courses of the great navigable rivers, and most of them are in the trading towns at the river mouths. For typical geographical location of some Malay settlements, cf. Enthoven, pp. 123, 126, 135—137, 148, 153, 176, 185, 189—193; Low, pp. 221, 350 to 371; Bock, pp. 161, 162, 242, 243; Molengraaf, pp. 43, 286—293; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 43, 45, 52, 53; Brooke in Capt. R. N. Mundy, *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes*, London 1848, i, pp. 193, 369; Sir Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, London 1886, i, pp. 19, 22, 24; Maxwell, quoted by H. L. Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i, p. 1. A very few Malays singly or in small groups are found wandering in the far interior, or living in Dyak villages. They are either individual adventurers who have gone to seek the jungle produce themselves, or fugitives from justice. A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Influence of changed conditions on the physical and psychical development of the population of Central Borneo. Proc. Koningkl. Acad. v. Wetensch. te Amsterdam*, Mar. 1903, p. 12; ibid. *Centraal Borneo*, i, p. 4. Near the coast where there are gold, diamond and other mines, the Malays have forced the Dyaks to work for them in the mines. Elsewhere they have left the Dyaks to their old occupations and manner of life, contenting themselves with exacting tribute of rice and jungle products, and personal services at certain times, and further gaining from the Dyaks by forced trade at exorbitant prices. Observers agree in noting a marked difference in appearance and welfare between the absolutely free Dyaks of the interior, and those more or less subject to the Malays; cf. Enthoven, pp. 142, 163, 193, 217, 560, 561, 563, 567, 571, 572; Low, p. 17; S. Müller, ii, p. 385, quoted by Roth, i, p. 387 note; Earl, p. 318; Bock, pp. 210—211: Nieuwenhuis, *Centraal Borneo*, i, pp. 16, 26; Ida Pfeiffer, *Meine Zweite Weltreise*, Engl. Transl. New York, 1856, pp. 76, 77, 96.

Dravidian, Dyak, Chinese, and even European. Malay is in Borneo the great amalgam of race, language, and ideas.[1]

Nevertheless it is possible to make a rough dual classification of the nominal adherents of Islam into those who use entirely the Malay language, dress and manner of living, and those of Dyak or part Dyak descent who keep to a greater or less extent the native economic conditions and manner of life.

In general the faith of the Malays of Borneo represents what has been called "Indonesian Mohammedanism." There has been noted by scholars interested in this part of the world a type of religion extending all over the Malay Archipelago, nominally Mohammedan, which, while varying locally in many details, has enough homogeneity to be easily recognizable. Three influences, in Indonesia, have modified Mohammedanism and turned it into a definite religion of the region. They are:—

1. The environment, which is geographically and economically similar for the coast peoples of many islands.

2. Survivals of early "Indonesian" pre-Mohammedan ideas and customs, so strongly held that the new faith to be successful must either absorb or tolerate them.

3. A generally prevalent mental attitude of primitive superstitiousness.

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[1] Veth, i, p. 179 gives the following striking description of the Malays in Borneo: "In den uitgestreksten zin begrijpt men thans onder dien namen allen, die de Mohammedaansche godsdienst hebben aangenomen: alle belijders van den Profeet van Mekka, al waren zij ook geheel of gedeeltelijk van Dajaksche of Chinesche afkomst, of zelfs uit aangebragte negerslaven geboren, worden, zoowel als de Arabieren van Pontianak, de Boeginezen van de Oostkust van Mampawa, de Javaansche en Klingalesche kolonisten in Succadana en Banjermassin, de slaven van Soembava en alders aangevoerd, en de Orang-laut of Rajats, van Lingga en Blitong herwaarts overgekomen, tot de Maleijers gerekend. Nogtans maken de Malaijers uit het Djohoresche rijk en zijne wijd verspreide volksplantingen afkomstig, over het algemeen het hoofd bestanddeel dezer gemengde bevolking uit, hetwelk op de geheele geamalgameerde massa, waarin slechts de Arabieren en Boeginezen eenige meerdere zelfstandigheid bewaard hebben, zijn stempel gedrukt heeft." Cf. St. John, i, p. 198; Earl, p. 239—240. The so-called "Embahoe Malays" were originally Dyaks who were converted to Islam about 1850. Enthoven, p. 205. The Malay language is the same sort of composite as the people, containing words from Sanskrit, Persian, Singhalais, Tamoul, Arab, Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch, etc., cf. Holbé, *op. cit.*, p. 431; Marsden, *Malay Grammar*, Introd. p. xviii.

Let us see how these three influences are exemplified in the religion of the Malays of Borneo.

As elsewhere in the Archipelago, Mohammedanism gained its way in Borneo partly by being already suited to the Malays' temperament and manner of life, and partly by cutting or stretching itself to the Procrustean bed where it did not already fit. The Malays of Borneo in the pre-Mohammedan era, like the coast peoples of many other islands, were already sea-faring traders, given to adventure and piracy. They built their own boats and travelled in them from port to port. Some of them were artisans and manufacturers, but the majority engaged in trade. They bartered their manufactures, their sea-products, and their imported goods to the natives for the local articles of value, which they carried in small boats to emporia where they could sell them to European and Asiatic merchants. This trade, which still continues, has sometimes netted the Malays as high as 500 % profit. Before the European policing of the seas they added piracy, openly or secretely, to their sources of revenue.[1]

The Arabs who came to their shores with greater skill as navigators, greater shrewdness as bargainers, and at least as great unscrupulousness as robbers, won for their religion the glory of superiority in the Malays' own characteristics.[2]

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[1] The general articles of Malay trade past and present are described in Boyle, *Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo*, London 1865, p. 106; M. Buys, *Twee Maanden op Borneo's Westkust*, Leiden 1892, p. 8; Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, i, p. 56; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 52, 53; Low, pp. 26, 57, 117, 366. For description of the Malay method of trade with the natives; cf. Sir Spenser St. John, *Life in The Forests of the Far East*, London 1863, ii, p. 298; Ada Pryer, *A Decade in Borneo*; Moor's *Notices*, p. 6; Bock, pp. 87, 202, 203; Boyle, pp. 98, 321; Sir Charles Brooke, i, p. 45, ii, pp. 162, 164; Nieuwenhuis, *In Centraal Borneo*, i, pp. 15, 22, 24—26, 120, 129; Earl, p. 263.

[2] Crawfurd, i, p. 139; Holbé, *Revue Anthropologique*, 1911, p. 430; Raffles, i, p. 259; Crawfurd, i, p. 139, says of the Arabs in the Archipelago, that "the genuine Arabs are spirited, fair and adventurous merchants. The mixed race is of a much less favorable character, and is considered as a supple intriguing, and dishonest class." It was very largely the half-breed Arabs who took the leadership of the Malays in Borneo, and directed piratical exploits. Cf. above p. 318 the account of the founding of the Arab dynasty of Pontianak. For their influence in Sarawak, cf. the Journal of Sir James Brooke in Keppel, pp. 54, 302, 303, also Keppel, pp. 268, 269, and Low, pp. 189—191; for further ana-

With this prejudice in its favor, Mohammedanism easily won converts, especially as there were elements in it favorable to the peculiar local conditions. The confession of faith, undoubtedly, in Borneo as in the Malay Peninsula and Acheh, was regarded less as a creed than a declaration of fealty. The Holy War against the infidel was held to justify their slave-hunting raids on the Dyaks of the interior, as well as piratical attacks on European vessels. The Hadjj across the partially familiar seas, became to this boat-building, sea-faring people immensely popular, giving the Hadjis not only prestige and honour on their return, but opportunities for a wider area of trade. The Hadjj, among the Borneo Malays, as in Acheh, is one of the most faithfully kept of the precepts of Islam. A great portion of the ritual prayers is neglected, as not fitting in well with their life. The laws of trade of the Koran are ignored, as according to Snouck Hurgronje they have had to be in all modern trading communities. Mohammedanism was embraced eagerly just in so far as it fitted in with the habits of their life which had grown from the environment.[1]

But to realise the close relation between the modifications of Mohammedanism and the economic status of the Malays we must differentiate the position and morals of the rich and poor Malays; the large merchants on the one hand, who are chiefly the princes and rulers; and on the other hand the fisherman and mechanics who are of a very different type. It

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lysis of the trade influence of the Arabs in the Archipelago; cf. Reinaud, *Geographie d'Aboulfeda*, Introduction, p. LIII, CCCLXXXIX ff., quoted by Veth, i, p. 246, and Veth, i, pp. 246, 248; St. John, i, pp. 177, 239.

[1] In the Malay Peninsula the "Holy War" was held to justify the kidnapping of Sakai and Samang aborigenes. In Acheh, according to Snouck Hurgronje, it owes its popularity "to its harmonizing with their war-like and predatory pre-Mohammedan customs." In both these places the ritual prayers are very laxly observed. Wilkinson says of the Malay Peninsula that "it is hard for a clerk or mechanic to keep the fast or to find time for the pilgrimage to Mecca." But in Acheh, where voyages are the order of the day, as in the trading ports of Borneo, the Hadjj is popular. It is interesting to note how in different nations and among different classes of society various precepts of Islam are accentuated or ignored as they fit in or clash with local conditions. In Acheh, as elsewhere in the Archipelago, the laws of trade and property are not those of the Koran, but of the Adat (native customary law). Snouck Hurgronje, ii, pp. 279, 304—309, 320, 337; R. J. Wilkinson, *Malay Beliefs*, pp. 8, 16, 17; Spenser St. John II, 325.

is the wealthy who exalt the Holy War and become Hadjis. In keeping with their lawless, irresponsible manner of life they are gamblers, opium eaters and hard drinkers. And they ignore the precepts which would interfere with these customs, though as a rule they draw the line at eating pork. It is naturally the powerful princes who have encouraged, if not started, the unorthodox deification of living and dead rulers. The Sultan of Kotei is supposed to have been descended from a god, who in answer to the supplication of a dweller of Kotei, came down to earth and married one of his children. From them descended all the rulers of Kotei. The following curious Chinese account from about the year 1618 shows the divine right of the early officials of Brunei:

"In this country there is a temple in which three men are worshipped as deities, who were superintendents of public works and of the treasury at the time the country was founded; they fell in battle, and were buried together at this spot; a temple was erected over their tomb and when a merchant vessel arrives it must kill a cow or roast fowls, and offer at the same time melati and other flowers; if any man on the ship does not worship he becomes ill. When the people of the country go out trading, they make an offering of flowers, and when they come back, having made profit, they take two cocks, to whose feet they attach knives, and let them fight before the tomb; if one of these fowls is killed, they thank the deities for it, which is certainly very curious."[1]

It must be remembered that this account was written at least 80 years after the country had become formally Mohammedan. Notice in this story the influence of the proverbial Malay love for cock-fighting. It is only the rich traders and rulers, again, who take advantage of the permission of polygamy, and only this small minority of the Mohammedans in Borneo seclude their women.[2]

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[1] W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese Sources*, Batavia 1879 *Miscallaneous Papers* I, p. 224.

[2] "The riches of the country were formerly entirely in the hands of the sultan and other great pangerans," Brooke in Mundy, i, p. 188; Spenser St. John, ii, p. 271; where there are mines, coal, gold or diamonds, these are owned by the princes. Enthoven, p. 165; Pfeiffer, p. 93. For the different classes of society, cf. Low, pp. 117—122; Brooke in

Among the poorer Malays of Borneo, on the other hand, the women go about the streets freely and unveiled. The position of women in many, if not all, places of the Archipelago seems to have been far higher under conditions of life of the pre-Mohammedan "adat". And the Mohammedan law on this point has been adopted only where changed conditions have paved the way for it. On the Lingga river in Borneo, where the Malays live in a village organized very much on the plan of the Dyaks', the chief, as is often the case in a Dyak village, was a woman. Where the conditions remained that led to freedom and prominence of women under the pre-Mohammedan code the orthodox theory of women's position has had little influence.[1]

With the poorer Malays, the artisan, small-trading and fishing class in Borneo, there was less incentive than among the more wealthy traders to adopt foreign customs, and among these people we shall find the chief stronghold of anti-Mohammedan ideas. Their Mohammedanism is a thin layer of verbiage over a mass of native superstition. The rich rulers and merchants of Borneo have lost many of their native ideas through cosmopolitan contact, and have gained a superior intelligence in general as well as more knowledge of the meaning of Mohammedanism, both in their journeyings abroad and

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Keppel, p. 50. In parts of the country where there are fewer opportunities for enrichment there is slighter difference between the ruling class and the subjects; cf. Enthoven, pp. 131, 138, 190—196. We find among different writers very conflicting accounts of the character of the Malays. Probably the apparent conflict is due to the fact that the particular class or social position of the Malays described is not given; cf. Rev. Andrew Horsburgh, *Sketches in Borneo*, 1858, p. 10; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 163, 295; Pfeiffer, p. 108; Low, pp. 127—137. The Mohammedan prince of Sekedau was rough, uncivilized, and a drunkard. In 1867 a sultan of Sekedau died after only a few years' reign from "misuse of opium and strong drink." The prince of Silat who died in 1871 was given to opium. Enthoven, pp. 190, 677, 678. There seems to be no religious scruple against opium among the Malays of Borneo, and the princes, at least, drink wine freely, not always refraining even in public. Low, p. 126, Earl, p. 235. They do, however, seem to refrain from the use of pork. Bock, p. 31, note; Groenevelde, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, compiled from Chinese sources, from *Miscellaneous Papers*, Batavia, 1879, i, p. 224.

[1] Ada Pryer, p. 123, probably generalizing from her experience of seeing women on the streets, says that women are never secluded in

in the schools of the Hadjis in Borneo, which are frequented by the wealthy only.[1]

In general we may say that the economic conditions in Borneo, as elsewhere in the Archipelago, gave the Arab missionaries a ready hearing and led to an easy acceptance of at least a partial Mohammedanism. Like many other Indonesians, for economic purposes the Borneo Malays have exalted the Hadjj and the Holy War; they have ignored most of the ritual prayers and the prohibitions of their much-loved drink, gambling and opium; and among them the position of women is determined more by local conditions than by Mohammedan theory.

The second factor of Indonesian Mohammedanism—the survival of Indonesian pre-Mohammedan customs—is exemplified in Borneo particularly among the lower class Malays who have a folk-lore and superstitions similar in many respects to those of the Malays in the Peninsula, Acheh, and other parts of Malasia. Characteristic of these are the customs of taboo, the idea of the semangat or vital spirit existing in things as

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Borneo, though Mohammedans. Low, p. 141, says that as in all Islamic countries the higher class women are secluded. Other writers agree that the Mohammedan women, not of the nobility, not only go about the streets freely, but do not even wear veils. Pfeifer, p. 47; Boyle, p. 17; Ida Pfeifer probably gets at the heart of the matter when she says that "The wives of persons of the higher class seldom go out; but this is merely from indolence and not to be attributed to any prohibition, for they may receive visitors at home." In other words the seclusion of women is a luxurious foreign fad, ill-adapted to the indigenous life, but practiced by those who can well afford it for the prestige it gives, as being possible only to the wealthy, and in accord with the religious teaching of the superior Arabs. The poorer women are too important factors in the economic life to bother about such things, religion or no religion. All through Malasia Mohammedanism has succeeded in establishing its dicta as to women only as the economic conditions were suitable. In the Malay Peninsula, according to the pre-Mohammedan "adat," the position of women was a high one. Mohammedanism reduced it "in theory." Wilkinson, p. 17. Even among the ruling class, in the settled semi-agricultural community of Acheh, women were not disqualified. Four female sovereigns in succession have occupied the throne of Acheh. In each case devout champions of Islam have praised them. Snouck Hurgronje, ii, p. 335.

[1] Sir Charles Brooke, i, p. 38; Bock, pp. 254, 255; Spenser St. John, ii, p. 298; Low, pp. 50, 54, 138, 153, 154, 158, 160.

well as people, and a curious custom of using rice stained yellow with turmeric in various religious festivals.[1]

One of the Malay customs noted by van den Berg as an anti-Mohammedan custom found among the Mohammedans all over the Archipelago including Borneo, and one naturally held to as strongly by the princes as the common people, is the possession of what the Dutch author calls "Rijksieraden," or insignia of office, consisting most often of weapons, the possession of which marks the rightful ruler. They are really fetiches which govern the possession of the throne and the fortunes of the kingdom. They are sometimes carried in war, oaths are sworn by them, and on occasions they are smeared with blood at sacrifices. The regard for these "rijksieraden" among the Borneo Malays is not unlike the feeling of the Dyaks for the head hunting relics, which are placed in front of the chief's door and must be touched only by the chief,

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[1] For instances of the Malay practice of taboo in Borneo, cf. below p. 25. For taboo as practiced in the Malay Peninsula, cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, passim. The Achehnese speak of prohibitions binding on all men as "pamali," the general Malay word for taboo in Borneo and elsewhere. Snouck Hurgronje, i, p. 274. "The spirit of life—which according to the ancient Indonesian belief existed in all things, even in what we should now consider inanimate objects—is known as the semengat." Wilkinson, *Malay Beliefs*, p. 49.

The yellow rice was used by the Malays of Sarawak in a ceremony performed on the return of chiefs from a successful war expedition, and was supposed to give them equally good luck the next time. The old chief's three wives and female relatives came dressed in their best "Each of the ladies in succession taking a handful of yellow rice, threw it over us, repeating some mystical words, and dilating on our heroic deeds." Keppel, p. 289. Sir Charles Brooke records that a Pangeran (noble) scattered rice over him as thanksgiving for a safe return from a dangerous journey. Brooke, i, p. 197. In the Malay Peninsula rice stained with turmeric is used for scattering over persons to be benefitted or strewing on the house floor. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 76. In Acheh glutinous rice coloured yellow with turmeric is used for offerings at the tombs of saints and is a favorite dish at religious festivals. Snouck Hurgronje, i, p. 31; ii, p. 293 (notice how much farther the new religion has advanced in Acheh, the only place of those mentioned where the ceremony is given a Mohammedan interpretation). Two instances I have found of a ceremonial scattering of yellow rice among the Land Dyaks of Borneo. Brooke in Mundy, i, p. 335; Chalmers, O. P., p. 63, quoted by Roth, i, p. 248.

and which, like the "rijksieraden" are regarded as having supernatural qualities.[1]

Besides the survivals of pagan Malay ideas we find also in Borneo relics of other pre-Mohammedan influences, varying in the different localities. In the north there are evidences of a well-authenticated Chinese influence, in such legends as that of Mt. Kinabalu, the "Chinese widow," and other local ideas; also perhaps a trace of Chinese feeling in the fact that here, in contrast with other parts of Borneo where the graves of ancestors are notably neglected, the Mohammedans take great care of ancestral tombs and make pious pilgrimages to them.[2]

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[1] L. W. C. Van den Berg. *De Mohammedaansche Vorsten in Nederlandsch-Indie*, pp. 72, 73. The Javanese name for these is Oepåtjåra, the Malay, Kabesaran or Alat Karadjan, the Macassar, Kalompawang, and the Bugis, Aradjang. The Rijksieraden of Sanggau, on the West coast of Borneo consist of a kris, a sword of European make, a lance, a gong and a swivel gun, Bakker, *Het Rijk Sanggau*, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1884, p. 374, quoted by van den Berg, p. 79. Those of Kotaringin on the South Coast seem to be very numerous, some of the chief are two ebony chairs, swords and lances, some pieces of iron supposed to come from Madjapahit and a couple of large porcelain jars of Japanese or Chinese make, Pijnappel, *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1860, p. 281, quoted by van den Berg, p. 79. These Chinese jars, many of them of great antiquity, are valued at enormously high prices all over Borneo. They are held in reverence by Malays and Dyaks alike, and are supposed to possess supernatural powers. In the Malay kingdom of Semitau, on the Kapuas river in western Borneo, the royal insignia consist of a kris, said to have come from Madjapahit with the original settlers, a "pinggau", or earthen dish, to which four very little dishes, "anak pinggau", belong, and a pinggau half a meter in diameter with three anak pinggau. The pinggaus are kept in the ground except on special occasions when they are shown to the people, and then must not be kept above ground more than one day, or a great hurricane will burst over the country. The little dishes must always be buried on the same side of the mother dish, otherwise they have power to turn themselves around. Enthoven, p. 139. The burying of valuable articles for safety is common all over Borneo especially among the Dyaks. For the Dyak regard for the heads of slain enemies as the insignia of office of the chiefs, possessing supernatural power and to be touched only by certain individuals, cf. Brooke in Keppel, p. 54, and Dr. Wm. Furness, *Home Life of the Head Hunters*, p. 65; for regard of royal regalia in the Malay Penin., cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 23—29.

[2] J. Marrat, *The Land of the Dyaks*, London 1891, p. 8; Dalrymple, p. 41 and Earl, p. 304, quoted by Roth, i, p. 304; Spenser St. John, ii, pp. 284, 332; Earl, p. 317; Low, p. 126.

Another foreign nation, the Hindu-Javan kingdom of Madjapahit has left material and cultural evidences of its former colonies all around the west, south and southeast coasts of Borneo. Strong Hindu-Javan influence can be traced in the Mohammedanism of the Malays in these districts of Borneo to-day.[1]

Of nearly all these survivals of a pre-Mohammedan era, I believe it can be said that they either have some economic reason in the present manner of life of the people, or that at one time there has been an economic reason for them so strong that they have survived by the force of that impetus. A curious instance of the latter case is the taboo on cow's milk in Sarawak, where until a few years ago men still dated events from "the days of the Hindus." The Malays here, like the Dyaks, do not use the milk or butter of the cow. Concerning the Dyak custom Sir Hugh Low says "Their not using the milk and butter of the cow, in which the Hindus delight, has been accounted for by the supposition that at the first introduction of the animal into Java, from whence it came to Borneo, this was a precautionary measure to encourage the breed, by not depriving the calves of their natural sustenance." It may be mentioned that cows are still scarce in Sarawak where the pasture land is limited.[2]

Thus in Borneo the earlier ideas which survive and modify Mohammedanism are, everywhere their wide-spread typical Malay beliefs, with, in certain localities, remnants of influence of Hindu-Javan and Chinese colonies.

Of the third factor producing Indonesian Mohammedanism

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[1] Cf. above p. 4 note 2. Traces of Hindu-Javan influence can be found equally prevalent among the Malays and Dyaks of the regions of the former colonies of Madjapahit. Denison, *Jottings of a Tour among the Land Dyaks of Upper Sarawak*, Ch. i, thinks that the Land Dyaks are the descendants of the Madjapahit colonists on the west coast of Borneo who were driven inland by the introduction of Mohammedanism in 1559. While this may possibly be true, there are many considerations which point to its improbability, and I do not believe that the evidence at present justifies us in presuming this origin of the Land Dyaks.

[2] Low, p. 267; In the *Memoirs of a Malayan Family*, a Malay Ms. of cir. 1760, translated and published by Marsden in 1830, a ceremony is described which implies that the Sumatran savage tribes did not drink milk though they had cows. Marsden comments on this that the natives of the Malay Islands neither drink milk nor make butter, p. 10.

—a mentality more primitive than that of the orthodox Arab teachers—we may fairly say that it has had more effect than the actual definite survivals of ancient customs in producing anti-Mohammedan ideas and distortions of Mohammedan customs. The Malays are described as being, with few exceptions, very superstitious and of a lower grade of civilization and intelligence than the Arabs. We have seen that on the whole Mohammedanism has changed their life less than their life has changed Mohammedanism.

Except in the case of a few individuals who have become wealthy and educated the new faith did not bring any revolutionary conditions which would alter the general mentality of the people. Most of the Malays are still in their mental attitude toward the outside world on the stage of animism and magic. The occult powers hold the same sway over their lives as they do over those of the Dyaks.

Comparing Malay magic as found in various parts of Indonesia with the magic of the Borneo Dyaks, it is doubtful whether there is greater similarity in the divination and incantations of the Dyaks and those of the Malays than arises from the fact that both peoples are below the intellectual attainments that show a reign of law and preclude superstitions. We find all over the world certain general forms of sympathetic magic, belief in charms etc. wherever there is a primitive stage of intellect and civilization. As the Malay civilization is wider in scope and more complex than the Dyak, so their magic is a little less naïve and crude. The Malay is perhaps more akin to the folk-lore of early Europe, the Dyak like that of more primitive peoples.

But besides the general practices of magic and taboo, and an animistic theory of nature, there are certain definite ideas and customs of the Borneo Malay Mohammedans which correspond remarkably closely to those of the Dyaks. We must consider these special local modifications of Islam in addition to those characteristic of Indonesian Mohammedanism in general.

In regard to these customs the question of interest is, did the Malays bring them to the Dyaks? or are they of Borneo origin?[1]

[1] Furness in his *Folk-lore in Borneo*, p. 10, says that the Dyaks are "closely akin in every respect to the Malays, and no doubt adopted the

I do not believe that that question can be answered positively in the present state of our knowledge. We can only say this much:—

1. Analysis will show them to be admirably adapted to the Dyak method of life.

2. The more the Malays live like Dyaks, the more of these customs do they have, and the more does their Mohammedanism become merely nominal.

3. They are not found among the Malays who are foreign traders so much as among those whose occupation keeps them close to the local environment.

4. They are not only practiced near the coast, but are customs characteristic also of the Dyak tribes of the far interior least affected by Malay influence.

Some of these customs concern the taking of omens from the cries of animals and the flight of birds; the taboo of the flesh of certain animals, especially deer; harvest taboos similar to those of the Dyaks in the few localities where the Malays practice any agriculture; taboos for illness and in case of death; women sorcerers and "doctors" who under the name of "Bayoh" perform the same functions among the Malay Mohammedans of Sarawak that the "Manangs" do among the Dyaks. The same sort of objects are used as charms as among the Dyaks. An account is given of a Malay Sultan who permitted in his palace a three day ceremony to "drive away Satan" participated in by Malays and Dyaks together, in which women took the prominent part they customarily hold in Dyak ritual.[1]

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traditions which were rife among the Malays both before and after the latter became converted to Mohammedanism." On the other hand Sir Charles Brooke who spent many years among the Malays and Dyaks of Sarawak says of the Malays that "since their arrival they have been mixed with the Dyak and Malanau populations adopting many of their customs and much of their language," i, p. 45.

[1] Bock, pp. 32, 49, 110—112, 198, 230. "The Malays also have their manangs, who are called *Bayoh*, while the ceremony is *Berasik*, but I believe the better instructed Mahometans consider the practice of it altogether inconsistent with the true religion of Islam," Perham, *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*, 19, quoted by Roth, i, p. 282. The pelandok, or mouse-deer is an omen animal in Borneo of Malays, Milanaus, Sea Dyaks and Kalamantans, whose warnings must be rigorously heeded. The mouse-deer figures in some of the folk-stories of the Malay Pen-

Some of the Malays, like the Dyaks, place wooden figures outside their houses to keep off evil spirits. The Malays have a custom which they call "Bertapar", corresponding to the Dyak "Nampok", in which a man goes out alone to a mountain and spends the night alone on its summit, coming back with great power from the spirits. Malay parents give feasts to their relations to celebrate the different periods in their sons' education, and for a lesser festival kill a fowl, for a greater one goats, buffalo or deer. This is exactly the way the Dyaks use the ordinarily forbidden animals in festivals, for a lesser occasion fowls, the larger ones for a greater one. The Dyaks use pigs ceremonially, however, where the Mohammedans use goats and buffalo. In both cases the reason is undoubtedly the same, the comparative scarcity of fowls, the greater scarcity of flesh.[1]

When the Malays lead the Dyaks on piratical expeditions, they no less than the head hunters take pride and delight in the captured heads of the enemies. Though Sir Charles Brooke says that "they do not place them in their houses nor attach any superstitious ideas to them," we have evidence that the Malays have a very sincere regard for the "pantaks" or sacred enclosures to which the Dyaks bring the heads after an expedition to perform the first rites over them; and believe with the Dyaks that "whoever does the least damage to any of the

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insula, but I do not find any record of the sort of superstitious regard in which it is held in Borneo; cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 179, 318. Of the Borneo Malays Haddon says, "A Malay told me: if a Sarawak Malay was striking a light in the evening in his house and a *pelandok* made a noise at the same time the whole family would have to leave the house for three days; should they not do so the house would catch fire and be burned down, or sickness or other calamity would overtake them," p. 386. A Kalamantan chief "resolutely refused to proceed on a journey through the jungle when a mouse-deer (Plandok) crossed his path, and he will not eat this deer at any time." Hose & McDougall, *Journal of the Anthropological Society*, 1901, p. 193. Of the Sea Dyaks Perham says, "If the cry of a *deer*, a *pelandok*, or a gazelle be heard, or if a rat crosses the path before you on your way to the farm, a day's rest will be necessary; or you will cut yourself, get ill, or suffer by failure of the crop." Perham, *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*, 10, quoted by Roth, i, p. 193.

[1] Bock, p. 32; Low, pp. 139, 140; Sir Charles Brooke, i, p. 156, quoted by Roth, i, p. 287; Sir Spenser St. John, i, pp. 143, 144.

wooden figures will be attacked by evil spirits and shortly die."[1]

Sometimes the Malays tell a story to try to bring their superstitions under the guise of Mohammedan lore. The padi-birds,—those birds of omen which frequent the rice-fields, roost together in large numbers, and are said to build nests in the high jungle not easily found or seen,—figure in a tale which is a typical medley. The Malays say that these birds do not breed like other birds in the jungle, but about the houses of happy invisible beings called Orang Ka-benuar-an, "people of truthfulness", sylvan spirits who care for the seasons of flowers and fruits. The great Mahomet came and all the angels of heaven except the rebel Eblis protected his faith. Eblis went to the Orang Ka-benuar-an and persuaded them to cease being woodland spirits and follow him and he would make them angels. Allah's punishment for listening to the evil angel Eblis was that the Orang Ka-benuar-an must become invisible and no more go among men. But he let them have one bird to live with them and be their messenger to men and they chose the padi-bird. All the omen birds are regarded by the Dyaks as messengers sent by the good spirits to men.[2]

Whenever the Malays do the same things that the Dyaks do, and are subject to the same influences, we find them, without regard to their Mohammedanism, holding the same superstitions as their Dyak companions. In many places, for instance, the Malays living on rivers have become expert canoeists, an activity in which the Dyaks excel, and here they have the same superstition as the Dyaks about the bad luck consequent upon holding the paddle in a certain way.[3]

A few instances may be given also of notions that are purely local and due to the impression of some out-of-the-way experience. On one river the Malays worship the same rocks and hill-spirits as do the neighboring Dyaks. The water of one small river is considered sacred alike by Malays and Dyaks, and healing properties are attributed to it. At a spot on the Sarawak where some Chinese insurgents were fearfully cut up,

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[1] Brooke in Keppel, p. 173; Pfeiffer, p. 89.

[2] From a verbal account given by a Malay, Motley, *Contributions to the Natural History of Labuan*, London 1855, pp. 35—38.

[3] Sir Spenser St. John, ii, p. 262; Sir Charles Brooke, ii, p. 2; Haddon, p. 285; Nieuwenhuis, *Centraal Borneo*, i, p. 23.

twenty years after the event the Malays would not bring their boats at night for fear of ghosts. A purely local custom on the island of Talang-Talang, where the Malays make a living by collecting turtle eggs, is the magic practice resorted to by the Hadji in charge of the place to make the turtles lay. It consists of feasting, decorating the sands with flags, and after this is done tabooing the vicinity to strangers,—a very practical provision this last, as the turtles will not lay if disturbed, and moreover strangers who do not come cannot steal. Dyaks and Malays alike attribute magic power to gold dust, that beautiful, valuable thing which the searcher may with good luck pick up out of some of the river beds. The Dyaks scatter it on their fields to bring good harvests. The Malays shake it in their girls' heads to procure a luxuriant crop of hair. Malays and Dyaks, not far apart in their general mental development, have received similar impressions from their surroundings and incorporated them into their different religions.[1]

The Malay Mohammedans show the same tendency as do the Dyaks to attribute supernatural powers to Europeans who excite their sense of wonder or affect their interests for good or ill. Ida Pfeiffer's immunity from danger in passing through hostile countries, her pedestrian prowess, and her strangeness made the Mohammedan Malays, no less than the Dyaks regard her as a kind of demigod. The Malays of Brunei attributed a cholera epidemic to a phantom Spanish vessel seen in the river the night before the epidemic broke out, a theory which illustrated, according to Sir Spenser St. John, the traditional hatred of the Spaniards with whom in olden times the kingdom of Brunei had constant feuds. The Dyaks deified the friendly Sir James Brooke, and invoked his presence at their harvest feasts; the Malays, when in 1881 a flood stopped just short of his statue, took it for a manifestation of the will of God that they should respect the descendants of Sir James Brooke as the flood respected his statue. In this instance the Moham-

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[1] Gomes, *Gospel Mission*, July 1865, pp. 105—111, quoted by Roth, i, p. 355; Boyle, pp. 49—50; Bock, p. 112; Denison, chapter IV; Sir Spenser St. John, ii, pp. 264, 325; Brooke in Keppel, p. 113; Ibid. in Mundy, i, p. 304; Sir Charles Brooke, i, p. 265; Low, p. 118. The Malays who live in the region of Mt. Tiloeng, which is held very sacred by the Dyaks, even after they have been converted to Mohammedanism, are said to "bestow a certain reverence on it." Molengraaf, p. 47, 62.

medans (of a sophisticated coast town by the way) are less frankly pagan than in some other cases we have been noting, and deification is cloaked under a mere "sign of the will of God."[1]

A higher name or phrase will often cover a multitude of primitive superstitions, which nevertheless retain their own true character. For this reason we cannot regard it as proof of Malay origin that many Dyak customs of the far interior are called by words of the Malay language, such as the taboo, which is known in many parts of Borneo as "pamali" the name applied to taboo by Malays in all parts of the Archipelago. Taboo is too wide-spread an institution to be considered peculiarly Malay. And the special forms of it found in Borneo are, as I have pointed out in previous studies, eminently adapted to the immediate environment. Because the Malay language is easily learned and has spread commercially everywhere Malay names for things and spirits are prevalent in the religious nomenclature of the various native tribes. It does not necessarily follow that Malay ideas have gone with the names. For instance the Dyaks of Kotei believe in a supreme being known as Mahatara, Hatalla, or Allah. From the first name we might infer that the belief had at least a relationship to Hindu ideas, from the second to Arabic. But the belief in a chief god can hardly be proved a foreign acquisition by these names, for the same belief is found among Dyak tribes in many parts of Borneo, and the deity is called by various names not suggestive of either of these foreign influences. The chief god is known in different regions as Juwata (thought to be probably a corruption of the Sanskrit Dewata), Tuppa, Sang Jang, Laki Tenangan, Batara, Totadungan, Balli Penyalong, and Ipu. It seems more than probable that usually when a Malay term appears in the Dyak religion it is merely an application of a foreign word to already existing ideas.[2]

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[1] Pfeiffer, p. 94; Sir S. Spenser St. John, i, pp. 291, 292; Dr. A. Piton, *Un Voyage à Borneo*, Paris, 1888, p. 7.

[2] Among the Land Dyaks the terms *pamali* and *porich* seem both to be used for taboo, probably with slightly varying significance. Low, p. 260; Chalmers in Grant's Tour, quoted by Roth, i, p. 388. For the names of the Supreme Being among the different tribes; cf. St. John, i, p. 110; ibid. in *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, ii, p. 242; Bock,

If the likeness of religious customs on the part of nominally Mohammedan Malays and Dyaks is to be explained by the theory that the Malays before their conversion brought these customs to the Dyaks from the Peninsula, we shall have to have some further argument in favor of the supposition than the occasional appearance of a Malay term in the Dyak ritual or pantheon. I think it much more likely that most of the customs, at least, are of native origin and were followed by the Malays because they were in accord with the local atmosphere and method of life which the Malays must to a certain extent adopt.

It is the up-river Malays, settled, unlike most of their nation, in Dyak-like agricultural villages, among whom we find the harvest taboos. The utility of these to the Dyaks I have already discussed in a previous paper.[1] For the taboos on eating the flesh of certain animals there would be the same practical reasons among the Malays as among the Dyaks. In the common experiences of piratical expeditions it is only natural that the Malays should come to have at least a regard for the tokens of prowess—the heads of the slain victims—and share the Dyaks' superstitious attitude toward them. In short when the Malays live like Dyaks they think like Dyaks.

It is hard to tell where the Mohammedan Malays end and the pagan Dyaks begin. They shade into one another like red into yellow. The extremes are easily distinguishable. But where shall we classify the various depths of orange?

There is a legend of an old Dyak chief of mighty strength who left seven sons. The oldest promised to remain Dyak and support his brothers, the youngest followed his father as chief of the Dyaks, while the remaining five became founders of five Malay states. The Malays use this story to explain why they have a right to live at the expense of the Dyaks. It shows to the reader the extreme haziness of race distinctions, even in the minds of the natives themselves, where the two manners of life have amalgamated.[2]

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p. 231; Brooke in Keppel, p. 328; Low, p. 249; De Crespigny, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, v, p. 35, quoted by Roth, i, p. 219; Müller, ii, p. 366, quoted by Roth, i, p. 217 note; Hose and McDougall, *J. A. I.*, 1901, pp. 176, 189.

[1] *J. A. O. S.*, vol. 29, pp. 247 ff.

[2] W. C. van der Meulen, quoted by Enthoven, pp. 671, 672.

The key to understanding the situation is I think best given by the tribes of obviously Dyak origin whose history from the time previous to their conversion to Mohammedanism is well known. One tribe of these on a branch of the Kapuas river is known as the "Embahoe Malays". They are Dyaks who within the last fifty years have been converted to Mohammedanism. They have simply taken the oath of fealty to Allah and Mohammed, at the urgence of their Malay overlord, and added to their old customs some Mohammedan ritual and a few brass cannon. They continue in a unchanged environment and gain a living in all their old Dyaks ways, and they have dropped none of their Dyak festivals and spirit-worship. They are head-hunters and openly eat pork and drink arrack.[1]

The next step in Mohammedanizing is to give up pork. The pig is a potent factor in Dyak life, not to be dispensed with without a change of economy. And we are hardly surprised to learn that the Malay dress and other characteristics distinguished the Dyak converts on the Rejang river who went as far as giving up the festal use of the pig. In British North Borneo the inhabitants of the Kinabatangan river shade from the pagans of the upper river to the Dyak Mohammedans by giving up pork as they get nearer to the coast and to the Malay way of living. Analysis of the customs of the native Mohammedans shows that there is much native and little Mohammedan in the up-river districts, where the conversion has taken place through the agency of isolated missionaries and traders, and where there has been no real change of environment or incentive to adopt the Malay method of life. The more thorough-going adoption of Mohammedan principles occurs only in the villages nearer the coast where the coming of Malay traders and Europeans has changed the natives' real economic environment.[2]

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[1] Enthoven, pp. 205—207.

[2] Sir Spenser St. John, i, p. 46; Ada Pryer, p. 80; Low, p. 338; Boyle, pp. 28, 319; Enthoven, pp. 169—171. Cf. also Enthoven's account of the Sintang "Malays" of the Upper Kapuas, of at least partially Dyak origin, who living up-river in an environment like the Dyaks', although Mohammedans keep to most of the Dyak customs, pp. 563 ff. For further accounts of various degrees of conversion and adoption of Malay method of life, cf. Earl, pp. 271, 272; Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, i, p. 51;

A description of what one might call this cultural conversion of the natives is given by Holbé in a recent article in the Revue Anthropologique. He describes the houses of a "Malay" village between the Kapuas river and Landak as constructed Malay fashion. The people are Mohammedan, have cows and no pigs, but resemble the Dyaks of the region. "Quand un Dyak deserte le kampong paternel, vient à un centre Malayou et prononce le formule: La ila hill' Allah . . . il devient Malais du coup."[1]

I have taken my instances of Dyak conversion from the tribes of three great rivers, those arteries by which Mohammedanism and the Malays have penetrated at certain points toward the interior of the island. It is important to note that the farther up-river we go, the more closely does the manner of life of both Malays and natives necessarily approach the primitive jungle type, and the more loosely are the precepts of Islam followed by both Malays and native converts. There are far fewer Hadji from among the up-river people, and those who do go to Mecca are little respected on their return.[2]

Among the Malays of the coast towns, however, especially the ports trading constantly with Europe and Asia, where European influence has made the environment more cosmopolitan than Bornean, we find greater power of the generally familiar customs of Islam. There are mosques and prayers; there is verbal knowledge of the Koran, even if it is only used to determine the ceremonial of marriages and burials, or recited

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Cator, p. 57; Sir R. Alcock, *Handbook of British North Borneo*, London, Colonial Exhibition, 1886, p. 37. Among the Milanaus, whose peculiar opportunities for sago trade has made their Malayanisation fairly complete in many localities, an old custom to be given up was that of human sacrifice. This seems also to have prevailed at some time in other parts of Borneo. Spenser St. John, i, p. 46; *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*, 10. p. 182, quoted by Roth, i, p. 157; Low, p. 335, quoted by Roth, i, p. 157; Veth, ii, p. 321.

[1] Holbé, *Revue Anthropologique*, 1911, p. 433.

[2] Enthoven, p. 567. For descriptions of the Malay and Dyak up-river agricultural communities, cf. Nieuwenhuis, *Centraal Borneo*, i, pp. 19, 20; Bock, p. 49; Enthoven, pp. 131—134, 176—180. Low says of the coast Malays that "they seldom apply themselves to gardening or agriculture, trusting entirely for their supplies of rice and fruits to the industrious Dyaks of the interior, and to the Chinese gardens in the town for the vegetables they require," p. 160.

uncomprehendingly as a charm to keep off evil spirits; there are numerous Hadjis who return to great respect and to be reverently addressed by the title of Tuan-ku; and there is some observance of the month of Ramadhan. In Sarawak, particularly, the competition of Christian missions greatly increased the zeal and strictness of Mohammedanism. There was a noticeable pulling away from superstitions and toning up of the tenets of Islam after the establishment of a Christian mission in 1840.[1]

In the ports, too, the Malays are kept stirred up by the Arabs. These have never come to Borneo in any numbers, but have been individual Hadjis and Mollahs, come to arouse the zeal of the converts, and they have been adventurers inciting, until repressed by Europeans, to plunder by land and sea in the name of the Holy war. They are for the most part found as individuals ruling by force of intellect and leadership over a village of followers and slaves. They all claim and receive the title of Seriff.[2]

Two classes of Mohammedans in Borneo yet remain to be mentioned, the Chinese, who are included in enumerations of Mohammedans but concerning whose religious customs I have not enough material to speak intelligently; and the Klings, a small number of colonists or merchants from India, who have in Sarawak their separate mosque of the Shiah sect which stands alongside of the Arabian Sunnis' without the usual antagonism. The number and influence of the Klings is so small as not to be, so far as I have been able to find out, a real factor.[3]

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[1] Sir Charles Brooke, i, pp. 77, 78, 331, 360; Bock, p. 25; Keppel, p. 266; Boyle, pp. 131, 173; Miss Quigley in *Missionary Review of the World*, June 1907, p. 442, Low, pp. 123, 129.

[2] Holbé, *loc. cit.*, p. 430; Brooke in Mundy, i, pp. 362, 364; Boyle, p. 298; Keppel, p. 269; Veth, i, p. 248; Low says that the seriffs "have always been held in high consideration. They are always addressed by the title of Tuan-ku, or 'your highness,' and on state days and festivals occupy a position more eminent than that of the highest hereditary nobles," p. 123. For the real intellectual and economic leadership which supports this prestige, cf. accounts of the Arabs above p. 323. In Acheh "Teungku" is the title given to all "who either hold an office in connection with religion or distinguish themselves from the common herd by superior knowledge or more strict observance of religious laws." Snouck Hurgronje, i, p. 70.

[3] Low. p. 126, 93 ff.

The Malays' purpose in converting the Dyaks, besides their mere religious zeal for converts, was to establish a basis for allegiance on which to build their political overlordship. More often than conquering the natives by force of arms, they would trade with them, convert them to Islam and then take tribute from them. The inducement for the Dyaks was that a man by adopting the Malay religion and manner of life could raise himself to the status of the superior, dominant race. The Malays made conversion easy by requiring nothing of the Dyaks that conflicted with their customs. As we have seen, however, near the coast where surroundings were more favorable to the Malay method of life than the Dyak, the Dyak customs dropped of their own accord.[1]

All this, it must be remembered, applies to a very small portion of the Dyaks,—only those of the navigable rivers frequented by the Malays. The tribes who were protected far in the jungle, or who fled before the coming of the intruders to the tributaries and upper waters beyond the point of easy navigation, have preserved their resources as well as their customs untouched, and have a far better lot than their subject neighbors.

Their seclusion is, however, not likely to be long-lived. Within recent years there has been a rapid opening up of the country by Europeans, both Dutch and English.[2] The result has been a vast increase, even within the last decade of valuable material for knowledge of the people of the interior. Not only has the material increased in mass but there is a steady growth of reliability of observation as well as a more systematic method of presenting the results. Taking the sequence from the mediaeval travellers' tales; through the

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[1] H. W. Mutinghe, *De Bevestinging van het Nederlandsch Gezag op Borneo* in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 1850, D. II, p. 164, Crawfurd, *Malay Grammar*, i, p. LXXXII, van Lijnden, *Aanteekining over de landen van het stroomgebied der Kapoeas in Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Ned.-Indië*, 1851, pp. 584, 601, quoted by Veth, ii, p. 322; Enthoven, p. 209; van Meulen, quoted by Enthoven, p. 673; Bock, pp. 64, 232.

[2] Nieuwenhuis, *Influence of changed conditions*, etc., p. 5; Buys, p. 139; Bock, writing in 1881 said of some of the up-river tribes of southern Borneo, "They would not even see a Malay, and always remained in the densest part of the forest where it was impossible to track them without a guide," p. 69.

abundance of popular literary generalizations which appeared about 1850 when the dramatic suppression of piracy had caught the attention of Europe; down to the accounts of scientific exploring expeditions of recent years, we find a steady development of completeness and systematic presentation of material, as well as vast increase in the amount of actual knowledge of the country.

Even yet the accounts we have of the Malay and Dyak Mohammedans in Borneo are too fragmentary to make any theoretical analysis of them definitely conclusive. They are sufficiently striking to be very suggestive. Within the next ten or fifteen years, as the material is coming in, it should be possible to make a comparative and schematic analysis of local conditions, which I believe will prove of great theoretic significance.

From the notes I have collected here I have formulated tentatively five principles of borrowing, several of them well recognized by writers on the history of religion, though seldom definitely stated.

A new religion is accepted:—

1. In so far as it fits in with the already existing ideals of the people.

In accord with this principle the Malays accepted that part of Mohammedanism which fit in with the trend of their habits and customs. The especial precepts which they accentuated were the pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy War, both of which furthered their ideals of trade and of piracy.

A new religion is accepted:—

2. In so far as it does not enforce precepts which are antagonistic to the peoples' ideals or unsuitable to the economic conditions.

We have seen how the ritual prayers, the prohibitions of drink gambling and opium, and the laws of trade and property of the Koran were ignored by the Borneo Malays when their habits or the local conditions made strongly against them, and how the position of the Malay women was determined more by their economic status than by orthodox Moslim theory.

If, then, it made so little change, why did even the nominal conversion take place? It was because Mohammedanism in

Borneo fulfilled the indispensable condition to the introduction of a foreign faith, our third principle, viz;—that

A new religion is accepted:—

3. When the new ideas offer better prospects than the people's old religion for success and happiness under the existing conditions.

The Hadjj, the Holy War, the comradeship in the bonds of a common allegiance with foreign traders all offered wider scope for the Malays' ambitions.

Our fourth principle is that

A new religion is accepted:—

4. In so far as the forces that bring the foreign faith also bring a change in civilization.[1]

We have seen that the Arabs coming to Borneo in small numbers did very little to change the real surroundings of the Malays. And no revolution of life has occurred that would lift them out of their old mental attitude of superstition. Therefore the Malays have accepted only certain superficial precepts of Mohammedanism which appealed to them, without changing their whole pagan attitude toward the outside world. The Dyaks have for the most part not accepted Mohammedanism at all, while they remain in their jungle environment, and a few have accepted the superficial Malay Mohammedanism just in so far as they have left the jungle and taken to the Malay manner of life. Mohammedanism has not brought to Borneo any change in civilization that would lead to a thorough-going change of the people's ideas.

It has kept its nominal hold by observing the law of borrowing that I have stated as my fifth principle, one very familiar in the history of religion, viz;—that

A new religion is accepted:—

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[1] An interesting instance of protest against a pre-Mohammedan superstition after the coming first of the Mohammedan traders and then of the Europeans had changed the local conditions is given in the Sarawak Gazette, 122, p. 2, quoted by Roth, i, p. 287. During a terrible storm an old and nearly forgotten custom was resorted to—that of damaging trees and property to frustrate the evil spirit of the storm. After the storm had abated the losers of property complained to the government, "allowing that in bygone days it had been a custom, but then, they state, their gardens were of little value; it was different now, as labour was dear and everything was of value in the market."

5. Only if it incorporates into itself or tolerates quietly the old traditions of the people that continue to fit their life.[1]

We have seen that the converted Dyaks keep right on with all their savage anti-Mohammedan customs except as some of these have dropped of their own accord when the Dyaks adopt the Malay mode of life. Of the traditions that have survived in the Malay faith, we have seen that these are a medly of pre-Mohammedan Malay ideas with some Hindu-Javan, Chinese or Dyak influences in different localities, holding on because they are useful, or better adapted than the new religion to the state of mind that the environment has produced.

As the result of the working of these principles we have in Borneo, a quasi-Mohammedanism, or rather a new national or class religion, with a certain investiture of Mohammedan names and forms. We see that this resultant in the same country varies from one locality to another, from one class to another as the economic conditions are different.

I believe that our knowledge thus far of Mohammedanism in Borneo goes to support these five "laws of contact," and that further facts will be likely to corroborate them, though probably in a modified form. Of one thing I think we may at least be certain. The parallelism of religious and economic development holds true as rigidly in the borrowing of foreign ideas as in the growth of customs on the native soil. We have not reached in our explanation the full significance of a religious usage when we have traced out the history of its geographical migrations. Aboriginal or imported it has an equally vital relationship to the life of the people.

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[1] Snouck Hurgronje recognizes this principle fully and states it in his general remarks on the spread of Islam. "Side by side with the law and doctrine which has developed in the school during the past 13 centuries, and which is universally admitted to be inspired yet is universally neglected, there exists an entirely different standard of religion law and morality which holds good in practice. This practical teaching is indeed largely coloured by the influence of the theory of the schools, yet to a greater extent it rests on a different basis; therein are expressed the views of life which controlled men's minds in the pre-Mohammedan period and therein do we also find traces of all that has befallen the various peoples since they embraced the creed of Islam," p. 277. "It is of course quite possible to admit the validity of a law without observing its precepts ..... Religious teaching, however, must neither admit any elements which are unacceptable to a large part of the community, nor reject things which are indispensable to a great number of the faithful," p. 290.

A Tammuz Fragment.—By Professor J. Dyneley Prince, Ph. D., Columbia University, N. Y.

The text of the following fragment (K. 3356) was published by Kerr Duncan Macmillan (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, V. p. 679) without translation or explanation. From obv. 1 to rev. 1, we may supply for the broken parts of the lines the general idea "may it (the evil) be conjured"; i. e., "be it conjured 6. by the — — — word of him who is dead, 7. by the name of the spouse, 8. by Nanâ, etc., 9. by the consort who is sadly wailing, etc." The wailing Nanâ, weeping for Tammuz, appears also in CT. XV. obv. 14: *er* (AŠI)-*ri e-ne-ir xi-mu-un-na-te-*(*ga*) 'wailing for him let her begin' (Prince, AJSL. xxvii. p. 85).

The fragment under discussion is chiefly interesting because it seems to be, not the usual Tammuz-hymn, but an incantation, to remove evil from an afflicted person by adjuring the sorrows of Tammuz and his consort Nanâ. The idea of Tammuz and his grieving mother, as set forth by this text, seems to imply that their divine sorrows had a certain theological value; in other words, that they constituted a vicarious suffering to which men might look as a compensation for physical ailments. In this respect, the poem is a really striking prototype of modern Christian litanies, which adjure the Deity by the sorrows of the Incarnate God and His Mother to have mercy on mankind.

Text and Translation

Obverse

1. -*ta*
2. -*ta*
3. -*ge* (KIT)-*ta*
4. -*ge* (KIT)-*ta*
5. -*ge* (KIT)-*ta*

6. -KA *dig* (BAD)-*gá-ge* (KIT)-*ta* — — — —
by the — — word of him who is dead — — — —
7. *mu mu-ud-na-zu-ta* — — — —
by the name of thy spouse — — — —
8. *Nin-ri dam sib-ba-ta* — — — —
by Nanâ the consort of the shepherd — — — —
9. *dam-ma iš-gíg-ga-ab-ta* — — — —
by the consort who is sadly wailing — — — —
10. ^{d}*Dumu* (AN-TUR) *Ci-ir-tur-ra-ge* (KIT)-*ta* — — — —
by the divine child of Cirturra — — — —
11. XU-SI *ci-ib-ba-ta ga* (GA-ṬU) *ci-ib-ba* — — — —
by the excellent magnate; the excellent lofty one — — — —
12. LAX-BA (*siba*) XU-SI *eri* (= *âlu*) *ib-ba-ge* (KIT) *ga* (?) DU (?)-DU (?)-*da* — — — —
(by) the shepherd, the magnate of the lower city; the lofty one, when he goes — — — —
13. *u me-a am* ^{d}*Dumu-zi, ag-gad* (RAM-ŠU) *dug* (KA)-*ga, lax* (DU)-*lax* (DU)-*ga gud* — — — —
(by) him who is the wild bull Tammuz, who speaks love, when he shines (may) the bull — — — —
14. LAX-BA (*siba*) *ag* (RAM)-*ta im ga* (GA-ṬU)-*a-ta-šu* (KU) — — — —
by the shepherd of love, by the exalted lord — — — —
15. ^{d}*Dumu-zi-ta im ga* (GA-ṬU)-*a-ta-šu* (KU) — — — —
by Tammuz, by the exalted lord — — — —
16. XU-SI *ga* (GA-ṬU) *šub* (RU)-*a* XU-SI *la* (LAL) *ba-da-gaz-ta-šu* (KU) — — — —
by the exalted magnate who is abased, the magnate of fulness who is slain — — — —
17. *ga ga* (GA-ṬU) *šub* (RU)-*a ga la* (LAL) *ba-da-gaz-ta-šu* (KU) — — — —
by the exalted one who is abased, by the lofty one of fulness who is slain — — — —

Reverse

1. *im ga* (GA-ṬU) *šub* (RU)-*a im-ga* (GA-ṬU) — — — —
by the exalted lord who is abased, the exalted lord — — — —
2. *gud-gim si-ni-šu* (KU) *š*(*ub*=RU) — — — —
(by him who) like a bull with respect to his horns (is abased — — — —

3. *e-ci-gim qin* — — — —
(by him who) like sheep (?) — — — —
4. *tûr-gim* (*ab-*) — — — —
(by him who) like a pasture — — — —
5. *alim-ma* — — — —
the mighty one — — — —
6. *bar-šu* (KU) — — — —
on one side (may the curse stand)
7. *bar* — — — —
on one side (may the curse stand)
(a number of lines may follow.)

Commentary

1—5. *-ta* preceded by genitive must mean: by the — — — — of; cf. 6—10.

6. Some adjective qualifying KA 'word' is omitted. For *-ta* in adjuration, cf. Gud. 4, 2: *á* ^{d}*Nina-ta* 'by the might of Nina'. Note that *-ta* always reverts to the first word of the phrase.

7. *mu-ud-na*=*xâiru* 'spouse', Br. 1304.

8. Apparently *sib* is correct, as LAX-BA 'shepherd'=*siba* occurs line 12.

9. The *-ma* in *dam-ma* is simply prolongation and not the oblique 1 p. The *is* = *eš* = A-ŠI 'weeping' (cf. AJSL. XXVII. p. 85; Prince).

10. *Ci-ir-tur-ra*; cf. *Ci-ir-tur* | BU-DA | *ama* ^{d}*Dumu-zi-ge* (KIT) 'mother of Tammuz', Br. 4206.

11. XU-SI, I render, 'magnate' as the chief meaning of XU-SI (cf. M. 1198 ff.) seems to denote eminence; cf. M. 1221: = *šaqû* 'high' (M. 1220: = *šadû* 'mountain'). XU-SI is also parallel here with *ga* (GA-ṬU).

Note the Eme-Sal form *ci-ib-ba*, for Eme-Ku *dug-ga* 'good, excellent'.

12. *ib-ba*, I render, 'lower' as *ib-ta* = *šapliš*, IV. 21, 13b.

13. *ag-gad* (RAM-ŠU) 'love'; cf. 14: *ag* (RAM) *ta*.

14—15. *im* = *bêlûtu*, IV. 21, 27b.

16—17. *šub* (RU) = *maqâtu*, Br. 1432; *nadû*, Br. 1434. *la* (LAL) = *lalû* 'fulness', Br. 984. In 16, *gaz* = *dâku* 'slay', MSL. 130.

Note that *-ta-su* (KU), the double postposition, is not un-

common in contracts; cf. William M. Nesbit, *Tablets from Drehem* (Thesis, Columbia University), Tablet 12 obv. 2: *mu é-a-ni-ta-su* (KU) 'for the name of (for) his house'.

Reverse

2. This evidently refers to the abased condition of Tammuz whose horns are brought low. The same strain of lament probably runs through Rev. 3—5.
3. *e-ci* = *cênu* 'sheep', M. 4166.
4. *túr* = *tarbacu* (*passim*).
5. *alim* = the enclosed *xal-a-lim* (ŠI).

6—7. Evidently the conjuration: *ina axâti lizziz* 'on one side may the curse stand' = sum. *bar-ku xe-im-ta-gub* (DU); *passim*.

The name of the Erythraean Sea.—By WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

The origin of geographical names is often beyond explanation: they arise by accident, pass from mouth to mouth and from age to age, taking on new meanings and new locations, until they become mere arbitrary words, and imagination must come in to explain them. So it is with the name of the Erythraean Sea. And while no man may surely say, here arose that word, yet as Sir Thomas Browne observed, "what song the Sirens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, although puzzling questions, are not beyond *all* conjecture".

A recent paper in the J. A. O. S. (April, 1912) by Miss Sarah F. Hoyt of Johns Hopkins, has embodied much interesting information concerning this ancient name, and explains its origin, with the approval of no less an authority than our much-respected fellow-member Professor Haupt, as derived from the microscopic algae *Trichodesmium erythraeum* occasionally found in quantity on the surface of the Red Sea, to which they impart a reddish or yellowish tinge; the decomposition of which may have caused the first Egyptian plague (Exod. 7, 17—21).

Now it is true that from Roman times onward *Mare Rubrum*, Red Sea, meant the long gulf that separates Egypt from Arabia; and it is equally true that under certain conditions of wind and climate a reddish vegetable scum forms on its almost stagnant waters, from which the name "Red" might have been suggested. But this explanation impresses me as a little too simple, too obvious. The presence of algae in sufficient quantity to color the surface over a large area would be an exceptional occurrence, not likely to lend a name to the sea. This suggestion was made by Lobo more than a

century ago; he preferring, however, to derive the name from a dye, "sufo", which he said was produced by the *suph* or bulrushes, that gave the Hebrew name to these waters. That too seems improbable because the dye, if so produced, was not of commercial importance sufficient to characterize that sea. Another suggestion connected the name with Edom, meaning red, and would have made Erythraean a mere translation of Idumean.

The name Erythraean is Greek: *Θάλασσα ἐρυθρὰ,* or *ἐρυθραία.* It is not derived from any Semitic or Egyptian name, and it was not applied to the body of water which we know as the Red Sea. The Greeks knew that as the "Arabian Gulf", the natural Egyptian name. Consequently any explanation derived from the peoples of that region must be arbitrary and without foundation.

The early Greek literature conceived the habitable earth as a circular plane surrounded by the Ocean Stream. Little by little as the mental horizon of the Greeks was pushed outward it was seen that this scheme must be modified, and that the surrounding ocean here and there penetrated into the solid earth. Such irregularities were noted in the Sea of Azov and the Caspian Sea, supposed to communicate with the ocean stream; such also was our Red Sea, known to the Greeks as the Arabian Gulf. Of the navigation of the outer ocean the early Greeks knew very little. Vague stories came to them of Phoenician and Carthaginian trading beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and of a circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenician ships in the service of Egypt. Of the eastern ocean they had no knowledge until they were brought into contact with the great empire of the Persians, which had overthrown that of the Chaldaeans, and under both of which there had been sea-trading since time immemorial between the Euphrates and Western India. That was the sea-route which they meant by the word Erythraean, which came to them from Persia. It is through that connection that its origin and meaning must be sought.

Ἐρυθρός in Greek means red, *ἐρυθραίνω* to dye red, and *ἐρυθαίνω* to blush; there is a Greek personal name *Ἐρύθρας* that has some connection with these meanings, and a Greek city *Ἐρύθραι* in Boeotia, whose oracles made the name familiar on Greek lips, as one readily to be extended to some new-

found region. Possibly all these facts may have had their share in the application of Erythraean to the waters between Babylonia and India, and later by a reasonable extension to the whole Indian Ocean and all the gulfs that communicate with it.

Hecataeus, the first of the Greek geographers, knows nothing of an Erythraean Sea. The first writers that give us the name are Herodotus, as quoted below, and Pindar (*P.* 4, 448), the latter in one passage only. From Herodotus, however, we have sufficient information clearly to explain the meaning of the name as current in his time, which referred to Persian and not Egyptian waters. He speaks, (1, 180) of the Euphrates flowing from Armenia through Babylon and falling into the Erythraean Sea. Again (4, 37) he says:

"The Persian settlements extend to the southern sea, called the Erythraean; above them to the north are the Medes; above the Medes, the Saspires; and above the Saspires, the Colchians who reach to the northern sea, into which the river Phasis discharges itself. These four nations occupy the space from sea to sea . . .

"Another tract beginning at Persia, reaches to the Erythraean Sea; it comprises Persia, and after that Assyria, and after Assyria, Arabia; it terminates (terminating only by custom) at the Arabian Gulf, into which Darius carried a canal from the Nile . . .

"Beyond the Persians, Medes, Saspires, and Colchians, toward the east and rising sun, extends the Erythraean Sea, and on the north the Caspian Sea and the river Araxes, which flows toward the rising sun. Asia is inhabited as far as India; but beyond this it is all desert toward the east, nor is any one able to describe what it is. Such and so great is Asia."[1]

The first Greek record of navigation in the Erythraean Sea is likewise found in Herodotus (4, 4):

"A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could

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[1] Quotations are from Cary's translation.

rely to make a true report, and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly, setting out from the city of Caspapyrus and the country of Pactyice[1] sailed down the river toward the east and sunrise to the sea; then sailing on the sea westward they arrived in the thirtieth month (τριηκοστῷ μηνί) at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians, whom I before mentioned, to sail around Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians, and frequented this sea. Thus the other parts of Asia, except toward the rising sun, are found to exhibit things similar to Libya".

The truth of this story in Herodotus has been seriously questioned in voluminous arguments which are now so much waste paper, as we have written records of Hindu trade with Babylon, which they called Baveru,[2] more than a century before that time, and we have the discovery of teak logs in buildings at the ancient Ur reconstructed by Nabonidus. These logs came from western India, from the Cambay region; and in the Periplus of the first century, we have a written record of the same trade still existing.

That the Persian Gulf was almost an inland lake was not fully understood by Herodotus, and it is clear that by the name Erythraean he meant the surrounding ocean to the south and east of the Eurasian continent. The eastern extension of that continent was quite unknown to him, as he supposed Europe to be larger than Asia, and imagined western India to be the eastern boundary of Asia. That Erythraean

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[1] Caspapyrus, Sanscrit Kasyapapura. This was the Indus valley in the neighborhood of the confluence of the Kabul river, more or less the Peshāwar district. Hecataeus mentions this place as a city of the Gandharians. Pactyice, or the Pactyan land, was the upper course of the Kabul valley; or more generally the territory in which Pukhtu was spoken—southeastern Afghanistan, See Lassen, 1, 142—2, 631. Vincent Smith, *Early History*, 2nd edition p. 35; Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* pp. 42, 189.

[2] See Rhys Davids *Buddhist India* p. 104. *Jātakas* 3, 126—189. As to the reconstruction of Ur by Nabonidus see Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires* pp. 626—7. Inscriptions of Nabonidus are quoted in Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* 157—171. As to the teak trade from India see Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* pp. 36, 152, 201. See also Mookerji, *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, p. 74.

to his mind meant the southern and eastern surrounding ocean is clearly shown in 1, 203:

"The Caspian is a sea by itself, having no communication with any other sea; for the whole of that which the Grecians navigate, and that beyond the Pillars, called the Atlantic, and the Erythraean Sea are all one."

And that the name Erythraean in the mind of Herodotus did not specifically refer to the body of water we now call Red Sea is clearly shown by the following (2, 10):

"There is also in the Arabian territory, not far from Egypt, branching from the Erythraean Sea, a bay of the sea, of the length and width I shall here describe. The length of the voyage, beginning from the innermost part of this bay to the broad sea, occupied forty days for a vessel with oars; and the width where the bay is widest, half a day's passage, and in it an ebb and flow takes place daily; and I am of opinion that Egypt was formerly a similar bay, this stretching from the Northern Sea toward Ethiopia; and the Arabian Bay, which I am describing, from the south toward Syria; and that they almost perforated their recesses so as to meet each other, overlapping to some small extent. Now, if the Nile were to turn its stream into the Arabian Gulf, what would hinder it from being filled with soil by the river within twenty thousand years? For my part I think it would be filled within ten thousand."

The same topography is followed by Strabo (16, 3. 1) where he says, describing Arabia, "The northern side of this tract is formed by the desert, the eastern by the Persian Gulf, the western by the Arabian Gulf, and the southern by the Great Sea lying outside of both gulfs, the whole of which is called the Erythraean Sea".

This is confirmed by Arrian in his *Indika* (19), E. J. Chinnock's translation (Bohn Ed.), in the following passage:

"This narrative is a description of the voyage which Nearchus made with the fleet starting from the outlet to the Indus through the Great Sea as far as the Persian Gulf, which some call the Erythraean Sea." Again (40):

"The land of Persia has been divided into three parts in regard to climate. The part of it situated near the Erythraean Sea is sandy and barren, on account of the heat; the part from this toward the north enjoys a more temperate climate, the country is grassy and the meadows moist . . .

Still further to the north the country is wintry and snowy." Again (43):

"The country on the right of the Erythraean Sea beyond Babylonia is Arabia, most of it; part of this extends as far as the sea of Phoenicia and Palestine-Syria; but toward the west in the direction of the inner sea, the Egyptians border on Arabia. . . .

„Alexander despatched men from Babylon to sail as far as possible on the right of the Erythraean Sea, and to discover the places there."

The first attempt to assemble and discriminate between the various explanations of the name Erythraean (Ἐρυθρὰ or Ἐρυθραία) is found in the book of Agatharchides on the Erythraean Sea, which may be dated about 120 B. C. Agatharchides was certainly in a position to know his subject; occupying a prominent official position in Egypt under the Ptolemies, he was fully acquainted with the southern incense trade and gives us the first detailed account of the power and wealth of the kingdoms of South Arabia, and of the way in which that rich trade was monopolized. His criticisms are therefore worthy of consideration. He says, first, that the name is derived by some from the color of the sea, arising from reflection of the sun which is vertical, or from the mountains which are red from being scorched with intense heat. This suggestion he dismisses as quite inadequate. The tremendous heat on the Red Sea and in the Persian Gulf is noted by many writers. Arrian in his account of the voyage of Alexander's captain Nearchus speaks of the possibility of sailing from Babylon around Arabia to Egypt, but says, quite incorrectly, "No man has ever made this voyage on account of the heat and desolateness of the country. During the day one cannot keep out under the open sky because of the heat."[1]

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1 Centuries later, the Persian traveler ʿAbd-ar-Razzāḳ writes of the climate of Oman (Hakluyt Society's publications, vol. 22 p. 9):

"Although it was at that time spring, in the season in which the nights and days are of equal length, the heat of the sun was so intense that it burned the ruby in the wine and the marrow in the bones, the sword in its scabbard melted like wax, and the gems which adorned the handle of the khandjar were reduced to coal.

Thus while Agatharchides admits that we might explain the name Erythraean, red, from the fact that the sea is, as it were, red hot, we should still be away from the truth.

Another explanation, which Strabo (6, 4. 20) quotes from Ctesias of Cnidus through Artemidorus, ascribes the name to a spring which discharges into the sea a red and ochrous water. This is certainly an inadequate explanation, and, as Agatharchides observes, a false one, "for the sea is not red". Yet this was the explanation adopted by Strabo and thence by the Roman geographers, and more recently by Professor Haupt. But Agatharchides is quite right in saying that mere color of the water is no guide to the name. The mediaeval Chinese writer Chau-Ju-Kua calls this same body of water the "Green Sea".[1]

Agatharchides then offers his final explanation (§ 5) in a story which he quotes from a Persian named Boxus whom he had met in Athens, and this story, the full importance of which has not been understood, I venture to translate entire.

„The Persian account is after this manner. There was a man famous for his valor and wealth, by name Erythras, a Persian by birth, son of Myozaeus. His home was by the sea, facing towards islands which are not now desert, but were so at the time of the empire of the Medes, where Erythras lived. In the winter time he used to go to Pasargadae,

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"Soon as the sun shone forth from the height of heaven,
The heart of stone grew hot beneath its orb:
The horizon was so much scorched up by its rays,
That the heart of stone became soft like wax:
The bodies of the fishes, at the bottom of the fish-ponds,
Burned like the silk which is exposed to the fire;
Both the water and the air gave out so burning a heat,
That the fish went away to seek refuge in the fire;
In the plains the chase became a matter of perfect ease,
For the desert was filled with roasted gazelles.

"The extreme heat of the atmosphere gave one the idea of the fire of hell."

[1] Chau-Ju-Kua: his work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the 12th and 13th centuries, entitled *Chu-fan-chi*: Translated and annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill: St. Petersburg, 1911.

(See map at end: also page 12. The name Green Sea is of Arabic origin, carried into Chinese records. Kia Tan speaks of Malabar as the "eastern shore of the Green Sea".)

making the journey at his own cost; and he indulged in these changes of scene now for profit and now for some pleasure of his own life. On a time the lions charged into a large flock of his mares and some were slain; while the rest, unharmed and terror-stricken at what they had seen, fled to the sea. A strong wind was blowing from the land, and as they plunged into the waves in their terror, they were carried beyond their footing; and their fear continuing, they swam through the sea and came out on the shore of the island opposite. With them went one of the herdsmen, a youth of marked bravery, who thus reached the shore by clinging to the shoulders of a mare. Now Erythras looked for his mares, and not seeing them, first put together a raft of small size, but secure in the strength of its building; and happening on a favourable wind, he pushed off into the strait, across which he was swiftly carried by the waves, and so found his mares and found their keeper also. And then, being pleased with the island, he built a stronghold at a place well chosen by the shore, and brought thither from the mainland opposite such as were dissatisfied with their life there, and subsequently settled all the other uninhabited islands with a numerous population; and such was the glory ascribed to him by the popular voice because of these his deeds, that even down to our own time they have called that sea, infinite in extent, Erythraean. And so for the reason here set forth, it is to be well distinguished (for to say Ἐρύθρα Θάλαττα, Sea of Erythras, is a very different thing from Θάλαττα ἐρυθρά, Red Sea); for the one commemorates the most illustrious man of that sea, while the other refers to the color of the water. Now the one explanation of the name, as due to the color, is false (for the sea is not red), but the other, ascribing it to the man who ruled there, is the true one, as the Persian story testifies."[1]

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[1] The origin of these names, Erythras and Myozaeus, is a matter of conjecture. One suspects a loan to the Persians from some earlier race. Myozaeus dimly suggests Māhya, the moon (perhaps Māhāzād, "known to the Moon" (cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*); while Erythras might represent Arezwâ or Arezrāspa, two high priests from the north (cf. *Dinkart* V. and IX); or have we here Aresh, the demon of envy, whom Zarathushtra called "most deceitful of demons" (*Dinkart* IX),—some divinity of an earlier race adopted by the Persians as their arch-devil?

Arrian likewise refers to this story (*Indika* 37) in his mention of the island Oaracta-(Kish).[1] "In this island they said that the tomb of the first king of this country was shown. They said that his name was Erythras, from whom this sea is called Erythraean." Of Kish he also says (*Indika* 37): "It produces plenty of vines, palm trees and corn, and is full 800 stadia in length. In this island the sepulchre of the first monarch thereof is said still to remain, and his name was Erythras, and from him the sea was called the Erythraean Sea."

Strabo, in the passage already quoted (16, 3, 1) in describing Arabia bounds it on the east by the Persian Gulf, on the west by the Arabian Gulf, and on the south "by the great sea lying outside both the gulfs, the whole of which is called the Erythraean Sea." Strabo likewise, though in one passage (Hamilton & Falconer's translation, Bohn Ed.) he adopts the color theory of the origin of the name, admits the story of Erythras as follows (16, 3. 1.):

"Nearchus and Orthagoras relate that an island Ogyris lies to the south, in the open sea, at the distance of 2000 stadia from Carmania. In this island is shown the sepulchre of Erythras, a large mound planted with wild palms. He was king of the country, and the sea received its name from him. It is said that Mithropastes, the son of Arsites, satrap of Phrygia, pointed out these things to them. Mithropastes was banished by Darius, and resides in the island; he joined himself to those who had come down to the Persian Gulf and hoped through their means to have an opportunity of returning to his own country . . . .

"Nearchus says that they were met by Mithropastes, in company with Mazenes, who was governor of one of the islands, called Oaracta, in the Persian Gulf; that Mithropastes after his retreat from Ogyris, took refuge there, and was hospitably received; and that he had an interview with Mazenes, for the purpose of being recommended to the Macedonians, in the fleet of which Mazenes was the guide."

In this Persian story of Erythras may be found remants of very early legend. We are introduced to a settlement in southern Persia on the lowlands bordering the gulf. Their

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[1] Vorochtha-Vroct-Kismis-Kish.

chief went regularly to the Persian capital "at his own expense," presumably to offer tribute. During his absence, shall we say because the tribute was insufficient, a lion attacked and scattered his mares, driving them across to uninhabited islands accessible from the shore. The highland of Persia is still the "land of the lion and the sun". The lion is particularly a symbol of Persia; and have we not here the kernel of a story of attack by Persian forces upon a coast people of another race who were forced across to the islands of Ormus and Kish, and thence probably to the coast of Oman and southern Arabia? The opposition of the lion to the mare is the aggression of powerful Persia against helpless Arabia. The story is placed by Agatharchides under the empire of the Medes. I believe, however, that it may be given a much earlier origin, and that we may possibly have here an echo of the ancient conflict between the highland and the plain which characterizes the history of early Chaldaea.

The tomb of king Erythras, of which Arrian speaks, which was evidently a type of structure mentioned by modern travelers as still found in that region, seems to apply to a pre-Semitic race settled in the Persian Gulf and carrying on sea trade there. The remnants of that commercial system which Goetz, (*Verkehrswege im Dienste des Welthandels* p. 38), has aptly entitled "Turanian-Hamitic", may be traced through Makran and Baluchistan to Dravidian India on the one hand, and through Oman and southern Arabia, the ancient Ḥabash to modern Abyssinia on the other. There is some significance in the mediaeval Arabic name for this sea (e. g. Mas'ūdī), "Sea of Ḥabash". Had we the evidence, I believe we might find the name Erythraean to have sprung originally from some name of that race, possibly even a semi-totemic color handed down through the legends of the adjacent highlands, first Elamitic and later Persian.

Other meanings suggest themselves from the Persian connection. Firstly, of course Erythraean means oriental, eastern, pure and simple. As Herodotus observes, it is the sea "that looks toward the rising sun", from Persia; the eastern and southern segments of the encircling ocean as distinguished from the western and northern, to which he gives the name Atlantic; and so, poetically, we may call it the sea of the blushing morn—the sea of the rising sun. Especially in this

combination of the sun, and the color red or golden red, in accord with Persian beliefs.[1]

How beautifully Tennyson in the hymn at the end of his "Akbar's Dream" has given expression to this ancient Persian ritual:

"Once again thou flamest heavenward, once again we see thee rise,
Every morning is thy birthday gladdening human hearts and eyes.
Every morning here we greet it, bowing lowly down before thee,
Thee the Godlike, thee the changeless in thine ever-changing skies.

"Shadow-maker, shadow-slayer, arrowing light from clime to clime,
Hear thy myriad laureates hail thee monarch in their woodland rhyme.
Warble bird, and open flower, and men, below the dome of azure,
Kneel adoring Him the Timeless in the flame that measures Time!"

While there are earlier connotations in the name of that ancient so-called king Erythras, the sun and the color red carry us to the very core of the Zarathushtrian faith.[2]

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[1] With the earlier practices of sun-worship, Semitic or pre-Semitic, we need not concern ourselves. There are relics of this worship still on the island of Haftalu, the Astola of the Greeks, off the shore of Makran, that magic island of the Arab voyagers which magnetically attracted nearby ships to their destruction so that the use of iron in shipbuilding was made impossible.

[2] Darmesteter in his work on the Zend Avesta (vol, 3. p. lxxvi. note); and while he finally accepts Burnouf's interpretations of "man with gold colored (tawny, or red) camels", the color still remains.

Zarathushtra was said to have been born of the mingling of his guardian spirit with a ray of heavenly glory during a sacrifice, and the sun worship was centered in Mithra, one of the great spirits of the Mazdean faith—"who first of the celestial Yazatas soared above Mount Hara before the immortal sun with his swift steeds, who first in golden splendor passes over the beautiful mountains and casts his glance benign on the dwellings of the Aryans".

The great Persian king Cyrus was by name "the sun of the morning". King Erythras himself, "the king of the rosy morn", we might also connect with Cyrus, save that his tomb was then too recent for its location to have been moved by legend from the mountains to the island of Kish.

Yet I believe that the story of Erythras ante-dates the Persian faith or the very existence of Persians on that coast.

So much, then, for Erythraean as the Sea of the East, the rising sun and the blushing morn.

Another meaning I think the name includes, derived from the purple-fisheries which were among its earliest commercial assets. Ἐρυθραίνω is to dye red, and the treasured dye of that hue running from bright red to dark purple, according to method of treatment, was a product of the shell-fish *murex*; later cultivated on the Phoenician coast of Syria, but in earlier ages probably in the shallow, almost tideless, waters of the Persian Gulf. We have the word in Homer, not then as referring to a commercial dye, but as a shade varying from light red to dark purple and including the idea of brightness —glittering—gleaming. It is this impression of "gleaming darkly" that is connected with the very root of the word πορφύρεος. Aristotle (*Color.* 2, 4; also *Probl.* 38, 2) describes the color as the "reflected gleam on the shadow side of a wave", and it was that meaning which was carried to the shell-fish dye when first brought to Mediterranean lands by the people we call Phoenicians, whose legend connected them in earlier times with the Persian Gulf. Pliny speaks of that double tint as the most treasured of the shades of the purple (9, 60—63, Bohn translation):

"To produce the Tyrian hue the wool is soaked in the juice of the *pelagiae* while the mixture is in an uncooked and raw state; after which its tint is changed by being dipped in the juice of the *buccinum.* It is considered of the best quality when it has the color of clotted blood and is of a blackish hue to the sight, but of a shining appearance when held up

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Hara is Haraberezaiti, or Elburz, "over which the sun rises, around which many a star revolves, where there is neither light nor darkness, no wind of cold or heat, no sickness leading to a thousand kinds of death, nor infection caused by the Daevas, and whose summit is never reached by the clouds" (Yasht 12, 23. Darmesteter iii, 496).

to the light; hence it is that we find Homer speaking of purple blood" (Iliad E 83, P. 360). And he goes on to quote from Cornelius Nepos: "Violet purple was in favor, a pound of which used to sell at 100 denarii; not long after the Tarentine red was all the fashion. This last was succeeded by the Tyrian *dibapha* (double dyed) which could not be bought for even 1000 denarii per pound."

The eastern origin of the Phoenicians is stated by Herodotus (7, 89): "The Phoenicians, as they themselves say, anciently dwelt on the *Erythraean Sea*; and having crossed over from thence, they settled on the sea coast of Syria"; like Abraham the patriarch, they came from the land of Ur of the Chaldees, the center of sun-worship and of eastern trade.

Finally we may quote from Strabo (1, 2. 35) who refers to the belief that the Sidonians were "a colony from the people whom they describe as located on the shores of the (Indian) Ocean, and who, they say, were called Phoenician from the color of the Erythraean Sea."

Was it the natural color of the sea that gave it the name, or was it the legend and faith of the people living around its shores and the artificial color of the dye which they drew from its waters? I believe we may attach to Erythraean that meaning also, "sea of the dark red dye people", and that in that sense it may be synonymous with purple, πορφύρα, and Phoenician, φοῖνιξ; the sea on which the Phoenician race, who first brought purple to the Mediterranean lands, had before that time established their cities and industries and maritime commerce.

Whether there was anything more than an accidental connection with the name of the Greek city Erythrae in Boeotia we cannot tell. The likelihood is not great, but it might possibly be urged by some that Dorian Greeks were settled in many parts of that land before the Persian invasions of Greece. Alexander found Greek colonies at the gates of India that claimed a descent prior to the Greek companies exiled to the east by Darius, and at the Christian Era we find an archaic Dorian character appearing in the Greek lettering on the coins of Mesene at the head of the Persian Gulf, and on those of the Kushan kings. While certainly not a cause for the name, this might have given it familiarity in Greek ears.

We need not too sharply distinguish between these various meanings, and possibly the general acceptance of the name was due to the fact of its applicability from so many points of view. Purple Sea would hardly have suggested the sun; Phoenician Sea would have been a confusing name, while Erythraean Sea, as practically a synonymous word embracing all these meanings, made an ideally acceptable name.

In conclusion we may say that looking out of Greece through Persia to the ancient East, we may gather from the name Erythraean several meanings, all of them reasonable. "Sea of the East, the Orient, or the rising sun"; "Sea where the sun was worshipped"; "Sea whence came the people who brought the purple or Erythraean dye", and finally, "Sea of King Erythras" typifying the ancient pre-Semitic Akkadian-Dravidian trade. Certainly with these vistas of the past opened through that name, we cannot rest satisfied with an interpretation that would limit it to a temporary accumulation of vegetable matter localized at a point to which the name was not originally applied.

The Cock.—By Dr. John P. Peters, New York City

In 1888 I read, before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, a paper on Leviticus I., in which I sought to prove, from the animals there mentioned as sacrificial, and particularly from the non-appearance of the cock, that, before the time of the Babylonian captivity "the *torah* of animal sacrifice had completed the creative and reached the legal or unchangeable period." In the preparation of that paper I depended for my facts about the cock on Hehn's *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere.*[1] Since that time I have made an independent investigation of the history of that bird with results differing from or supplementing Hehn to such an extent that I have been led to formulate this new material in a second paper, commencing, however, as before, with Hebrew and Biblical use.

The first six chapters of Leviticus constitute a sacrificial code, which evidently, in its present form, is both a compilation and a growth. The final compilation is presumably post-exilic, but I fancy that the code itself represents pretty well the sacrificial practice of the Jerusalem Temple before the captivity, while parts of it go back in essence to a much older period. The rule with regard to sacrifice among the Hebrews was that the sacrificial animal must be both comestible and domesticated. Wild animals might not be sacrificed. Now in actual practice only oxen, sheep and goats were permitted to be eaten by the Hebrews in sacrifice. In the *torah* of the whole burnt sacrifices, however, contained in Chapter I., besides these three animals the dove, in two varieties, יונה and תור, was permitted to be offered. This permission is added like a sort of codicil at the end of Leviticus I. It gives the

[1] The last, posthumous, 8th edition, by O. Schrader, adds nothing to the material in Hehn's original volume, in spite of the additional monumental material now accessible. A note by Schrader purports to give later Assyrian-Babylonian material, but is quite valueless and sadly misleading.

impression of an afterthought, as though of later origin. For trespass and sin offerings, where the flesh was not to be eaten, provided for in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, and for some other offerings, like the purification offering (Chap. 12), a similar provision was made. The use in sacrifice of the three animals mentioned and the two forms of dove can be traced back to the earliest Hebrew writings. Indeed, we may say that the sacrifice of oxen, sheep and goats long antedates Hebrew origins, and that the sacrifice of the dove was practised by the Hebrews certainly as early as 900 B. C.[1] The domestication of oxen, sheep and goats extends into a hoary antiquity, antedating both the Babylonian and the Egyptian civilizations. The dove also was domesticated at a very early period in Babylonia, in Syria, and in general, apparently, over the whole of hither Asia. It is noticeable that our own barnyard fowl, which is today found practically everywhere throughout the world, in cold countries and hot, as a part even of the household equipment of wandering Bedawin Arabs, does not appear in the sacrificial codes.

Outside of the dove, there is no mention of domesticated fowl in the Old Testament, with three possible exceptions. One of these is 1 Kings 5: 3, the account of the provision for Solomon's table. This was to be supplied with ten oxen, fatted, gazelles, roebucks, and ברברים אבוסים, rendered in the

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[1] Cf. the Yahawist, Gen. 15: 9f. In the Marseilles sacrificial tariff and in the similar tariff found at Carthage by Nathan Davis in 1858, commonly known as the Davis Phoenician Inscription, we have the same quadrupeds mentioned for sacrifice as in the Levitical sacrificial list, namely, the ox, goat and sheep. We also have two birds mentioned, connected together as one whole, as in the Levitical code. The words used for these birds, צץ, אגנן, are elsewhere unknown. The close resemblance of the code, as a whole, to the Hebrew suggests that the birds here used are the same as those in the Hebrew code. Ball (*Light from the East*) calls attention to the fact that in the Samaritan Targum the word צוץ appears to mean "young pigeon", being the translation of גוזל of Genesis 15: 9. Of course if צץ be pigeon, then it follows of itself that אגנן is dove. These two tablets, while themselves not very old (somewhere, probably, between 300 and 500 B. C.), give us, presumably, the old Phoenician custom of sacrifice. If the translation suggested above be correct, then the old Phoenician code was practically identical with the Hebrew; and the natural conclusion would be that the Hebrew code was borrowed from a pre-Hebraic Canaanite source, considerably antedating, therefore, 900 B. C.

English version "fatted fowl," following the Septuagint and Vulgate. The Briggs-Brown-Driver Gesenius suggests that these were geese. This would seem, on the whole, the most plausible conjecture, and, if correct, the passage would indicate that the Hebrews, at or after Solomon's period, did have access to one variety at least of domestic fowl, whether they raised them themselves or obtained them from others. It would appear, however, that these fowl were certainly not common. They did not constitute an ordinary article of food. They are mentioned nowhere else. Even if known within the creative period of the sacrificial *torah*, they never came to play such a part as articles of food as to lead to their adoption into the sacrificial code, either for general or for special sacrifices.

The goose and the duck were elsewhere domesticated at a very early date. We find evidence of this in ancient Egyptian and Babylonian monuments; and Greek and Roman literature and tradition represent the goose as early domesticated there also. Palestine was a land naturally ill adapted for the domestication of either geese or ducks, and while such domestication was possible on the low lands, in the regions regularly occupied by either Judah or Israel there was very little chance for such domestication and little temptation to it. It is natural, therefore, that we should not find any mention of geese or ducks in the Old Testament, in or out of the sacrificial code, with the possible exception of the passage alluded to; which would seem to show that they were known only as a luxury, procurable by one in Solomon's position, but not by the ordinary man.

The second exception is the peacock (תכיים), mentioned in 1 Kings 10: 22, and 2 Chron. 9: 21, as imported by Solomon. As the name was imported with the bird, there is in this case no doubt as to its identification or its origin;[1] which only shows, however, that at the time this passage was written, and traditionally since Solomon's time, the peacock was known to the Jews as a wonder bird, fit possession of great kings, and that it came originally from India, reaching the Mediterranean lands by way of the Red Sea.

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[1] The Hebrew and the Greek, like the Sanskrit, borrowed the name of the bird from the Tamul *togei*.

The third possible exception is the cock, our domestic barnyard fowl, which, it is claimed, is mentioned under three different names in three different passages: Is. 22: 17, Job 38: 36, and Prov. 30: 31. In the first case the word used is גבר, the common Hebrew word for *male,* then *man,* then *person* or *each.* Jerome was advised by his Hebrew instructor, apparently, that the word in this passage, and nowhere else in the Old Testament, meant *cock,* and he so translated it. *Dominus asportari te faciet, sicut asportatur gallus gallinaceus.* The word did in fact come to have this meaning in post-biblical Hebrew.[1] The method of translation of sense seems to be indicated by the use of גבר as a euphemism for *membrum virile.* It was the salacity of the cock which led to his designation as גבר, *male.* The passage under consideration, as it stands in the Hebrew, is difficult. The LXX translators botched it badly. Their rendering, however, makes it plain that גבר did not mean cock in their day, but only man. After it had come to mean cock, by the transition noted above, it was natural to read that meaning into this passage as a promising way of gaining an immediate sense. This seems to be what was done by later Jewish scholars, and by Jerome following them. His translation, however, ruins the passage as a whole, and today all commentators agree that גבר does not either here or elsewhere mean cock.[2]

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[1] גבר appears as the name of the cock in the language of Mishnah as early as about 60 A. D. (Yoma I. 8). Eusebius in his commentary on Isaiah mentions the Rabbinical interpretation of גבר in Is. 22: 17 as cock.

[2] The difficulty in this passage has, I think, been caused by a play on the words קבר and גבר. In v. 16 Isaiah had reproached Shebna with his ostentatious pomp in cutting himself a tomb, קבר, in the rock. In v. 17 he predicts his violent removal into captivity in Mesopotamia. "Behold, Yahaweh casteth thee out with a casting, (גבר) man". The word *man* (גבר) is used because it sounds, in common pronunciation, almost exactly like the word for tomb (קבר). This diverts Isaiah for a moment from the direct line of his annunciation of Shebna's captivity into burial figures: "Wrapping thee with a wrapping, winding he windeth thee with a winding." The resemblance in letters of צנף and *στφν* made the puzzled Greek translators translate *τὸν στέφανόν σου τὸν ἔνδοξον*="thy glorious crown," which Jerome has still further twisted into *coronans coronabit te tribulatione* (evidently neither LXX nor Jerome could make much out of the passage). Then he takes up again his annunciation of Shebna's coming captivity and proceeds: "Like a ball into a land broad

In the next passage, Job 38: 36, the word rendered cock is not גבר but שכוי. According to R. Hash. in "the district of K. N." the cock was called שכוי (*sekhvi*). Y. Ber. says that in Rome also it was so called; and Lev. R. that in Arabia the hen was called *sikhvaya* (שכויא).[1] In classical Hebrew this word is an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, occurring only in this passage. The LXX has translated the verse: τίς δὲ ἔδωκεν γυναικὶ ὑφάσματος σοφίαν καὶ ποικιλτικὴν ἐπιστήμην, "Who gave woman wisdom of web and embroidery experience?" It is impossible to connect this with the Hebrew text, and its lack of relation to the context evinces its error. Jerome apparently learned from his *Hebraeus* the late Jewish tradition regarding שכוי and translated accordingly: "Quis posuit in visceribus hominis sapientiam vel quis dedit gallo intelligentiam", which makes good enough sense in itself, but has no relation whatever to the context (The same treatment of the Bible as texts without context which we saw in Is. 22: 17). This is part of a long passage, put in the mouth of Yahaweh, telling of His wonderful creation of the earth and the sea (4–11), the morning, the deep and the light (12–21), the snow, wind, lightning and rain (22–30), the stars and sky (31–33), the clouds (34–38); then the beasts, lions (39–4), wild goats (39: 1—4), ass (5–8) &c. Our verse falls in the creation of the clouds:

"Canst thou lift up thy voice to the clouds,
That abundance of waters may cover thee?
Canst thou send forth lightnings, that they may go,
And say unto thee, Here are we?
Who hath put wisdom in the inward parts?
Or who hath given understanding to the שכוי?
Who can number the clouds by wisdom,
Or who can pour out the waters of heaven;
When the dust runneth into a mass,
And the clouds cleave fast together?"

Evidently there is no mention of the cock in this passage.

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on both hands, &c." Perhaps the idea of the passage might be rendered thus: "Behold, Yahaweh casteth thee out with a casting, man ([גבר *man*, playing on קבר tomb], wrapping thee with a wrapping, winding he windeth thee with a winding), like a ball into a land broad on both hands; and there are the chariots of thy glory, shame of thy lord's house".

[1] Always in some other region; never in Palestine.

The context shows that the שכוי must mean something in the inner side of the clouds. The Peshitto and the Targum to this passage both support this by their very misunderstanding of the passage, the טחת and שכוי being supposed to be, not the secret parts and hidden things within the clouds, but the reins and heart of man. A comment upon this verse in the Targum[1] shows, however, that at a fairly early post-biblical period it was connected with the cock, and there is no doubt that the word שכוי in Neo-Hebrew does actually mean cock; but the context shows that, whatever its later meaning, in this passage (if indeed the text be correct) the word cannot have had that meaning.

There remains the passage, Prov. 30: 31, where the word rendered cock is זרזיר. This occurs in one of the number riddles, in threes and fours. "There are three which march well, and four which walk well": (1) the lion; (2) זרזיר; (3) the he-goat; and (4) the king. Beginning with (2) the Hebrew text is manifestly corrupt, and quite incapable of translation. It contains impossible words; and it is also defective, lacking the descriptive phrases which should accompany the names. The Greek, the Peshitto and the Aramaic Targum agree in giving a fuller and an intelligible text. Using in general that text, the answer to the riddle is as follows: (1) "The young lion, mightiest of beasts, which retreateth before none; (2) The cock, which gallantly treadeth the hens; (3) The he-goat, leader of the flock; (4) And the king, boasting himself over the people."

Jerome evidently had the same corrupt text which we have, but in his time the tradition still lingered that the second member was the cock. Accordingly he translates זרזיר מתנים as *gallus succinctus lumbos.* Modern scholars have in general followed his rendering, omitting the *gallus*; and, as the creature most girded up in the loins is the greyhound, זרזיר מתנים has been commonly translated *greyhound.* Now in reality the Hebrew text confirms the Greek and Syriac versions both here and in (4). The impossible אלקום of the Hebrew con-

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[1] Lagarde, *Hagiographa chaldaice.* The earliest Talmudic testimony to the interpretation of *sekwi* as cock is a blessing in Berachoth, 60 f. Possibly it was the meteorological function of the cock, as announcing the day, there referred to, which led to the interpretation of *sekwi* as cock. More probably a false etymology, suggested by the Persian name, Parodarsh, *foreseer*, by which שכוי was derived from סכה to *see, foresee.*

tains the קים of the Targum and Peshitto, translated by the δημηγορῶν of the Greek. Similarly the מתנים of the Hebrew suggests the hithpoel participle מתרגל. The passage seemed to some scribe indecent, and he drew a line through it. All that survived his elision was the names of the creatures and the fragmentary confusion of letters which constitutes our present text. Jerome had before him, as already stated, this emended text, but with the tradition that the second member was the cock.

But while the evidence of the versions, supported by the sense of the passage, requires the translation of זרזיר by cock, it must be said that in Neo-Hebrew the word means *starling*, and that the same word has the same meaning in Syriac and Arabic. The word is to an extent onomatopoetic, as are cock and cuckoo. These latter were in fact originally one, applied to both cock and cuckoo, but ultimately differentiated to apply each to one specific bird. Somewhat similarly, I fancy, זרזיר, as a word supposed to represent a bird sound, was applied to this half-known bird, the cock, as well as to the starling. Later the loan word, תרנגל, was appropriated to the cock, and זרזיר became the name of the starling only.

The 30th chapter of Proverbs, in which this passage occurs, is by general consent the latest part of that book, and is ordinarily supposed to have at least a half foreign tone. Toy, in his commentary in the International series, represents the extreme late date theory, placing it in the second century B. C. The reference to the cock in this passage probably involves an earlier date. At the time when this riddle was composed, the cock was known much as the goose and the peacock were known at the time of writing of the passages referring to those birds in Kings. Certain of its peculiar habits were matters of fairly common knowledge, and it was evidently being introduced among the Jews, or was domesticated among some of their neighbors. It was not yet, however, in ordinary use, and was still so much of a rarity that it had not achieved a real, permanent name. I think this riddle must be dated certainly earlier than 200 B. C.[1].

To sum up: While both the words גבר and שכוי appear in neo-Hebrew for cock, it is clear that they do not have that

[1] Possibly, of course, this riddle may have originated among the Jews in Egypt or elsewhere, and been imported into Palestine; which does not, however, affect the question of its date in Palestine.

sense in Biblical Hebrew. How the word גבר, *male,* came to be an appellation of the bird is clear; why שכוי was so translated is not equally clear. The cock began to become known to the Jews in Palestine as early as the third century, and is mentioned in Proverbs 30: 31, but by a name, זרזיר, which we find elsewhere, and in kindred languages, applied to the starling, or sometimes to the raven. The regular Talmudic name for *cock,* which appears also in the Targums, was תרנגל or תרנגול, a loan word from the Aramaic, of uncertain, plainly not Semitic origin. The linguistic evidence would go to show that the cock was domesticated in Palestine some time between the close of the Canon and the commencement of the Mishnic period.

From what source was he borrowed? In the later Apocryphal literature of the Jews the cock plays a part which is evidently borrowed from the Persians. So in the Greek Baruch Apocalypse, in the description of the third heaven (6, 7), the rustling of the wings of the Phenix, the forerunner of the sun, wakes the cocks, who then by their crowing proclaim the coming of the dawn. Similarly in Persian Sraosha, the heavenly watcher, awaked by Atar, the fire, in his turn awakes the cock. With this may be compared further the Slavonic Enoch (xvi. 1), according to which, when the angels get the sun ready for his daily journey, the cocks crow.

Both the New Testament and the Talmud mention the cock. He was clearly a familiar creature in Palestine at that period. The former gives us the picture of a use and knowledge of the bird similar to our own. His crow, ushering in the dawn, was a sound so familiar to all that cock-crow had come to be a designation of time (cf. Mark 13: 35). About 70 A. D. the Talmud (Gittin 57 a) mentions a custom prevailing in Palestine of having a cock and hen present at the wedding ceremony. Evidently they were fertility emblems, appropriate to a wedding for somewhat the same reason which led to the exclusion of the cock from the text of Prov. 30: 31.

Beside his function as a marriage bird, in Talmudic use the cock was also apotropaic. It is perhaps this characteristic which led to the blessing enjoined to be pronounced when the cock is heard to crow: (Berakhoth 60b):[1] "Praised be thou,

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[1] Already referred to on p. 368 of this paper, note. The passage suggests Persian influence.

O God, Lord of the world, that gavest understanding to the cock to distinguish between day and night."

On the other hand we find evidences that the cock was not domesticated in Palestine without opposition. So Baba Kam. 82 b notes that the breeding of cocks was forbidden while the temple was in existence, because they scratch the ground and pick up and disseminate objects levitically unclean.[1] Elsewhere the sale of white fowls is forbidden, apparently because they were used for sacrifice by the heathen.

Today the cock is used sacrificially among the Jews, both Sephardim and Ashkenazim, in connection with Yom Kippur, as an atonement[2] offering (*Kapparah*)—a cock by the man, a hen by the woman—being swung three times around the head of the offerer, with the right hand upon the head of the victim, somewhat as in the sin and atonement offerings ordered in the Old Testament. The creature is killed, but is not burned; as seems to have been the rule with doves, when used as offerings, according to the old temple ritual. Its flesh may be given to the poor to eat or it may be eaten by those sacrificing, the money value being given to the poor. This sacrifice is mentioned for the first time by Natronai Gaon, head of the Academy of Sura in Babylonia, in 853 A. D., who describes it as a custom of the Babylonian Jews. It is also mentioned as a custom of the Persian Jews at an early date. The cock also has been, or is now used among Jews in various places for special sacrificial purposes of the purification or sin type (*Kapparah*),[3] also for apotropaic sacrificial purposes.[4]

The Jew has evidently felt the same influence toward using the cock in sacrifice which all other peoples and religions have experienced; and so strong has that influence been that, in

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[1] Jewish Enc., art. cock.

[2] Among Sephardic Jews, at least, always white.

[3] So when a man is sick, a cock is killed. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion* (p. 203), notes the same use in a Mohammedan village. Apparently there, and among the Nusairieh also, a Kapparah sacrifice of the sort described above was in use, a sheep being used by the wealthy, a cock by the common folk.

[4] For the woman enceinte two hens and one cock are offered. For references and verification in Jewish Literature and practice, I am especially indebted to Pres. Adler and Profs. Ginzberg, Gottheil and Jastrow.

spite of the fact that theoretically sacrifice ended with the destruction of the temple, practically, as stated, the cock, not included in the old *torah* of sacrifice, is today the one sacrificial animal of the Jews. Indeed, the cock may be said to be a natural sacrificial animal, its use for these purposes being almost universal. Its omission from the sacrificial codes contained in the Old Testament is due evidently only to the fact that it was quite unknown to the Jews at the time of the crystalization of the sacrificial *torah.*

Whence, when and how did the cock come into Palestine?

The ancestor of our common domestic fowl is the wild Red Junglefowl (*Gallus gallus*),[1] whose habitat extends from Kashmir eastward along the southern slopes of the Himalayas, through Eastern India, Burma and the Malay Peninsula, and some of the East India islands. This wild bird often associates with the domestic fowls in the villages of the natives, and frequently crosses with them. There are three other species of wild Junglefowl, living respectively in central and southern India, Ceylon, and Java, but they had no part in the direct ancestry of our domestic fowl. It is barely possible but improbable that the Buff Cochin-China fowls are descended from some unknown, perhaps extinct wild Junglefowl, but with this possible exception, all varieties of domestic fowl are descended from the wild Red Junglefowl. The semi-tropical and tropical zone which the Red Junglefowl inhabits would seem to indicate that for many thousands of years its range has differed but slightly from its present distribution.

There are a number of reasons, derived from the study of comparative ornithology, which indicate that the original home of the Red Junglefowl, or at least the most anciently inhabited part of its present range, lies to the East and South, in the Burmese-Malayan portion of its present habitat, rather than to the West in the Indian region. Distributional study of other birds, as the Kaleege Pheasants, makes it certain that these originated in Burma and have since migrated westward along an elongated, sub-Himalayan finger, stretching as far as Kashmir. The same holds true of a number of other forms of life both mammalian and avian. There is no doubt that the Red Junglefowl is of tropical or sub-tropical origin. Neither

[1] *Phasianus gallus* of Linnaeus; *Gallus bankiva* of Temminck; also *Gallus ferrugineus.*

it, nor its domesticated descendants can bear extreme cold; and the elaborately specialized, exposed comb and wattles could have been evolved only in a warm country. The three other species of Junglefowl are all tropical and the affinities of the group among the other pheasants are altogether with south Chinese and Malayan genera.[1]

Newton[2] says: "Several circumstances seem to render it likely that fowls were first domesticated in Burma or the countries adjacent thereto." Those circumstances are, I presume, the facts stated above, and it may be safely assumed that the Burmese region was the original site of domestication of the fowl; but from that region we have neither literature nor monuments to support this conclusion. The two centers of primitive civilization near the fowl's original habitat about which we have early information are China and India.

China.

In China we find very early traces of the domestication of the cock, such domestication being traceable according to tradition at least as early as 1400 B. C.; but here, even more than in India, it is extremely difficult to determine accurately early dates. There are no monumental records of any sort which carry us back to such a very early period, and the dating of literary records is extremely uncertain. We can really do little more than say that there is abundant evidence of the domestication of the cock in China at a very early period.[3]

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[1] C. William Beebe, Curator of Ornithology, New York Zoological Park. The line of migration of the domestic fowl, as traced by archaeological and linguistic evidence, also suggests that its original home may have been rather the more easterly and southerly portion of its present habitat, from which it traveled westward up and against the line of Aryan invasion into Kashmir.

[2] Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of Birds;* see also *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, article "Fowl".

[3] I am indebted to Professor Friedrich Hirth of Columbia for the following note: The present word for the domestic fowl including its male, the cock or rooster, as the head of the family, is *ki* or *kai*, the latter being the Cantonese, as being probably the nearest approach to the ancient sound. This word can be traced with tolerable safety to the times of the Chóu Dynasty (1122—249 B. C. ?). The *Shuo-wón*, a Chinese dictionary, published in 100 A. D., defines the term as meaning "The domestic animal which knows the time"; and since the construction of the character of *ki* with *niao* (bird) as radical excludes quadrupeds,

It would appear that the Chinese were the first to breed the bird for utilitarian economic purposes, producing the Buff Cochin China fowl, a variety so firmly established and exhibiting such unique characteristics as to suggest, as pointed out above, the possibility of a separate species. Elsewhere the bird retains its primitive appearance as the Red Junglefowl, of which our ordinary game cock is perhaps the most nearly typical form, prized for its fighting qualities. Outside of China the breeding for more utilitarian qualities, which has produced our modern varieties, is of very recent date;[1] and those varieties apparently all owe much to crossing with the already well established Chinese breeds.

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and since pigeons, ducks and geese are not in the habit of indicating time, I think we are pretty safe in assuming that the word in those days and probably centuries before had the present meaning of domestic fowl or cock. But these are comparatively recent times. The most ancient source for the occurrence of words throwing light on Chinese culture are the hieroglyphic inscriptions on bells and sacrificial vessels of the Shang Dynasty, placed by that probably fictitious Chinese chronology between the years 1766—1122 B. C. The names of birds are very poorly represented in it and the domestic fowl is not mentioned at all. But this may be purely accidental, since the material now on record probably represents merely a portion of the words then in use, and a very small portion too. You will see that oxen, sheep and other domestic animals, which might have been used for sacrificial purposes, are not mentioned either, although the word for sacrifice itself occurs. I have in vain looked for the word in those most ancient classics, *Chi-king*, *Shu-king* and, *Ch'un-ts''iu*. To make up for this I can refer you to the *Chóu-li*, regarding which work see my *Ancient history of China*, page 107 seqq., which may or may not have originated in the eleventh century B. C., and according to which the cock was used as a victim in the sacrifice (cf. *"Le Tcheou-li"*, translated by E. Biot, Paris 1851, page 42 of Index: "Ki-jin, officier de coqs; il présente les coqs que l'on sacrifice"). The word *ki* occurs also in that most ancient Chinese Glossary, the *Ir-ya*, which may possibly date from the time of Confucius himself (fifth century B. C.). The cock also appears in the names of certain constellations; the astronomical nomenclature would thus raise a side question, quite apart from the legendary matter which trespasses on historical ground, e. g. the Emperor Huang-ti (twenty-seventh century B. C.) ascending a hill called Ki-t'ou, i. e. Cock's Head (E. Chavannes, *Les Memoires Historiques de Se-ma-Ts'ien*, Vol. I, p. 30, note 3), which, like many other stories of the kind, is clearly a late fabrication, which does not deserve any notice in serious research.

[1] The Greeks bred the bird for fighting purposes, continually drawing fresh blood from Media, as we do for horses from Arabia. See Hehn.

Central Asia.

There are, in Russian Turkestan, numerous remains of an extremely ancient civilization, ruin mounds indicating the existence of a large population inhabiting cities during a long period of time, in the now desert region southward of the Aral Sea. Some of these mounds were explored by Raphael Pumpelly, and large quantities of remains, including bones, collected and examined. The indications were that these ruins were flourishing cities from a period antedating 3000 B. C. to the commencement of our era. Among the bones found there were no chicken bones, evidence to that extent that the cock was not known to that civilization, and that the cock did not originally make his way to the west from China by way of Turkestan. Probably, however, it was from China that the cock passed to the Turks and later was brought westward with them, at a time when it had already long been domesticated in the West. Professor Gottheil calls my attention to the evidence from Nestorian gravestones found in Semirjetshie, near China, that the old Turks had a "cock-year", according to which they counted. The old Turkish name for cock was *tagaku,* Uigur *tagu,* Mongolian *taugak,* Kirgiz *aigyr-tauk*), the root used today from China to Turkey and Hungary.

India.

From India we have no monumental evidence of early date with regard to the domestication of the cock, for we have indeed no early monuments of any sort. We are compelled, therefore, to trust to literary evidence as far as that goes. In the earliest stratum of Indian literature, belonging to the Indus period of the Aryan invasion, the Rig Veda, there is no mention of the cock. On the other hand he appears in the Atharva and the Yajur Vedas, which belong to the Ganges period of the Aryan occupation, the earliest mention going back to 900 B. C.,[1] or somewhat earlier. From that period onward he is mentioned with increasing frequency both in the pre-Buddhistic and in the Buddhistic literature belonging to

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[1] I have taken this date from the most conservative scholars. A date at least 200 years earlier would seem to accord better with my other evidence about the cock.

this same general region, the Ganges northward and eastward.[1] All these notices, moreover, clearly indicate both a condition of domestication and also the important part which the cock played in the life and thought of the people.

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[1] I am indebted to Prof. Chas. R. Lanman for the following interesting note, from which I derive the statements contained in the text.

The White Yajur Veda (Vāja Saneyī-sámhitā, i, 16) says:

Thou art a cock (kukkūṭa) whose tongue is sweet with honey,
Call to us hither sap and manly vigor.
May we with thee in every fight be victors.

(It is interesting to observe the three characteristics of the cock here mentioned: Crowing, salacity, fighting.)

The first two chapters of this text are the liturgical formulae which accompany the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices. This particular verse is addrest, not to a cock, but to a sacrificial implement with which the press stones are beaten, and *which is likened to a cock on account of the noise it makes.* (Cf. *Sacred books of the East*, XII. 30 and notes.)

This is the oldest occurrence that I know, except in so far as a replica of this formula is found also (according to Bloomfield's Concordance) in several other closely related texts (*Concordance*, p. 328a, kukkuṭo'si and kuṭarur asi). We may date this text at 900 B. C. or earlier.

In the Atharva-Veda, V. 31, 2, we read (Whitney's version, *Harvard Oriental Series.* VII. 279):

What (witchcraft) they have made for thee in a cock (kṛka-vāku), or what in a kurīva-wearing goat; in a ewe what witchcraft they have made — — — I take that back again (I make it to revert upon its maker).

This is a passage which may be as old as the Yajur Veda passage, or possibly older.

In the Mahābhārata (iii. 228. 33) a cock is the emblem on the chariot banner of Skanda, given by his father, god Agni.

A verse attributed to Chāṇakya (about 320 B. C.; minister to Chandragupta, Σανδροκόττος) says you may learn four things from a cock:

1. to fight.
2. to get up early.
3. to eat with your family.
4. to protect your spouse when she gets into trouble.

In the Mānavan Laws, *Metrical* Code, Dharma-çastra (Laws of Manu), dated by Bühler 100 ±, we read:

iii. 239: A Chāṇḍāla, a village pig, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, and a eunuch must not look at Brahmans while they eat.

(240: If they see a burnt-oblation, the oblation becomes useless — — — Because)

241: A boar makes (the rite) useless by inhaling the smell (of the offerings);

a cock by the wind that he sets in motion by the flapping of his wings; &c.

From this it would appear that the Aryans did not find the bird in the Indus valley, but met him first when they occupied the Ganges valley, about the 10th century B. C. (or 12th, see note), either themselves domesticating him, or more probably finding him already domesticated by the previous inhabitants. This fits in on the one side with the theory of the ornithologists as to the native habitat of the bird; and on the other side with the fact that the cock was not imported by sea by the Phoenicians operating with Solomon. The latter found the peacock in the India which they reached by sea, he being a native of that part of the country, but not the cock, which belonged to another region remote from that coast. In point of fact the cock is entirely lacking in just the region westward which touched India by the water route. He made his way westward by land from Kashmir through Bactria.

Bactria and Persia.

If the cock moved northward and westward up and against the line of the Aryan invasion, he should have reached Bactria

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In XI—156 we read: The atonement for partaking of (the meat of) carnivorous animals, of pigs, of camels, of cocks, of crows, of donkeys, and of human flesh, is a Tapta-kṛechva penance.

This last verse against "eating crow" &c. goes back to a *much older* prose-text, the Dharma-sūtra of Gāutama (see J. B. E. ii. 284); and the prohibition is found in Vasiṣṭhás Dharma-sūtra also (see J. B. E. xiv. 121).

Eating the flesh of the "village cock" is prohibited with that of the goose, Brahman duck, sparrow, crane, woodpecker and parrot in Manu (V. 12, J. B. E. XXV. 171: cf. p. 172, verse 19).

In the Buddhist books the cock is mentioned in the early part of one of the very oldest, the first dialog of the Dīgha Nikāya (text, vol. I, page 9: see David's transl. p. 19, rendered "fowls"). This book may date from about the time of Buddha, say 475 B. C. or thereabouts.

In the Questions of Milinda (about the 1st century of our era) is a whole chapter about the cock (text, p. 366, line 12, to page 368 line 1).

Five (ways) qualities of the cock you should imitate:

1. Monk should retire early for meditation: as the cock retires early to roost.

2. Rises early.

3. Cock is unremittingly busy scratching for food: monk should be unremitting in pursuit of higher life.

4. Cock is blind by night: monk should be blind to delights and seductions of senses.

5. Cock will not desert his home: monk should never desert his "mindfulness" which is *his* home.

at a very early date. Bactria and the region westward, from the Caspian Sea to Farsistan, was the home of the religion of Zoroaster; and it is to the Zoroastrian sacred literature that we are indebted for such knowledge as we possess of the domestic animals, as of the civilization development in general of that region at that period. The date of Zoroaster is uncertain, but is quite certainly earlier than 600 B. C.[1] There are no monumental remains which go back to this period. The name of the cock does not appear in the very earliest stratum of Zoroastrian religious literature, the Gāthās, but the character of that material is such that one would scarcely except to find it there in any case. The cock is, however, abundantly represented in what we may call the second stratum of Zoroastrian literature. The earliest mention is presumably in Vendīdād, Fargard XVIII. In the early morning the cock lifts up his voice against the mighty after-midnight darkness (Ushah): "Arise, oh men, recite the Ashem Yad-va hishtem that smites down the Daēvas".[2] From this onward he is frequently mentioned, and indeed he played a role of great importance in the Persian religion and literature. Besides his common name, Halka, and his onomatapoetic name Kahrkatās (equivalent to cock-adoodle-doo), he had also a religious name, Parōdarsh, *foreseer* (i. e. of the dawn). Numerous passages in the Vendīdād, Būndehishn and later literature set forth his sacred character. He was created by God to fight the demon of idleness. By his crowing he puts to flight the demons. He is the bird of light and hence of righteousness, scattering darkness and repelling the hosts of evil that dwell in darkness. He was also the symbol of the resurrection. Carrying out the idea of the sacred character of the cock, in curious contrast with the utilitarian economic breeding of the Chinese, it was counted an act of piety to possess and to raise domestic fowl;

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[1] Jackson gives the year 660 for the birth of Zoroaster. (Cf. *Persia Past and Present.*) Basing their conclusions on the appearance of Mazda in Median proper names in Assyrian inscriptions of Sargon, 715 B. C., Ed. Meyer and others date Zoroaster somewhere from 800 back to 1000 B. C. If the readings of the Assyrian inscriptions are positively assured, admitting no alternative, and if it can be proved that Zoroaster did in fact invent the word Mazda and did not borrow it from already existing use, local or otherwise, an earlier date than 660 would be proved beyond question.

[2] Cf. Vd. 18. 15, 16=23, 24; also Yasht 22. 41, 42.

but after he began to crow the cock might not be eaten. The part which the cock plays in Persian religion and mythology, and the manner of reference to him in Zoroastrian literature, seem to prove satisfactorily that he antedates that religion, and that he was domesticated in Bactria and westward among the Medes and Persians before the time of the founding or reformation of the Persian religion by Zoroaster. Zoroaster was, it must be remembered, a reformer, protesting against the superstition, the idolatry and the materialism of the religion of his age and people. The Gāthās represent that protest and present the reformed religion in its most primitive and purest form. But, as always has been the case, in its second stage Zoroastrianism had to reckon with the religion it undertook to reform, and above all with the great underlying folk cult of that religion, compromising with its forms and practises and superstitions. That second stage is represented by the Vendīdād and Bundahishn, and precisely such material as the cock cult or reverence in those books may be taken as evidence of the existence and importance of that cult, and hence as evidence of the domestication of the cock, before the time of Zoroaster.[1] More than that we cannot say from Persian sources. From the fact that there is no name for cock common to Indians and Iranians, it is clear that he was not known before the separation of these two Aryan stocks.[2] Comparing, however, what we have learned from Persian and

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[1] For further information about the cock among the Persians, cf. Jackson A. O. S. vol. xiii p. 15. I am also indebted personally to Prof. Jackson for much assistance in this research, and especially for pointing out to me that the cock is evidently pre-Zoroastrian among the Persians.

[2] Possibly this statement should be somewhat modified. Prof. Jackson calls my attention to the fact that *Kahrka*, which appears in composition in Avestan *Kahrkatāt*, the popular onomatopoeticon for cock, and in Kahrkāsa, the name for the vulture, apparently as "chicken-eater", may be equated with the Sanskrit *krka* (also onomatopoetic) in *krka*-vāku, also a folk name for cock. With these, (following P. Horn, *Grundriß der neupersischen Etymologie*, p. 189) he also compares the Pahlavi *Kark*, Kurdish *Kurka*, Ossetish *Kharkh*, hen. The suggestion is that there was an onomatopoetic root name for cock common to Indian and Iranian, which did not, however, by itself become the name of the cock in either Sanskrit or Avestan, altho found in the later Iranian dialects. It should be said that the particular sound contained in this onomatopoeticon belongs to other birds than chickens. So in Aramean *kurkya*, the same sound, means crane.

Indian sources, it would appear that the cock was derived from India and domesticated among the Iranians somewhere probably between the 11th and the 8th centuries.

Greece and Asia Minor.

Hehn in his *Kulturpflanzen* places the appearance of the cock among the Greeks after contact with the Persians, in the latter half of the 6th century B. C. The cock is first mentioned in Greek literature by Theognis, 525 B. C., and later writers frequently designate him as the Persian bird (occasionally also the Median bird). In fact, however, the cock is abundantly represented on monumental remains a century or even two centuries earlier. Hogarth found him on coins from the earliest stratum of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, circa 700 B. C., and he appears on the very earliest Ionian coins found in Asia Minor, especially in the north, along the Dardanelles, as early as the 7th century.[1] In southern Asia Minor, on the harpy tomb at Xanthus in Lycia, circa 600 B. C., there is a remarkably fine representation of a cock, used as a sacrificial bird, having the characteristic game cock appearance of the Red Junglefowl. In Crete the cock appears on the Melian gems about 700 B. C.[2] On the Greek main land we have numerous representations going back to the 7th century. Of these perhaps the earliest is a relief found in Sparta in 1880, representing the offering of a cock, apparently in connection with ancestor worship. Of almost the same age is a proto-Attic vase, figured in *Ephemeris Archaiologike,* 1897. A Corinthian Alabastron, with a representation of a cock, in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, is dated 650—600 B. C. An oinochoe from the same place, showing an owl between cocks, is dated 600—550; and

[1] Cf. Head, *Historia Numorum.* One coin ascribed to Dardanus (p. 544), however, an electrum stater with a cock on one side, seems to belong to Chios. This is "one of a series of primitive types, among which are found bulls, lions, and fantastic winged animals." (Miss Agnes Baldwin).

[2] Sir Arthur Evans thought that he had found the cock on one of the early Minoan monuments at Knossos, which would place his appearance in Greece as early as the third millennium (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* xiv. 1894, p. 342, fig. 65a, also *Scripta Minoa*, p. 133, fig. 74a). This is a very rude representation of a bird, lacking all the characteristic features of the cock, resembling representations of unidentifiable birds found on the Egyptian and Babylonian monuments.

a Chalcedonian amphora, representing a man between two cocks, is assigned to the same date. Indeed, any well equipped museum at the present time contains abundant evidence that the cock was known to the Greeks long before they came in contact with either Persians or Medes. The term Persian bird seems to have been given to the cock by Greek writers, after contact with the Persians, chiefly because of his great importance and his religious use among the Persians, which made him par excellence their bird; partly, perhaps, because of the tradition of his derivation from the East, the land from which the Persians also came.

After the commencement of the Persian era, the representation of the cock on coins, vases and monuments becomes more frequent. Both before and after that time the characteristic of the cock which seems to have appealed most strongly to the Greek imagination was his fighting qualities. To them he was primarily a game cock, and the cock fight is the most familiar and frequent representation on coins of the Greek period from India westward.[1] On this account he was sacred to Ares. That he was also associated with Hermes, presumably for his mantic qualities, is apparent from his representation with the caduceus.[2] Perhaps it was thru Persian use that he became sacred to Apollo, as herald of the sun. In that connection also he appears attached to the triscele on Pamphylian and Lycian coins.[3] Further, as a derivation probably from his relation to the sun, reasoning from awakening to health, he was sacrificed to Asclepius. In this relation, also, he became the chthonic bird, and is used on tombs, as emblematic of the hope of a reawakening to life. He was a bird of good omen among the Greeks as among the Romans, and used sacrificially to avert evil.

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[1] The usual type of autonomous coins in Asia Minor, going back to about 700 B. C., is a cock or a cock fight (viz. *Pollux* IX. 84, Hogarth, *Archaic Artemisia*, 1908, p. 89). A cock fight is also the commonest representation of the fowl on Attic vases. For a typical specimen cf. Attic Kylix in Metropolitan Museum, New York, 550—500 B. C.

[2] Cf., for instance, coins of Sophytes, prince of the Panjab, 316—306 B. C.: obverse, head of Sophytes or Athena; reverse, cock and caduceus, Head, p. 835.

[3] Cf. Goblet d'Alviella, *Migration des Symboles*, pp. 76, 222; also Hunter, *Numorum veterum descriptio*, pl. VII. nos. 15, 16; Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, pl. III. fig. 135.

Thruout the whole Greek world, then, from 700 B. C. onward, the cock, always represented most unmistakeably on monuments and coins, reproducing the game cock characteristics which belong to the original breed, was a familiar and omnipresent bird, sacrificial to a number of gods, representing an accumulation of sacred ideals and traditions, and popular for sporting purposes. On the other hand, the bird does not belong to the earliest stratum of Greek civilization. He plays no part in Greek mythology. There are no legends or folklore which attach themselves to him, as to the dove, the swan, the eagle, &c. He came in after the Greeks had passed that stage of their existence. The name by which he was known, ἀλεκτρυών or ἀλέκτωρ, is not Greek.[1] He is not mentioned in Hesiod or Homer, in one or both of which it seems that he must have played a part, had he been known. The latter mentions, among domestic animals, the horse, ass, mule, ox, goat, sheep, pig and dog, and among domestic fowl the goose, but nowhere the cock.[2] The Homeric poems, do, however, I think, give us a clue to the date and the origin of the cock among the Greeks. As already pointed out, the Greek word for cock, ἀλεκτρυών, fem. ἀλεκτρυαίνα,[3] (poetic ἀλέκτωρ, fem. ἀλεκτορίς) is foreign. If we could trace its origin we should presumably find the source of the cock for the Greeks. One turns naturally toward Asia Minor. The remains found in the interior of Asia Minor, both the Hittite and the proto-Armenian monuments, show no trace of the cock. Partly they are too early; partly, as I think will appear from what follows, they were not in the line of transmission or migration of the cock. While, as already stated, the cock is not mentioned in Homer, the word for cock does appear twice as a proper name. Λήιτος, an Argonaut and commander of the Boeotians, was the son

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[1] Leo Meyer, *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie*, I. p. 296, derives ἀλέκτωρ from ἀλέξειν, citing the analogy of ἀλάστωρ. He would make it mean "*Abwehrer*, wie der kampflustige Hahn gewiß leicht benannt werden konnte".

[2] The pigeon is commonly included in the list, but, according to Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, the pigeon, whi lewell known to Homer, was a wild, not a domesticated bird.

[3] The feminine formations are uncertain and variable, evidence of foreign origin.

of Alektryon (Ἀλεκτρυόνος Il. XVII. 602).[1] Appearing in connection with a man connected in early Grecian story with the exploration of the Euxine to its remotest eastern shores, the name suggests the possibility that the Greeks came in contact with the cock at the extreme eastern limit of the Euxine, and brought him thence to the Greek cities of Asia Minor and so to Greece itself.[2] The Homeric passages, however, would show that the bird was not as yet possessed by the Greeks, but only just beginning to be known by name. The importation of the bird by sea along the Euxine would parallel, it may be observed, the early importation of the peacock by sea from India, and of the guinea fowl, in the time of Sophocles, from tropical Africa by way of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

Italy.

From Greece the cock spread with the early Greek colonies to Italy, where the monumental remains on which he appears are almost as early as those of Greece itself. The cock appears on the earliest coinage of Himera, a Chalcidic colony on the north coast of Sicily, founded about the middle of the 7th century.[3] The coinage of Selinos, the most westerly Greek colony in Sicily, represents on one side Apollo and Artemis, standing together on a quadriga, and on the other side the river god Selinos, with a phiale and a lustral branch, before an altar, in front of which is a cock, behind on a stand a bull, and above it a Selinon leaf. Here the cock is evidently sacrificial and connected apparently with the sun.[4] In Etruria

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[1] Leitus is also mentioned by Apollodorus, Diodorus and Pausanias. His tomb was shown at Plataea. According to these later authorities the wife of Alektryon or Alektor, his father, was Cleobule. It will be noted also that the Ἀλεκτρυών of Homer becomes Ἀλέκτωρ in later writers, according to the dictionary the poetic form of the word. The latter is in Od. IV. 10 the name of a Spartan: υἱέι δὲ Σπάρτηθεν Ἀλέκτορος ἤρετο κούρην.

[2] This would date the cock among the Iranians of the Euxine region at or before 1000 B. C., harmonizing with the earlier dates suggested in the preceding pages, rather than with the later dates. If Hehn's facts and conclusions are correct the pheasant was brought to Greece somewhat later by this same route, i. e. from the eastern end of the Euxine by sea to the Greek cities.

[3] The coins themselves may not be older than the commencement of the 5th century. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 143.

[4] *Do.* 168.

the cock appears on top of sepulchral vases (chthonic use) of the Bucchero type as early as the middle of the 6th, perhaps even of the 7th century, and on wall paintings of Etruscan tombs, belonging, it is supposed, to the period when the Greeks had begun to influence Etruscan art. In Latium the cock appears on top of early hut urns (also chthonic) of about the same date as the Etruscan sepulchral vases. The cock is also a frequent emblem on the coins of Samnium and Latium in the 3rd century, and indeed he is almost, if not quite, as common on the coinage of Italian cities as on those of Grecian Asia Minor. A typical coin of the Samnian and Latin cities is that of Cales:[1] obverse a head, reverse crowing cock and legend Caleno.

It is generally assumed that the cock was introduced into Italy by the Greeks, and spread gradually from south to north. But the coins of Samnium and Latium, just described, with the figure of the crowing cock, resemble rather the cock of Gaul than that of Greece; and indeed the name of the cock in Latin, Gallus, or the Gallic bird, suggests a similar origin. The cock may, it is true, have been called *gallus* by the Romans for the same reason that he was called the Persian bird among the Greeks. Even this would show that he was at an early period very common and very important among the Gauls. But it seems to me that the use for the name of the bird of the word Gallus goes further, and indicates that the Italians actually received him from the Gauls. In that case he was domesticated in Central Italy before the coming of the Greeks.

Now we know from other sources that the cock played a part of great importance among the Gauls before the Roman conquest. Caesar so testifies. He tells us also of the religious significance of the cock among the Gauls in language that reminds us of Persian practice. Part of the Gallic race, he says, while raising fowls, yet regarded it as a sacrilege to eat them. The cock, we learn further, was associated with the great god of the Gauls, whom Caesar identifies with Mercury. From Gallic times, also, we have various clay and other representations of the cock, found in various places.[2] Certain

[1] Maury, *Le Coq Gaulois*, p. 57.

[2] So Arthur Maury, *Le Coq Gaulois*, who refers especially to the collections in the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye (p. 54.)

it is that after the Roman conquest he appears on coins from various parts of the country,[1] and that from that time to this he has played a part in France which fairly entitles him to be called the national bird of France. As already noted the French bird is the cock in his form as chanticleer, the crower, or singer, the herald of dawn.

But how did the cock reach Gaul? From the Greek colonies on the coast, or by an independent route thru the interior of Europe? I am inclined to think by the latter route. The Romans found him not only in Gaul, but also in England and among the Germans. Evidently he was in the first century before our era pretty widely distributed as a domestic fowl, and also as a distinctly sacred bird, over western and central Europe. He was not a native. No chicken bones have been found among the shell heaps of Denmark or the lake dwellings of Switzerland, Italy or Hungary, His advent belongs to a later period. The linguistic evidence shows that he was not common property of the Indo-European peoples, nor even of the European peoples before their separation. Celt, Teuton, Lett and Slav know him by no common name. On the other hand, all peoples of Teutonic stock possess a common name for the domestic fowl, and that name, *hahn* or *hen*, *the singer*, connects him rather with the Persian foreteller of the dawn than with the Grecian fighting bird. Everywhere he has a religious character, and apparently the superstitions and religious usages connected with him among the Germans, as among the Gauls, point in the same direction.[2] The evidence is far from conclusive, but I am inclined to

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[1] Maury cites also funerary stones of the first century, bearing cock on ensign, from Strasbourg and Narbonne (pp. 61 f.).

[2] For the linguistic evidence cf. Hehn. He shows, among other things, that the Germans must have constituted one whole, dwelling together in one relatively small region, separate from other peoples, when they applied the name *hana* to the domestic fowl; that the Germans must have been immediate neighbors of the Finns, and presumably not contiguous to the Lithuanians; that the Slavs and Lithuanians must have been already separate when the cock was introduced among them, and the Slavs themselves divided into two divisions. He attempts to show further, by the linguistic evidence, that at the time of the introduction of the cock the Slavs, already separated from the Lithuanians, must have been in close contact with Medo-Persian peoples, Scythians, Sauromatians and the like.

think that at the same time that the cock traveled from the eastern end of the Euxine thru the Dardanelles to the Aegean, he also traveled up the line of the Iranian emigration into Scythia, and so to the Teutons and the Celts; the two lines of migration ultimately meeting in central Italy.

Cyprus.

From Asia Minor and Greece the cock traveled southward to Cyprus. The earliest appearance is on the sarcophagus from Golgoi, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, circa 500 B. C., where his use is evidently chthonic. After that date he is quite common and in several sculptures he is represented as a sacrificial bird.[1]

Syria.

Syriac literature is too late to be of any service in this investigation, and there is a curious lack of representations of the cock on monuments, coins, gems and the like from Syria. On some old Syrian gems there are representations of birds, but in no case a characteristic representation of the cock. The earliest representations of the cock which I can find is in a tomb at Marissa,[2] dating from about 200 B. C. This tomb belonged to a Sidonian colony settled in an Edomite city. The language used in the inscriptions was Greek; the animals depicted in the interior of the tomb showed distinct Egyptian influence. The cock himself is on the outer face of the door posts of the inner main chamber. He seems about to crow. In form, coloring and feathering he is still the Red Junglefowl. As already stated, the only mention of the cock in the Old Testament is in Prov. 30: 31, perhaps about or after 300 B. C. He has no fixed name in Hebrew, and at that period seems to have been known to the Jews as a bird possessed by neighboring peoples, but not domesticated in Palestine. When finally domesticated among them (between 200 B. C. and the commencement of our era) he was called by an Aramaic name, *turnegal*, which itself is not Aramaean,

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[1] Cf., for instance, 1211 and 1222 in the Cypriote collections of the Metropolitan Museum, Temple-boy holding a cock.

[2] "Painted Tombs of Marissa", Peters and Thiersch, *Memoir of Palestine Exploration Fund.*

but borrowed from some other people, from whom presumably the Aramaeans derived the bird. The data are meager and any deductions from such meager data must be viewed with caution. The suggestions from the data, such as they are, seem to be that, having reached Cyprus thru Greek influence, the cock was transmitted thence to Phoenicia, but did not become common until after the Greek conquest. The Jews, coming in contact with him as early as 300, thru the Phoenicians or other neighboring people, refused him admission because of the religious and sacrificial character which he possessed among heathen peoples; the same ground on which their ancestors had classed the swine, the hare, &c. as unclean in the dietary laws of Deuteronomy and Leviticus. In the mean time the Aramaeans had received the cock, with the name *turnegal*, from some other source. Thru their influence the bird and his name became common good of all Syria, and so he and his name finally found their way thru the wall of Jewish prejudice into Jerusalem.

Arabia.

From Arabia we have no monumental evidence of the cock, confirmatory evidence, so far as it goes, that his route from India was not by sea but by land. Arabic literature is too late to be of any value for our purposes. It may be worth noting, however, that the cock does appear, altho rarely, in old Arabic poetry, but only in connection with settled habitations. From whatever source the domestic fowl was brought into Arabia the Arabs seem not to have borrowed the name with the bird, but to have invented a name of their own, not onomatopoetic however, but apparently depending on a characteristic not elsewhere similarly noted, viz. *dujāj* or *dajāj*, which Arabic lexicographers explain as given "because of his frequent coming and going (*dajja*)." This is the common designation of both male and female. The cock as such, however, is called *dīk*.[1]

[1] Is this borrowed from the Turkish? Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil. Cf. also Jacob, *Studien in Arabischen Dichtern*, Heft III, *Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen*, Berlin, 1895, p. 84. The name of the cock is in itself an interesting study, which has not yet received the attention it deserves. In general each people uses popularly an onomatopoetic name, an attempted reproduction of the sound made by the cock (less

Egypt.

Earlier Egyptian scholars were inclined to find the cock in some of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, or in some of the bird forms on the monuments, apparently arguing from the present universal use of the bird that it must of course have been familiar among the old Egyptians. In point of fact these are all either uncharacterized pictures of birds, or identifiable with birds of quite a different character, such as the bustard or the quail.[1] Egyptologists without exception are now agreed, I believe, that the cock is not found on Egyptian monuments before the Roman period, and that no word or sign for cock appears in the language. The argument from silence in this case is practically equivalent to a proof that the fowl was not known in ancient or even Ptolemaic (before the Roman period) Egypt, because the wall paintings in the tombs give us such minute and accurate representations of Egyptian life, domestic utensils and animals, creatures used for food and the like, that the cock, if in use, could not have been omitted. Why this was the case is another question. Had the cock been known in Babylonia or Syria or Asia Minor and the Aegean as early as 1400 or perhaps even 1000 B. C., it would pretty surely have been imported into Egypt. After that the Egypt-

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often the hen), of the cockadoodledoo type. These names differ slightly from place to place, but are evidently not borrowed from one or more common forms, but invented by each locality for itself. Almost equally frequent are the semi-onomatopoetic names, which do not imitate but merely suggest the sound made (not sound pictures but sound hieroglyphs), and which often are or may be equally applicable to other birds, like cock (cuckoo) and kuru (crow). There is a great deal of similarity between names of this class over considerable areas, apparently due, however, as in the former case, not to borrowing, but to the necessary similarity of all attempts to translate or indicate the bird's own utterance. Then there are the names given to indicate some characteristic of the bird, like the French *Chantecler*, the German *Hahn*, the Persian *Parō-darsh* and probably Arabic *dajāj*. Lastly there are names indicating a foreign origin, like Latin *Gallus*, or simply borrowed from a foreign tongue, presumably with the bird, like Greek ἀλεκτρυών and Aramaic *turnegal*. There is no name common to any large linguistic group, with the exception of the Mongolian-Turkish *tawuk* and the Teutonic-Scandinavian *Hahn*.

[1] A good illustration of the older method is found, by the way, in a recent article in the *Zoologist* for Jan. 1912, entitled "The Prehistoric Origin of the Common Fowl", by Frederick J. Stubbs and A. J. Rowe.

ians were less inclined, I should judge, to borrow from outside sources religious ideas or articles of diet, the two being closely connected. In view of the importance of the cock among the Greeks one is, however, inclined to wonder that the Greek mercenaries of Psammetichus and some of his successors, who pervaded Egypt, scribbling their names in temples of the upper Nile, and building in the Delta cities to dwell in, did not bring the cock with them for sacrificial purposes or for the sport of cock fighting. Or the Persians? Or Alexander and the Ptolemies? The silence of the monuments for precisely these periods seems conclusive, puzzling as the fact is. In answer to the question this silence raises, I can merely call attention in general to the apparent slow progress of the bird southward from the Aegean regions, in contrast with his rapid and triumphant passage westward and northward; to the religious prejudices, which would have been particularly strong against a Persian sacred bird, in view of Egyptian experience with the mad Cambyses; and perhaps also to the largely aquatic conditions of Egyptian domestic economy, better adapted to geese and ducks and cranes and herons than to chickens.

Assyria and Babylonia.

In the earlier editions of his *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*, Hehn states that the cock was unknown in Assyria and Babylonia before the Persian period. In the last posthumous eighth edition, O. Schrader, the editor, adds a note, in which he asserts that the cock is mentioned in the list of offerings of Gudea, 2700 B. C.; that he appears in Assyrian times often as offered to the gods; and that he was especially common in neo-Babylonia, where he was kept in the neighborhood of temples. It is also stated that the cock was called in Assyrian by the name *kurku*, and in Sumerian *kurgi*; and that he was also further known in Sumerian as *Tar-lugallu*, supposed to be the source of the Aramaean *Tarnegul* or *Tarnegal*. The idea that the cock is mentioned in the offering lists of Gudea is apparently connected with the identification of a bird on the Gudean monuments as the cock or hen, and also with the appearance of the word *Kurgi* in a sacrificial list of that period. The bird depicted on the Gudean monuments is one of those uncharacteristic and unidentifiable birds which are found on a number of early monuments in various countries.

The cock is singularly easy to represent by some characteristic peculiarities. His peculiar characteristics are so striking that they seize the fancy of the most inexperienced on-looker and, rude as his art may be, he generally contrives in some way to give the impression of the cock. It is owing to this fact that archeologists are practically agreed not to recognize as cocks the unidentifiable, uncharacterized birds which are found, as stated, on monuments of various countries. Anyone who has followed pictorial representations of the cock will see the reason for this. Such birds may be almost any thing else, but they are not cocks.

As to the supposed identification of *kurgi* in the Gudean sacrificial list as cock, it may be said that Assyrian scholars have translated various words in the Babylonian-Assyrian word lists as cock. According to their transliterations and translations, he appears in Sumerian as *ṭarlu-gallu, kukuranu,* and *kurgi,* and in Semitic as *kurku* or *karakku* or *kurakku.* Of these supposed words for cock the one read *ku-ku-ra-nu* appears in a trilingual list, so far untranslated, of the object or character of which we know nothing, except that it does mention birds. *Kukuranu* would undoubtedly be a good onomatopoetic name for the cock, if the reading were certain, but the characters so transliterated might, so far as our present knowledge goes, equally well be transliterated *kudurranu* — or rather[1] from analogy this would be the natural transliteration —and still other transliterations are quite possible. But further, in the word list in which this word appears it is given as the equation of *ṭarlugallu,* which has been equated with the Aramaic *tarnegul* or *turnegal,* cock.[2] Now so far as our present information goes, Sumerian was a dead language many centuries before the Aramaeans reached Babylonia or parts adjacent.[3] It is, therefore, rather startling to have an Ar-

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[1] So Prof. Clay calls my attention to a feminine proper name, *ku-dur (ku)-ra-ni-tum,* in the Cassite period; as also to the fact that the signs read ku-ku in the supposed ku-ku-ra-nu are a common way of writing the *ku-dur* of Nebuchadrezzar and of Kudurenlil.

[2] This identification was first suggested by Oppert, *Zeitschr. Assyr.* VII. 339; and has since been adopted by a number of Assyrian and Syrian scholars.

[3] As a curiosity it may be noted that Brockelmann in his *Lexicon Syriacum* gives the word ܐܟܕܝܐ (*akdaya*) as cock, with a note from Jensen, "Accadius".

amaean word derived from Sumerian. If such a derivation occured we should expect it to be mediately thru the Semitic Babylonian, not immediately from the Sumerian. Moreover, whether the word transliterated *ṭarlugallu* was ever actually thus pronounced remains, as in so many Sumerian transliterations, subject to some doubt. If the transliteration be correct it would appear to mean *ṭarru-king*. *Ṭar* (or *ṭarru*) is interpreted in a trilingual list as *bur-ru-um-tu*="variegated" (Cf. XIV. 4, 6), and the entire combination is apparently equated later (l. 11) in the same text by the *kukuranu* or *kudurranu* already noted.[1] The argument then is that a certain otherwise unknown Sumerian word in a trilingual list dealing with birds may be transliterated *ṭarlugallu*, which sounds strikingly like the word for cock, *tarnegul* or *tarnegal*, used by the Aramaeans, who many centuries after Sumerian had become a dead language occupied or were in contact with the region where Sumerian had been spoken and where, in the Aramaean period, it still lingered as a church language; that in this trilingual list[2] the word *ṭarlugallu* is translated by another unknown Sumerian word, the characters of which might be transliterated *ku-ku-ra-nu*, which sounds like an onomatopoetic name for the cock; and that one element of the word transliterated *ṭarlugallu* is actually translated in a bilingual list by the Assyrian (Semitic) word *burrumtu* "variegated", a description which might be applicable to the chicken as a bird of variegated color. As an argument by itself to prove acquaintance with the cock in Babylonia in the Sumerian period (2000 B. C.), it can scarcely be accepted as possessing validity.

There are also in the Sumerian word-lists some fifteen forms

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[1] On this Prof. Prince writes me that the word does occur in the passage cited, "but in the full form—*edin-dar* (tar)-XU=Assyr. *burrumtu*, 'variegated'; also in loc. cit. L. 11 *ku-ku-ra-nu-XU*=Assyr. *dar* (*ṭar*) *lugallum.—Dar* (*tar*) in Sumerian does mean variegated in color, and *edin-dar*-XU means literally 'the variegated bird of the field'." *Kuku-ra-nu-XU*=Assyr. *dar-lugallum*, which Assyr. word is a Sumerian loan-word, meaning "the variegated king of birds". He suggests that the word would apply to the cock-pheasant or the peacock better than to the cock, for which he adds other reasons. As to the proposed identification of *tarnegal* with *ṭar* (or *dar*) *lugallu*, it may be further noted that the initial letters are not the same.

[2] So far as this word is concerned, the list has two, not three columns.

of *kurgi*, mentioned with other objects of food for sacrifice, all, or practically, all being as yet unidentified. *Kurgi* also has been interpreted as an onomatopoëticon, either borrowed from the "Avestan (old Bactrian) *Kahrka*",[1] or formed in the same manner, and meaning cock. *Kurgi* is interpreted in Semitic as *kurku* and the Semitic *kurku*,[2] *kurukku* and *karakku* have similarly been supposed to be onomatopoetic names for the cock. Accepting the transliterations given, which always, it must be remembered, are somewhat uncertain, the various names proposed for the cock might equally well indicate some other bird.[3] They are mere guesses. Up to the present time we do not know the name of the cock in Assyrian-Babylonian. As Prof. Sayce writes: "There is no certain name for the cock or fowl in Assyrian. As you know, the identification of such words is always doubtful unless they are accompanied by pictorial representations."

It is in fact to these pictorial representations that we must turn to determine the date and character of the appearance of the cock in Babylonia and Assyria. Fortunately, as in the case of Egypt, pictorial representations of birds and animals begin early in Babylonia and are abundant, and hence the argument from silence is peculiarly significant. Beginning at an early date, we have unmistakeable representations of ducks, geese, swans, hawks, eagles, and later ostriches, together with various fantastic and monstrous birds. Besides these clearly defined and characteristic representations of birds we have also from various periods birds not clearly defined, sometimes of the bustard type, sometimes waterfowl, sometimes of a small bird type. None of these, for reasons already stated, can we idenitify with the cock. The earliest monument on which a cock has been discovered is on the finials of two bow heads on a *bas relief* from the palace of Sennacherib, but ascribed to Ashurbanipal,[4] that is, about the middle of the 7th cent.

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[1] Cf. what has already been said about the date of the cock in Bactria, the names used, &c.

[2] Mr. Pinches, in a very kind and painstaking correspondence, has suggested other possible identifications from other undeciphered lists, none of which, however, are even approximately onomatopoetic.

[3] The Semitic *kurku* certainly sounds more like the Aramaic *kurkya*, crane.

[4] Brit. Mus. Room XXVIII, slab 14. A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures in the Palace of Sinacherib*, pl. 58. 1913.

B. C. Nothing further identifiable with the cock is found before the late neo-Babylonian period, the time of Nabonidus, circa 550 B. C. To this period belong a couple of illustrations in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon* of an engraved gem (p. 538), representing a cock on a stand like those used frequently on the boundary stones in connection with the emblems of the Gods. Before this emblem stands a winged figure, with cone and basket, while above is the crescent moon. The other is taken from a cylinder in the British Museum (p. 539), and represents the figure with the cone and basket standing before an altar, behind which altar are two stands bearing, the first the moon symbol, and the second the cock. Here the cock, like the moon, is plainly the emblem of a god. It is on these figures, I fancy, that Schrader bases his statement that the cock often appears in Assyria as offered to the gods. Neither of them in fact represents the sacrifice of the cock, nor have we anything in Assyrian or Babylonian art representing such a sacrifice. Both of them represent the worship of a god symbolized by the cock.[1] Who that god was we do not know.[2] There are similar representations of the cock on neo-Babylonian seals pictured by Ward.[3] In general it may be said that

[1] In view of the relation of the cock to Persia, one is inclined to ask whether these two representations, attesting the introduction of the sacred bird of Persia into Babylonian mythology as a god emblem, do not belong rather to the Persian than to the neo-Babylonian period.

[2] The frequent connection of the cock with the sun, added to the combination of the cock emblem with that of the moon, suggests that the cock here also represents the sun in some form or phase. Layard calls attention to the supposition of Jewish commentators that the *nergal*, made by the men of Cutha (II Kings 17: 30), was the cock, and suggests that the *Melek Taus* of the Yezidīs may also have been a cock, not a peacock. The identification of the cock as the emblem of Nergal seems not improbably correct.

[3] Cf. W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*; especially p. 421 and figs. 554, 556, 1126, 1254. Dr. Ward kindly made a special investigation at my request into alleged representations of the cock (or hen) on the ancient Sumerian Gudea monuments and the Kassite boundary (*Kudurru*) stones. He writes: "Certainly the Gula-Bau bird is not the cock. You will observe in *S. C. W. A.* figs. 230—235 it is represented with the goddess, and it is a long-necked bird. See also the stork, p. 420. I have been all over the *kudurrus* and I do not believe that the cock is on them. The tail of the cock nowhere appears. I have suspected the lesser or larger bustard, and yet the bird on the plow, or apart from the plow, might be a sparrow, or some such bird that follows the

in Babylonia the cock begins to appear on gems and seals first after the Persian influence has begun to make itself felt, but there is nothing to indicate any special reference to temples, such as Schrader asserts, beyond the fact that the cock was, as pointed out, a god emblem.

For Babylonia and Assyria, then, the linguistic evidence is unsatisfactory. If the name of the bird appears at all, it is in word lists of as yet unidentified creatures and objects. It is not found in any inscription or record with accompanying statements or qualifying words which would ensure or facilitate identification. The first representation of the cock yet discovered on any monuments, gems, cylinders, &c. is, for Assyria, from the middle of the 7th century B. C., a period of active contact with the Medes; and for Babylonia, a century later, when the Persians had begun to come into immediate relations with Babylon. The representations from this period show the cock as a sacred bird, the emblem of a god.

The question arises: why, if the Persians and Medes had the bird and if it past further to the westward at an earlier date, it did not also enter Assyria and Babylonia. I have already suggested that the cock past up the line of Iranian migration; and that he reached the Greeks thru the Euxine, not thru Asia Minor. Between the Medes and Persians, on the one side, and the Assyrians and Babylonians, on the other, lay a mountain region occupied by semi-barbarous tribes, never thoroly subdued by the Assyrians or Babylonians, and always more or less hostile to them. These formed for a long time a sort of buffer state between Medes and Persians and Assyrians and Babylonians, a barrier to communication and hence also to the transmission of such a creature as the cock, they themselves, from their hostile attitude and uncivilized condition, neither receiving nor imparting such gifts. Ultimately the barrier was worn away, and in Ashurbanipal's time a more direct relation established between the Assyrians and the Medes. A century later the barrier between Persians and Babylonians was broken down, and with the access of Persian

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plow." For completeness' sake I may add that in the excavations at Nippur our earliest evidence of acquaintance with the domestic fowl was a rattle in the form of a hen. This could not, judging from its stratum, have been earlier than the Persian period, and I should be inclined to place it even later.

influence the cock invaded the Babylonian plain.[1] Why, when the cock had once been adopted in Babylonia, it did not follow up the line of the Euphrates into Syria more rapidly than it seems to have done, I cannot conjecture, unless it be something to do with its religious character and use; for, as already shown, the cock, once admitted into Babylonia, became a sacred bird, the special emblem of a god.

And now, in conclusion, I judge the history of the cock to have been this: The original home and probably the original place of domestication, Burma and its neighborhood, from which it spread into China at an early date, traditionally 1400 B. C., there to be bred into the Cochin-China fowl. It did not pass from China westward thru the Turks until a late date. When the Iranians entered the Ganges valley, in the second stage of their conquest of India, they came in contact with the domesticated fowl on its western limits. This was at a period not later than 900, and I suspect in reality more nearly 1200 B. C.

The cock past up the line of the Iranian invasion into Bactria, Persia and Media and so on into Scythia and Europe, stretching across finally to the British Isles, and spreading down from Gaul into Central Italy. The Greeks first came in contact with the cock in their expeditions to the extreme eastern end of the Euxine in the Homeric period, perhaps circa 1000 B. C., and later carried him from there to the coasts and islands of the Aegaean, where we find the cock a well known and domesticated bird on the earliest coins and monuments, from 700 B. C. onward. Spreading westward, the Greeks brought him into Sicily, whence he traveled up the line of Greek colonization into Italy, meeting the cock of the more northerly line of migration in Central Italy—Etruria, Latium and the regions thereabout. Somewhat more slowly the Greeks carried the cock southward into Cyprus; whence it was brought to the Phoenician cities, not becoming, however, well-establisht as a domestic fowl on the Syrian mainland until a late date.

Beginning in the 7th century B. C. the Assyrians and Baby-

[1] Possibly a further reason for the relative tardiness of the cock in Babylonia was the nature of the country, the rivers, canals and marshes so admirable adapted to geese and ducks may have constituted a barrier to the domestication of the fowl in that region.

lonians received the fowl from Media and Persia, where he had been known since a period ante-dating 1000; but he did not become common in Babylonia until the Persian conquest, in the latter half of the 6th century. Whence the Aramaeans derived the bird, we do not certainly know, but it was thru their agency, as the general medium of intercourse, that he was finally introduced to the Jews in Palestine, somewhere about or a little after 200 B. C., reaching Egypt only in the Roman period, 150 years later.[1]

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[1] Besides those mentioned in the notes, I also owe my thanks to the Smithsonian Institution and to Dr. T. Leslie Shear, Prof. Jas. R. Wheeler and Prof. Egbert of Columbia for helping me "hunt chickens". After this article was in print my attention was called to the Arabic صرصر (*ṣarṣar* or *ṣirṣir*), an onomatopoeticon for cock of the same type as the Hebrew זרזיר of Prov. 30, 31.

Dialectic Differences between Assyrian and Babylonian, and some Problems they Present. — By S. C. YLVISAKER, Ph. D., Luther College, Decorah, Iowa.

The proof of the existence of the two quite distinct dialects, the Assyrian and the Babylonian, has been arduous but also gratifying. The texts upon which the proof is based, the collection of letters from the period of the Sargonide kings, edited by Prof. Harper, fall naturally into two groups: the letters written in the Assyrian script and those written in the Babylonian. Even a hasty comparison of the letters in the Assyrian script with those in the Babylonian cannot but reveal certain peculiarities in the one group which are not found in the other, and a more detailed and thorough study makes it apparent that these differences are of five kinds, such as concern phonetic laws, inflection, syntax, the use of words, and style. Permit me to make brief mention of the main differences under these five heads.

I. As regards phonetic laws, the Assyrian makes a sharp distinction between the palatals, the Babylonian does not—Assyrian: *iḳṭibi*, Babylonian: *iḳtabi*. The Assyrian pronounces the *š* as *s* and the combination *št* regularly becomes *s* or *ss*; the Babylonian has retained the *š* and before a dental this regularly becomes *l*—Assyrian: *asakan*=*aštakan*, Babylonian: *altakan*. The Assyrian frequently assimilates an *m* to a following *t*, the Babylonian softens the pronunciation of *k* or *t* after *m* or *n* to *g* or *d*—Assyrian: *attaḫar*=*amtaḫar*, Babylonian: *amdaḫar*. The Assyrian experiences no difficulty in the pronunciation of a double sonant, the Babylonian resolves the combination and simplifies the pronunciation by means of an *n*—Assyrian: *imagur*=*imaggur*, Babylonian: *imangur*. In the Assyrian two neighboring vowels are frequently assimilated to each other —*iḫabbutu*=*iḫabbatu*, while vowel contration is a prominent characteristic of the Babylonian.

II. Inflectional differences there are many of, but referring to the summary on page 73 of my monograph entitled "Zur babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik", I shall mention only a few more important ones. In regard to the inflection of nouns it is to be noted that the Assyrian regularly has *u* as the ending of the nominative and accusative singular, *i* as that of the genitive, while the Babylonian by its irregular use of the case-endings would seem to show that these were no longer in use. In regard to the verb, the Assyrian forms the Piel and Šafel Imperatives and Permansives by means of *a* in the first syllable, the Babylonian has the usual forms. So the Assyrian *ṣabbit*, Babylonian *ṣubbit*; Assyrian *gammur*, Babylonian *gummur;* Assyrian *šebil*, Babylonian *šubil*, etc. But the difference appears in minor matters as well, as f. inst. in the treatment of certain verbs. The Assyrian present of *nadānu* is *iddan*, the Babylonian *inamdan* or *inamdin*; the Assyrian preterite is *iddin*, the Babylonian *iddan* or *iddin*; the Assyrian imperative is *din*, the Babylonian *idin*. The first t-form of *nazāzu* in Assyrian is *ititiz*, in Babylonian *ittašiz*. The Assyrian treats the verb *idū* "to know" as a פ״י verb, the Babylonian as פ״ו. And so on.

III. The syntactical differences are also quite marked, the use of the enclitic *ni* in dependent clauses being characteristic of the Assyrian, the use of the overhanging vowel in dependent clauses and of the enclitic *ma* characteristic of the Babylonian. Here there are also minor points of difference such as the idiomatic use of prepositions, etc.

IV. Closely connected with the syntactical differences are those involving the use of words. It cannot be by mere chance that the following words are used only in the Assyrian letters: the pronouns *ammu*, *mēmēnu*, *i̯amutu*; the verbs *naṣū* and the defective verb *laššu*; the prepositions *issi*, *battibatti*, *battataḫ*; the adverbs *udini la*, *ulā*, *umā*, *ammaka*, *annaka*, *annurig*, *arḫiš*, *issuri*, *atā*, *bādi*, *basi*, *ḫaramme*, *kallamāri*, *kittu*, *lidiš*, *mā*, *muk* and *nuk*, *šiāri*, *šaddagdiš*, *timāli*, *tūra*, and the following only in the Babylonian: the pronoun *agā*; the defective verb *i̯anu*; the prepositions *alla*, *itti*, *ultu*; and the adverbs *adū*, *ul*, *umma*, *arkaniš*, *arkišu*, *bani*, *ḫanṭiš*, *madē*, *mindēma*, *minamma*, *šaddagiš*. In the case of some of these words the subject-matter may, of course, have had more to do than is at present apparent.

V. All of these peculiarities taken together and coupled again with the individuality of the writer in each case would undoubtedly help us to explain the difference in style which one cannot but notice in the letters. But they would hardly explain all, and I think we would be justified in distinguishing between an Assyrian and a Babylonian style as well. However, this question of difference in style is intimately associated with a detailed study and comparison of syntactical constructions in the two dialects, and in this field very much still remains to be accomplished.

To summarize: If we could have heard the two dialects, Assyrian and Babylonian, spoken, I do not doubt that we would have noticed a difference more marked than that which exists among the various dialects in Germany. We would undoubtedly do better in choosing the sister languages Norwegian and Swedish for comparison: the Swedish, soft and musical, representing the Babylonian, the harsher and more strongly accented Norwegian representing the Assyrian.

In itself the knowledge of these dialectic differences between Assyrian and Babylonian is interesting enough to the philologian, it is important also in several respects: 1) it furnishes a very necessary key to the understanding of the epistolary literature; 2) it explains to our entire satisfaction difficulties of Assyrian grammar which otherwise would cause much trouble. As I have said before, there is much left to be done, both as regards the material already at hand, and what is steadily being published; but even at this stage we have a right to say that the importance of our knowledge of these dialectic differences will extend beyond the points I have mentioned. It shows us the need of more painstaking and detailed study of the language from a purely grammatical point of view, also the need of a more complete grammar which treats the language with strict regard for historic development and resulting changes. The difficulties which would present themselves to one undertaking such a task we can as yet realize only in part. For instance, the correct application of the rules thus far laid down for the language of the letters is difficult enough and too much care cannot be exercised in their mastery in order to avoid what might become serious mistakes. Thus the specific rules for the Assyrian do not apply and must be carefully excluded in the translation of a

Babylonian text, and vice versa. But it becomes still more difficult to decide how far these rules, which are so rigidly observed in the language of the letters, are to be applied and taken into consideration outside this class of texts. In explaining a difficult form in a hymn, for instance, is, or is not, this or that phenomenon in the language of the letters to be compared as analogous and made to solve the problem for us? The question is really pertinent, as I have a definite instance in mind where in my opinion a rule taken from the language of the letters was wrongly made to apply in a text not of this class. It may be tempting enough to try to explain a form by every known means; it is another question if this be always permissible, for it is evident at the outset that not the same rules would apply for the language of the Hammurapi period in Babylonia and for that of the Ašurbanipal period in Assyria.

But on this very point I think we have one of the most difficult problems before us, this difficulty, namely, that the character and approximate date of a text should be known before it can be successfully worked out. In other words a certain amount of textual criticism will become necessary to determine which rules can be made to apply and which not. I do not claim that we as yet are in a position to cope successfully with the problem of textual criticism in Assyrian, but it is my conviction that it must be taken up sooner or later and that the letter literature in this very particular will prove an invaluable aid and provide a sure basis for further work.

But the letters, picturing as they do the language of their time in Assyria and Babylonia both consistently and in detail, put other texts from the same period in a strange light, and we are immediately confronted by the peculiar difficulties which the problem of textual criticism in Assyrian would present. I shall refer briefly to the historical inscriptions of the later kings to illustrate.

Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (1115—1100) has in his inscriptions side by side *ištu* (a form hardly in use any more at his time), *altakan*, *lultaḳṣiru*, *ultalliṭu*, *multašpiru* (specifically Babylonian forms), and *madatta*, *epāš*, *laššu* (Assyrian).

Tukulti-NIN. IB. II (889—885) has likewise side by side *aštamdiḫ* (old form), *ulteziz* (Babylonian), *asapar*, *asakan*, *attaḫar*, *laššu*, *battubatte* (Assyrian).

Ašurnaṣirpal II (884—860) has *itti* (Babylonian) and *issi* (Assyrian), *ištananuma* (old form), *altakan* (Babylonian), *asakan*, *asarap*, *usišib*, *attaḫar* (Assyrian).

Šalmaneser II (859—825) has *amdaḫḫiṣ* (Babylonian) and *madatu* (Assyrian).

The Sargonide kings have in their historical inscriptions been more successful in fixing what we might call a classic language, but even here we meet with strange inconsistencies. Sennacherib has *aštakan* (old form) and *ultu* (Babylonian). Ašurbanipal has *uštešera*, *aštakanu*, *ištenī'a* (old forms), *multarḫu*, *ultu*, *mundaḫṣē*, *mandattu* (Babylonian), and *madattu* (Assyrian).

The inscriptions of the Babylonian kings present similar difficulties. Nebuchadnezzar I (1152—1124) has *ištu*, *ištakan* (old forms), *ultesḫir*, *iltaknu*, *iltaṭru*, *mundaḫṣūti* (later Babylonian). Nebukadnezzar II (604—562) uses a language which seems to show none of the later Babylonian peculiarities, but which might very well have been used at least 1000 years earlier.

Intimate acquaintance with the language of the epistolary literature, where the most beautiful consistency prevails throughout, causes us to wonder all the more at the strange mixture of old and late, Assyrian and Babylonian, forms in the other branches of the literature. Hence the question of textual criticism in the Assyrian presents peculiar problems of which I have only mentioned a few. In closing I would ask one question: what bearing would this condition of things in the language of texts, where we cannot doubt that we have the originals, have on textual criticism in other languages, for instance the problem of the different dialects in the language of Homer?

The Animal DUN in the Sumerian Inscriptions.—By Ira Maurice Price, University of Chicago.

Lists of animals that came down from the period of the supremacy of the cities of Ur and Lagash contain among them one whose identity is still a matter of doubt. I have gathered up the facts known about this animal as a possible aid in determining its identity.

The inscriptions from the period of Lagash (2500—2400 B. C.) give us most of our data. De Genouillac in his *Tablettes Sumeriennes Archaïque* has indicated some of the facts regarding this animal; others may be found in Gudea Cylinder B, and in Hussey's *Sumerian Tablets in Harvard Museum.*

De Genouillac after putting together the facts which he collected (T. S. A. p. XLIII f.) concluded that there must have been two kinds of DUN, (1) a wild DUN of the swamps (*DUN-giš-gi*) and (2) a *DUN* of the plains (*DUN-ú*). The former *DUN* seems to be referred to in Gudea Cyl. B, XV, 12—14, where it is listed with work cattle, and worked with some kind of an instrument, that corresponded to the yoke of the ox or the packsaddle of the ass. The words used to describe the instrument would indicate that it was made of metal (*DUN-e* ^{urudu}*ḫa* [ ]-*maḫ;* cf. *ḫa-zi zabar R. T. C.*, 22).

In Gudea Cyl. B, IX, 16—19, the DUN seems to be associated with the ass, or was a kind of ass, in such expressions as (16) *anšu DUN úr-bi* — — — — — (18) *anšu-sìg-a anšu-Erida*^{ki} (19) *anšu DUN-da.* Whether this may have been some species of mule, or some cross between the *anšu* and another animal is not apparent in the passage. On Cyl. B, IX, 16, we find exactly the same phrase as on Cyl. A, VII, 20, except that *anšu* is omitted in the latter case, which would seem to indicate that, here, at least, *anšu* DUN and DUN alone are synonymous, for in both cases the same animal is referred to, viz., the animal called *ug-kaš.* On Cyl. B, IX, 16—19, as referred to above, we find the young ass, and the

ass of Eridu, but what could have been *anšu-DUN?* Was it merely a full-grown *anšu* or some other animal? Or—could it have been some species of wild ass or bison which roamed in herds in the swamps or lowlands of Babylonia, as the wild asses do today in the steppes of Tibet? We know that the Assyrians hunted them in the chase as pictured on the monuments. M. J. E. Gautier in his excavations at Susa has shown that the bison has been in existence from a very remote antiquity.

When we turn to the numerous lists of large animals we discover the DUN classified with asses. De Genouillac cites numerous cases: In *R. T. C.*, 49, we find one list of 17 she-asses, 10 female and 4 male DUN, and all totaled as 30 (31) asses. Another case gives credence to this proposition, where a deal consists of a purchase of 4 she-asses and 2 DUN, which is called an "affair of the asses". When the money value of each is set side by side it is noteworthy that the less value is attached to the DUN. In one inscription (*R. T. C.* 50) the cash value of the DUN was 4 to 6 shekels while that of the ass was 20 shekels.

Again, the service of a DUN of a year or less old by the month was 50 to 70 *qa*, for a DUN of two years 80 to 100 *qa* for an adult *DUN* 300 *qa*, probably designating a large animal.

Another little hint of especial interest is the fact that the DUN yielded butter or cream, *iá-DUN* (R. T. C. 18, 62, 63). Is this to be compared with the same product supplied by the cow or the goat?

An examination of the *Sumerian Tablets of Harvard Museum* reveals some additional facts. Of the 224 women mentioned on the 54 tablets published in Part I, I find 20 were *gìm DUN-nig-kú-a*, that is, a title indicating "care-taker of the DUN to be eaten". This title is mentioned 55 times, and shows that the DUN mentioned on those tablets were of a sufficiently docile nature to be managed by women. One man, mentioned 23 times in these inscriptions, named *Lugal-pa-ud-du* is called *sib-DUN*, shepherd of the DUN, or rather DUN-herd. He is also named several times in de Genouillac, *T. S. A.* (10 Rev. V, 18, 19; 11 Rev. IV; 12 Rev. V).

Another man, *Nimgir-eš-a-gub*, was a *gab-ra DUN-ú* (23 Rev. VII, 16), evidently an overseer of the DUN. One woman

Šag-tar held the same office as attested in *S. T.* 22 Rev. V, 7 and *T. S. A.* (de Genouillac).

One woman's name has incorporated in it this element, though it may not have had anything to do with the animal: *Nin-DUN-ama-mu* (23 Obv. I, 11).

Pinches found in the Amherst Tablets (36, III, 9) the name of a farmer whose chief business seems to have been that of raising the DUN or asses, or both: *Sur* dingir *DUN-sig-êa.*

The DUN mentioned in these inscriptions of Harvard Museum seems to have been an animal similar to the goat, docile, yielding milk, having a hide of value, and a ruminant, living of the fields. In all the 54 tablets published in Hussey's *S. T.* only two men are mentioned as bearing any relation to the care of the DUN, while women are named in 55 passages as care-takers.

On the other hand, the DUN described alongside the ass and oxen is always cared for by men, and is classified with asses or oxen in the totals, as a beast of burden, and seems to have thriven in swamps or forests. Its value was less than that of the ass, and it required less food for its maintenance.

What were these two species of DUN?[1] Have we the modern equivalent of either of them?

It is now almost a question for the zoologist.

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[1] Allotte de la Fuÿe, in Hilprecht's Anniversary Volume, p. 126, N. 2, Thureau-Dangin in *R. A.* VI p. 137, and again Thureau-Dangin in *Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello,* I, p. 27, Note 3, offer suggestions for the solution of the problem, which do not quite satisfy the requirements of the cases, especially in the Gudea Cylinders and Hussey's *S. T.*

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